CEYLON

AT THE

CENSUS OF 1911,

BEING

THE REVIEW OF THE RESULTS OF THE CENSUS OF 1911.

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ERRATA.

Page 183, line 20.—*For* "called" *read* "call."

Page 193, line 43.—*For* "affected" *read* "effected."

Page 236, line 38.—*For* "álátté" *read* "álátti."

Page 257, line 40.—*For* "amulets" *read* "anklets."

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Photo-lith. S.G.O., Colombo. No. 128/1912

PREFACE.

The Fifth Decennial Census of Ceylon was taken on the night of March 10, 1911, ten years and ten days after the Census of 1901. The Population enumerated was 4,110,367, or, exclusive of Military and Shipping, 4,106,350.

All the District Officers agree that the Census of 1911 was a very accurate enumeration. There were no doubt omissions and double entries, but these were, it is believed, very few in number.

One of the features of this Census was the keen interest taken in it by all races in Ceylon : the people of their own accord in many parts of the Island journeyed considerable distances to their homes in order to be sure that they were not omitted. As stated by one of the Revenue Officers, " there was a widespread impression that to be omitted from the list would bring some misfortune."

The preliminary arrangements for the Census were considerably simplified by the excellent Census Manual prepared by Mr. Arunachalam for the Census of 1901, which formed the basis of the Manual issued for the 1911 Census.

The results of the Census were all received by March 16, and were published in the *Gazette* of March 17. The figures therein given only differed by ·31 per cent. from the final figures. An Interim Report was published at the end of June, 1911, which gave the population by sexes, races, and religions for the Provinces, Districts, and Principal Towns, and also for the Estate Population, the Military, and the Shipping. A Preliminary Report was issued for the first time at the 1901 Census, but information was not then given with regard to religions.

The success of the Census depends primarily on the Revenue Officers. The hardest part of the work in connection with the taking of the Census is done by them, and without their active co-operation and assistance it would not be possible to secure an accurate enumeration of the people. The Government Agents and their Assistants took great trouble and care to secure complete results, to furnish early returns, and to supply all further information and particulars required with regard to their Provinces and Districts.

After the Census had been taken and the results sent in to the Census Office, the heavy work of abstraction, compilation, and tabulation of the Census statistics commenced.

In July, 1911, there were 125 elerks at work at the Census Office. These clerks were paid at the rate of Rs. 20 per mensem and overtime, and bonuses for work in exeess of the time and amount required. They worked very well, and were generally intelligent and hardworking.

My Chief Clerk, Mr. M. S. Fernando, supervised the work of the offiee with efficiency, zeal, and ability; while the Seeond Clerk, Mr. S. Vythianathan, who was in eharge of the Statistical Braneh, proved himself a eapable offieer, with speeial aptitude for this work. The work of both these clerks throughout has been deserving of special praise.

The eost of this Census, in spite of the large amount of additional printed matter in extra volumes, &e., and the inerease in salaries, &e., during the last ten years, is only Rs. 14,500 more than in 1901. The Census of 1901 eost Rs. 27,000 more than the Census of 1891. Per head of the population the eost of the Census of 1911 was *less* than that of the Census of 1901—4·15 eents per head in 1911, as compared with 4·38 eents per head in 1901, or Rs. 2·27 less per thousand persons. The eost of the Census is Rs. 13,000 below the estimate.

The arrangement of the Report differs from that followed at previous Censuses. The Report volume itself is published in a size to whieh Government publications rarely deseend, but whieh, it is believed, renders it more useful as a reference volume.

The volumes of statistics are printed in folio size, as the tables eould not be eonveniently printed in a volume of the size of the Report.

The Report on the Census, or a Review of Ceylon at the Census of 1911, is alone contained in this volume, whieh further differs from the Report on the 1901 Census in the following partieulars :—

(*a*) All details, &e., with regard to the preparations for the Census, the actual Census-taking, and the tabulation of the results have been excluded from this Report, and will be published in a separate volume entitled "The Administrative Work of the Census."

It is eonsidered to be more eonvenient to deal with these partieulars in a separate volume ; they are of interest chiefly to the officer who may be deputed to take the next Census, and to others interested in the work of taking a Census. The Report volume is a review of the *results* of the Census.

The details of the expenditure on the Census and the suggestions for taking the next Census will be ineluded in the Administrative volume, whieh will also contain copies of all the forms, &e., used at this Census.

(*b*) Mr. Arunaehalam included in his Report chapters on the Natural Features, History, and Civil Administration of Ceylon. These chapters embody information which can be best obtained by reference to them. White's "Manual of Ceylon," which has appeared sinee the last Census, also contains considerable information in this conneetion.

Notable changes in Ceylon during the decade and in the past hundred years have been dealt with in the first chapter of the Report (Ceylon, Past and Present) and in the sixth chapter (Changes in Manners and Customs).

(*c*) New features in this Report are :—

(1) The District Histories embodied in Chapter IV. (Movement of Population).

(2) A separate chapter (Chapter V.) has been devoted to the town of Colombo, in which some account is given of the past history of Colombo and its modern development.

(3) Chapter VI. (Changes in Manners and Customs) and Chapter VII. (Nomenclature) deal with subjects not hitherto treated of in a Census Report.

(4) Chapter VIII. (The Races of Ceylon) gives information in regard to several of the " minor " and little-known races in Ceylon.

(5) Chapter XVIII. deals with the first complete Census ever taken of the Maldive Islands.

In addition to the Report volume, three other volumes have already ssued :—

(1) *Census Tables*, showing the population by sex, race, religion, age, civil condition, education, birthplace, and infirmity.

(2) *Town and Village Statistics*, which contains several new features, including a complete alphabetical list of all the towns and villages in Ceylon, compiled for the first time, and serving as a basis for a complete Gazetteer of Ceylon.

(3) *Estate Statistics*, giving the estate population by sex, race, religion, age, civil condition, education, and birthplace, with a list of estates, showing the revenue and planting districts and the population by sex, race, religion, and literacy, and an alphabetical index of estate names. This is the first Census at which such statistics have been prepared.

The volume of *Occupation Statistics* will be issued about the end of October, 1912; the *Administrative* volume later.

The Census Report would have issued earlier had I been able to devote entire attention to my Census duties, but these were combined, from July, 1911, to January, 1912, with those of Private Secretary to the Officer Administering the Government; and in April, 1912, the work of Organizing Secretary of the All-Ceylon Exhibition, held in July, was also added to that of Census Superintendent. Recent illness has also unfortunately handicapped me in issuing my Report, which is, however, two and a half months in advance of the Report on the last Census.

I find it impossible to acknowledge individually all the assistance which has been readily afforded me by leading headmen, scholars, and others in reply to many queries which have been circulated by me in

connection with native birth, marriage, and death ceremonies, &c. Special reference to the replies received will be made in the Administrative volume.

I desire, however, specially to mention Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekere, to whom I am indebted for much interesting information, particularly in connection with the Sinhalese language, literature, and nomenclature. Messrs. Paul Pieris and H. W. Codrington of my own Service; Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, the Government Archivist; and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Secretary and Librarian of the Colombo Museum, have always been most ready to assist me from their wide knowledge of the history, manners, and customs of the country.

To the Government Printer I am much indebted for the able and prompt assistance he has rendered me throughout, both in the supply of millions of forms for the taking of Census, and in the careful proof-reading and printing of this Report.

I also desire to express my appreciation of the great interest and trouble taken by the Survey Department in the production of the illustrations and diagrams, which I trust may, if only from their novelty, attract attention to the important statistics they are intended to illustrate.

The Census Report is an official publication, but for any views or expressions of opinion contained in it the writer is solely responsible.

I do not think I can do better than close my Preface to a Report which is liberally sprinkled throughout with proverbs illustrative of native manners and customs, with a further one, from Percival's collection of Tamil proverbs, to which I am indebted for many of those quoted :—

Those who disregard figures have no eyes,
Those who disregard letters have no head.

எண்ணில்லாதவர் கண்ணில்லாதவர்,
எழுத்தில்லாதவர் கழுத்தில்லாதவர்.

CEYLON

AT

THE CENSUS OF 1911.

CHAPTER I.

CEYLON, PAST AND PRESENT.

Area—Population—Physical Features—Fame of Ceylon—Invasions of the Island — Sinhalese Nationality — Foreign Influences — Agricultural Development—Exports—Increase in Trade—Rise of Colombo—Increase in Imports — Means of Communication — Revenue — Expenditure — Prosperity of Ceylon.

THE area of Ceylon is 25,332 square miles, an area slightly larger than that of Greece and of Holland and Belgium, and about half the size of England.

Compared with the Provinces and States of India, Ceylon is one-third of the area of the Bombay Presidency—excluding Aden and Sind—and a little more than one-sixth the size of the Madras Presidency. Ceylon has an area of 4,000 square miles less than that of the State of Mysore.

At the Census of 1911 the population of Ceylon, inclusive of military and shipping, was 4,110,367. In population Ceylon approximates closely to Ireland, which, with an area of 32,600 square miles, has a population of 4,381,951, and the Commonwealth of Australia (including the new territories), with an area of 2,974,581 square miles and a population of 4,455,005.

In general outline Ceylon resembles an elongated pearl, and it has been frequently described with poetic fancy as "a pearl upon the brow of India." More prosaic writers describe its shape as that of an egg, while Baldæus says that in his opinion it "resembles rather a Westphalia ham, whence without doubt the Dutch fort near Jaffnapatam has got the name of Ham's-heel."*

Its physical features are very marked. The maritime districts and the northern half of the Island are low and flat, while the middle of the southern half of the Island—about one-sixth of its area—is mountainous, and is usually described as Up-country, the Low-country being the name given to the old maritime provinces and the south of the Island.

* Baldæus's "Ceylon" (1671), p. 667.

The Island has been renowned throughout all ages for the beauty of its scenery, its wealth in gems, its fertile lands, and its sacred places.

"Does Brazil, Arabia, Persia, any of the individual Kingdoms of India, Pegu, Siam, the Moluccas, China, or Japan produce such wealth in such a small compass as Ceilao ?" wrote Ribeiro.* "I fancy that those who declare this Island was the terrestrial Paradise do not say so owing to its fertility and the abundance of everything required to maintain life, nor for the pleasantness and healthfulness of the Island, nor for the footprint two palms long which the Gentiles have fabricated so as to attract worship to the place, but because so many kinds of riches are found therein, small as it is."

"There is no doubt that Ceylon is the best piece of territory there is in the Indies," says another writer; † "wherever we look, whether it is on the sea, or the air, or the land, the mountains and forests are full of the best cinnamon in the world, and contain a hundred thousand other herbs and wild fruits, so varied in fragrance, taste, and flavour that they not only serve to glut every sense, but afford the ordinary food of the inhabitants and trade and traffic throughout the East."

All writers on Ceylon with scarce an exception‡ are alike enthusiastic in extolling the natural resources and wealth of the country.

Possessed of great natural wealth and endowed by the traditions of all Eastern races with fabulous treasures,§ Ceylon was bound to be the prey of the invader. Situated as the Island is in close proximity to India and a natural port of call for all voyagers to the Far East, it is not surprising that her history should be one long record of invasions from China, India, and the Arabian coasts, and from the sixteenth century onwards from Europe.

It is remarkable that the Sinhalese should have been able to preserve a separate nationality, when it is realized that the seaboard of the country was the fighting ground of rival invaders, while Tamil invasions from the south of India overthrew her ancient capitals.

That the Sinhalese nationality was not utterly destroyed is largely due to the fact that the Sinhalese were never a maritime people, and that they maintained an independence in the natural fastnesses of their hill country.

Foreign influences could not be so easily driven back as were the attempts of the European invaders to penetrate into the Kandyan country. No Eastern country has, perhaps, been more influenced by other civilizations, and no Eastern country, except in quite modern

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* Ribeiro's "History of Ceylon" (translation by P. E. Peiris, C.C.S.), pp. 413–14.

† "The Rebellion of Ceylon, and the Progress of its Conquest under the Government of Constantino de Sá y Noroña." Translated from the Spanish by Lieutenant-Colonel H. H. St. George. Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) Journal, Vol. XI., p. 477.

‡ An exception is to be found in a Belgian physician who visited Ceylon in 1687–89, who writes: "In deed and in truth the whole Island is not worth as much as an ordinary village in Brabant or Flanders: for all the fruits that grow there are not worth describing. The cattle are so thin that they are not eatable. The fish that comes into the fish market on a Friday in Antwerp is better and worth more than all the fish that is caught in a whole year throughout the whole of Ceylon."—"A Belgian Physician's Notes on Ceylon," translated by Donald Ferguson, Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) Journal, Vol. X., p. 153.

§ "The Chinese knew it as the 'Island of jewels'; the Greeks as the 'Land of the hyacinth and ruby'; the Mahometans, in the intensity of their delight, assigned it to the exiled parents of mankind as a new elysium to console them for the loss of Paradise; and the early navigators of Europe, as they returned dazzled with its gems and laden with its costly spices, propagated the fable that far to seaward the very breeze that blew from it was redolent of perfume."—Emerson Tennent, Vol. I., p. 4.

times, has shown a broader toleration in adapting itself to what was new while still maintaining many of the old and conservative elements.

Even the religion of the natives of the country has been profoundly affected by foreign influences. Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon from India in 300 B.C., and Christianity with the Portuguese and Dutch in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Religion and education have both been greatly influenced by Western civilization, which may be said to have openly proclaimed their union, hitherto in the East a secret alliance—only admitted in monasteries and amongst the most learned depositaries of knowledge. The moral improvement of the people has been undoubtedly largely promoted in consequence, and material progress has afforded scope for the satisfaction of increased wants and the realization of new demands.

The agricultural development of the country has contributed more than any other cause to the material prosperity of the people of Ceylon.

It is still a subject of considerable controversy as to whether the tanks and water-courses, which are so conspicuous a feature of the Island's development, were the work of Tamil artificers or not; but the balance of evidence seems in favour of rice cultivation having been introduced from India.

The coconut is supposed to have been brought to Ceylon by the sea; it is certainly not indigenous, and the coconut-fringed coasts of Ceylon are the results of Dutch plantations. Similarly with all the cultivations for which the Island is famous.

Cinnamon—" the bride round whom they all dance in Ceylon "—was at first the object of the rivalry of Portuguese and Dutch, and finally the monopoly of the latter.

The plantations of coffee, followed by the opening of cinchona, tea, and rubber estates, are lasting memorials of British rule and British planting enterprise.

For the twelve months ended June, 1911, the exports of tea amounted to nearly 184 million pounds, valued at over 84 million rupees; of rubber, over 6 million pounds, valued at over 28 million rupees; and products of the coconut palm valued at over 36 million rupees.

In 1901 the exports of tea amounted to over 144 million pounds valued at 47½ million rupees; the value of products of the coconut palm was nearly 18 million rupees; and there were no exports of rubber.

The increase in the total trade during the last ten years amounts to 72 per cent.

The value of Ceylon imports a hundred years ago was £268,000; for the last financial year it was nearly eleven million pounds. Exports in 1811 were valued at £208,000; their value was over twelve and a half million pounds for the year 1910–1911.

The Customs revenue in 1811 was £34,000; in 1910–1911 it was nearly thirty times that amount.*

While Ceylon was famous in the markets of the East and West for its cinnamon and coffee, and to-day is renowned for its tea and rubber, the trade which the value of its *exports* originally created has developed enormously.

In turn the trade has been in the hands of the Arabs—from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries—the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English.

The period of British rule has seen the creation of the town and port of Colombo, and of an immense calling and carrying trade, which has

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* Detailed statements of Imports, Exports, and Customs Revenue in 1811 and 1910–1911 will be found in Part II., Census Tables, &c.

made Ceylon one of the trade centres of the world, and Colombo the seventh port in the whole world and the third in the British Empire.

No longer do ships call at Colombo only to carry away the wealth of the country. Bertolacci—whose work on the resources of Ceylon still repays perusal—writing a hundred years ago says: "Considering Ceylon as a market for British manufactures and goods, it must not be expected that it will offer a great sale for them; because there is hitherto but a small population of Europeans, and the habits and wants of the natives are of a nature not to create a demand for such manufactures and goods."*

The "habits and wants of the natives" have changed so considerably in the last hundred years that there is to-day a large and increasing demand for European goods.†

The value of the imports to Ceylon has increased by 50 per cent. in the last ten years; for the year 1910–1911 the value of imports to Ceylon amounted to 156½ million rupees, while the value of exports for the same period was 172 million rupees.‡

Nor was it only for trade purposes that 4,400 ships entered the ports of the Island in 1910–1911. Colombo is now a great port of call for all vessels going to and from Australia, China, and the Far East and England.

Thirty-two steamer lines paid 2,121 calls at Colombo during the year 1910–1911. The large Orient and Peninsular and Oriental steamers which call weekly at the port usually land nearly a thousand passengers,§ to spend the day in Colombo and give employment to large numbers of petty traders, eating-house keepers, "gharry wallahs," ricksha coolies, and many others, while there is not a day on which there is not a passenger steamer in the harbour, and frequently two or three at the same time.

While Ceylon's communications with the outside world have developed enormously, there has been an equally remarkable extension of the means of interior communication.

There are to-day in Ceylon 576⅞ miles of railway; and since the last Census was taken the Northern railway has been opened to Jaffna, the Kelani Valley—one of the wealthiest planting districts of the Island—has been connected with Colombo, a line has been run from Ragama—on the Main line to Kandy—to Negombo, connecting it with Colombo by a one and a quarter hour's railway journey.

The extension to Mannar has made considerable progress, and connection with India by rail is now only a question of time. The line to Mannar may be expected to be open by 1913.

The Ratnapura railway will be opened very shortly, connecting Colombo and the Kelani Valley with the rich Province of Sabaragamuwa and "the city of gems"—Ratnapura.

The extension of the Negombo railway to Chilaw has been sanctioned, as also the railway between Bandarawela and Badulla.

In the last ten years 280⅝ miles of railway have been opened, and the extensions now sanctioned and in course of construction cover 95 miles.

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* "Ceylon," by Bertolacci, pp. 449, 450.

† *Vide* Chapter VI., Changes in Manners and Customs.

‡ These figures do not include specie and the value of coal for the use of steamers.

§ The Orient liners "Osterley" and "Otranto" were enumerated on their way through Colombo, as they would have otherwise missed the Australian and English Censuses, and showed totals of 1,269 and 1,008 persons on board.

There are to-day 2,944 miles of metalled road over which motor traffic can pass, and including gravelled and natural roads, some 4,000 miles of roads in Ceylon. Fifty years ago there were only 564 miles of metalled road, 456 of gravelled, and 1,354 of ungravelled roads.

In the time of the Kandyan kings orders were issued by the king that no one should presume on pain of death to cut any roads through the impassable forests, wider than was sufficient for one person to pass. The whole object of the Kandyan monarchs was to prevent the approach of the invader and to preserve the kingdom from attack. Little was done to open up the country by roads until the period of the British occupation.

Cordiner, writing in 1807, says, "Strictly speaking there are no roads in the Island." In 1815 there were 28 resthouses* or halting places where provisions could be obtained; to-day there are 193 resthouses at which board and lodging can be obtained, and with very few exceptions all the resthouses are on public roads.

In 1814 in the *Government Gazette* an account is given of the tour of Governor Sir Robert Brownrigg round the Island. He left Colombo on February 28, 1814, and proceeded by Arippu, Jaffna, Trincomalee, to Batticaloa, which was reached on April 30.†

The journey was "made in a one-horse chaise, being the only instance but one of any wheeled carriage having been used on the northern roads for many years, and in fact they are generally considered impossible."‡

In these days of trains, good roads, and motor cars any Province in the Island can be visited in two days' time from Colombo.

The first motor car was brought to Ceylon in February, 1902. During the last six years 666 motors have been licensed in Colombo; the number of motors in the Island is close on 1,000.

There are motor services between Anuradhapura and Trincomalee, Bandarawela and Passara, Negombo and Puttalam.

The number of carts has greatly increased. To-day the first investment of the prudent Sinhalese or Tamil, who has put by a little money and hopes to make more, is the purchase of a cart and bulls.

Over 23,000 carts were licensed in Ceylon in 1910, as compared with 17,800 in 1901. The number of licensed carts fifty years ago was just over 11,000, of which 7,000 belonged to the Western Province.

The abolition of tolls from January 1, 1911, has further increased the cart traffic on the roads. It was estimated that the payments made by the public on account of tolls were not less than Rs. 800,000 to Rs. 850,000 per annum.

There are 1,790 miles of telegraph posts and 4,595 miles of telegraph wire in Ceylon, and 1,447 miles of telephone wire.

The hill station of Nuwara Eliya and the town of Kandy are now connected by telephone with Colombo.

The results of these improved means of communication with the West and in the Island are seen in every stage of native life, and

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* The following were the resthouses in 1815:—Jayelle—Jaela, Maravoly—Maravilla, Andipany—Andampam, Putlam, Pomparippo, Marchitottan—Marichchukatti, Arippo, Mantotte, Worteltivoe—Vidalvaltivu, Ilpecarve—Illupaikadavai, Palverynkatto—Pallavorayankaddu, Pooneroen, Claly—Kilali Elephant Pass, Condicolom—Chundikkuli, Matelo, Alambiel—Alampil (Mullaittivu), Kokolay—Kokalai, Cutchavily—Achchuvoli, Pantura, Bentotte, Cosgodde, Ambalangodde, Hickode—Hikkaduwa, Belligam—Weligama, Dickwelle, Rannie—Rana, Platoopane—Palatupane.

† The coachman died, and was buried there, May 10, 1814.

‡ *Government Gazette* of May 11, 1814.

£60,000 yearly for cinnamon. The rest of the revenue is derived from rents of land, markets, and fisheries ; taxes on Moors and Chitties, arrack-shops, gambling, cock-fighting, and wearing of jewels ; duties on the importation of Indian cloths, and articles from China and Europe ; duties on the exportation of areka-nuts, coffee, cardamons, pepper, arrack, coir, and timber."

Bertolacci, writing in 1816, took a hopeful view of the resources of the country and one in advance of his day. "Under a well-directed administration we are perhaps not too sanguine in thinking that Ceylon may in time be the source of a very enlarged commerce to English ports ; and that its public revenue may rise sufficiently so as not only to cover its own expenses, but even to leave a surplus in favour of the mother country." *

How far Bertolacci's hopes have been realized is shown not only in a comparison of the figures here given, but in every section of this Report. Expenditure has not been directed merely to the development of material prosperity: the expenditure on the Medical, Educational, Scientific, and Agricultural Departments, and quarantine precautions, is such as would not have been conceived possible even fifty years ago. Expenditure under these heads has increased by over 2½ million rupees, or 85 per cent., in the last ten years.

The period 1901-1911 in the history of Ceylon may be summarized as one of almost continuous prosperity, accompanied by remarkable developments in agriculture—notably in rubber cultivation—and in trade.

Considerable changes have taken place in the standard of comfort throughout the country, which have had a marked effect on the manners and customs of the people. There has been a very great demand for modern education, which is causing changes in occupations, in caste distinctions, and in the distribution of the urban and rural population.

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* Bertolacci's "Ceylon," p. 450.

CHAPTER II.

POPULATION OF CEYLON, PREVIOUS ENUMERATIONS, &c.

Early Censuses—Estimates of Population—Ancient Population of Ceylon—in Dutch Times—in Early days of British Rule—Census of 1824—Slaves—Later Estimates of Population—Census of 1871—Census of 1881—Census of 1891—Census of 1901—Census of 1911—Population at Censuses compared.

Though Censuses were taken by the Romans for the purposes of assessment, it is only within the last 160 years that a Census was taken in Europe. It was not until 1801 that the first English Census was held.

When the idea of a Census was first proposed, it was strenuously resisted, as highly dangerous to society. One wise Member of Parliament pronounced it "totally subversive of the last remains of English liberty." Another expressed a fear that it would lead to some public misfortune, and would be followed by "an epidemical disorder."

To-day, to quote from a leading article which appeared in *The Times* on the day before the last English Census: "'Know thyself' is the best advice for a nation as for an individual, and the very alphabet of national knowledge is a Census full and accurate .... To conceive an England without a careful enumeration of population is to conceive an England ignorant of itself and the elements of its life, and exposed to the influence of dangerous errors once prevalent but now impossible."

In no particular is ancient history more inaccurate than in its statements as regards population. The absence of any reliable data led to theories of the superior populousness of antiquity, which have now been demonstrated to be baseless. It has been shown from the histories of the West as well as of the East that otherwise reliable chroniclers have been guilty of the grossest exaggeration in dealing with numbers.

Any one who has ever tried to estimate the number of persons present in a large crowd can realize the difficulty of anything like an accurate computation of numbers by an eye witness, and the dangers of exaggeration increase at every stage through which the record passes. When history depended for its existence upon the skill of the chronicler or bard in reciting his story, it was natural that hundreds should become thousands and thousands millions. The number of followers allotted to a chief was immaterial, provided it did suitable honour to the hero whose prowess is recorded.

In the *Mahawansa*, as in other Eastern chronicles, we find that the accounts of battles between enormous hosts are generally confined to descriptions of individual contests between the champions of each side.

It is impossible to obtain any accurate information as to the ancient population of Ceylon. According to the *Rajavali*, King Parakrama Bahu III., in 1301 A.D., on his deathbed reminded his sons that having

conquered the Tamils he had united under one rule the Three Kingdoms of the Island, the Pihiti rata with 450,000 villages, the Rohana rata with 770,000, and the Maya rata with 250,000, or a total of 1,470,000 villages.

An ancient ola manuscript dealing with the boundaries of the Provinces of Ceylon* gives 400,000 villages to each division and a total population of 70½ millions. This same manuscript gives a total of 900,000 buildings, all of which were two or three-storied, in the four main streets of Anuradhapura.

Figures such as these are not exceptional for the time in which the chroniclers lived.

But the vast irrigation works and ruins of buried cities in Ceylon have induced most of her historians to believe that the population of Ceylon was at one time very much greater than it is to-day. Tennent considers that it must have been at least 17 millions, while Mr. Arunachalam, in his Census Report for 1901, states that 10 millions can hardly be deemed an extravagant estimate. Knighton put the population at 7½ millions, Pridham estimated it at 6 millions, and Forbes at 5 millions.

All such estimates are, of course, pure guesswork, based only on the extent of the country and the signs of its ancient population, and little better than the Emperor Heliogabalus' estimate of the greatness of Rome, from 10,000 pounds of cobwebs having been found in the city.

It is very doubtful whether the population of Ceylon has ever been larger than it is to-day.

That parts of Ceylon—notably, of course, the North-Central Province, the country round Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa—have been thickly populated in the past is not disputed. But it must be remembered that when there were " mighty kingdoms " at Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa, the coast districts of Ceylon were almost unpopulated.

Population has been displaced, but it is extremely unlikely that Anuradhapura or any other ancient city of Ceylon ever contained a population equal to that of Colombo of to-day.

If ancient Anuradhapura was reconstructed from the ruined city one views to-day, the extent within the city walls is undoubtedly considerable, but so is the amount of space which would be taken up by religious buildings, temples, shrines, monasteries, sacred *pokunas*, baths, lakes, &c. The space actually occupied by streets of shops and inhabited buildings must have been comparatively small.

A district of the extent and natural features of the country known to have been occupied at the beginning of the fourteenth century could not have found room for a population of many millions. Even though it was devastated by wars and foreign invasions, it is hardly credible that the most flourishing part of a country with 1½ million villages should in 450 years become "little better than a continued wood for near a hundred and fifty miles from the seaside."†

The records of the continuous struggle which raged between the Sinhalese and the Malabar invaders are little more than accounts of guerilla warfare, in which the Sinhalese monarchs were driven from one capital to another, generally taking refuge in a retreat in the hills at a short distance from the last seat of Government, where they were completely cut off by impenetrable jungle.

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* Copied from a manuscript "kept in the temple town of Tissawa in Seven Korales."

† Pybus's " Mission to the King of Kandy (1762)," p. 28.

When Dutugemunu in 161 B.C. marched to recover Anuradhapura from the invader Elala, according to the *Mahawansa** he had "a road first cleared through the *wilderness*," which was the country extending between Dambulla and Anuradhapura.

If one considers the sources of supply and transport in ancient times, it is open to doubt whether an Indian host of invaders landed at any one time in the history of Ceylon equal in number to the average monthly number of arrivals of immigrant coolies.

It is hardly credible that with the means of transport available at any ancient period numbers anything like those of the Indian immigrants of to-day could have been brought over to Ceylon. The average number of arrivals for the last ten years has been over 99,000, and the largest number recorded for any month is nearly 25,000.† It is to-day that the Sinhalese proverb is applicable: "*The whole Solimandala is coming.*"‡

The argument that the enormous irrigation works could only have been constructed by a very large population cannot be accepted without comment. The ancient cathedrals of Europe bear testimony to the work of populations far smaller than those which now inhabit the cities whose greatest glory to-day are these monuments of their past.

None of these big irrigation works appear to have been constructed under one sovereign or at one time. Though the name of Parakrama Bahu the Great is associated with many of the great tanks, it does not follow that they were begun or even completed in his reign. On the contrary, he appears to have partially restored many of these works; others were the creations of generations. Whole villages for miles round were turned out in these irrigation works; the labour was compulsory and regular.

The bunds of tanks which have been restored or constructed of recent years—for example, Unaichchai tank bund, and the works at Karachchi—show what can be done now with large gangs of labour. It is also very doubtful whether there were ever the large extents of cultivated lands under these tanks which they were capable of irrigating when completed. They seem to have been intended in many cases as immense reservoirs, which could not at any time have been filled or fully utilized.

That there have been considerable movements of population, that there have been great changes in the population of the districts of Ceylon, there is no doubt, but it seems very unlikely that the population of the Island was at any time greater than at the Census of 1911.

The point is an important one, as the population of a country is strong evidence of its material prosperity and the numbers it is able to support.

It is only within quite recent years that it has become possible to obtain with any degree of accuracy an estimate of the population of Ceylon.

The Dutch were not ignorant of the value of Censuses, but they regarded them as merely useful for taxation purposes.

In the Instructions from the Governor-General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon (1656 to 1665)§ it is stated that the general

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* *Mahawansa*, Chapter XXV. Translation by L. C. Wijesinha, Mudaliyar. p. 100.

† Tho number of immigrants, &c., in June, 1911, was 24,818, of whom over 18,000 wero estate coolies.

‡ සොළිමණ්ඩලේ පිටත් එනවා.—An ancient Sinhalese proverb referring to the Solian or Tamil invaders, and now used when speaking of a very large multitude.

§ Instructions from the Governor-General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon, 1656–1665 (translation by Sophia Pieters), p. 59.

lists furnished by the Desaves have become unreliable, and "a new Census of the people is under consideration—against the name of each individual may be added the present value of his estate, so that each person may be charged accordingly." This Census does not appear to have been taken, but an enumeration ordered by Governor Van der Graaff of the inhabitants of the maritime territory of the Dutch East India Company gave a total of 817,000 inhabitants. It was an approximate reckoning, and the population of the Island at the time was calculated to be 1½ million.*

Davy writes of a Census made by the collectors of districts in 1814, according to which the population of the maritime provinces amounted only to about 476,000, and he estimates the whole population of the Island as not exceeding 800,000.†

The first Census of which there is any record was made in 1824, under the Governorship of Sir Edward Barnes. It was published in 1827.

It is an interesting record, as it gives information also as regards castes and religions. According to this return the number of persons in the Sinhalese districts was 399,408. These districts were Colombo, Galle, Tangalla, and Chilaw.

In the "Malabar" or Tamil districts—Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Jaffnapatam, Mannar, and Delft—the population numbered 195,697.

The Kandyan Provinces showed a population of 256,835 ; a total for the Island of 851,940.

In this return the slaves are included. There were 221 entered as descendants of slaves, 1,115 as free slaves, and 17,538 as "slaves," including 15,341 entered as slaves among "the Covias, Nalluas, and Pallas of Jaffna," 18 as "Slaves of the Burghers," and 78 as "formerly slaves of the late Dutch Government."

Between 1824 and 1871—the date of the first Census proper—several estimates of the population were prepared from headmen's returns, registers of births and deaths, &c., but these estimates were of course only approximate.

A detailed statement was prepared on the orders of the Governor, Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, in 1835, which showed a total population of 1,241,825. The heads under which the population was grouped were whites (9,121), free blacks (1,194,482), slaves (27,397),‡ and aliens and resident strangers (10,825).

The population was estimated to have increased rapidly during the following twelve years. The official estimate showed an increase of 105,000 between 1842 and 1843.

According to the Blue Book of 1847 the population was then over 1½ million.

Sir Emerson Tennent gives the population in 1857 as 1,697,975, exclusive of the military and their families, both Europeans and Malays, which together amounted to 5,430, and also of aliens and other casual strangers, who were estimated at another 25,000.

In 1868 was passed the first Census Ordinance, to provide for the taking of a Census from time to time, when the Governor with the advice of the Executive Council should deem necessary.

On March 26, 1871, was taken what may be described as the first of the series of regular Censuses, which have since been held at intervals

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* Bortolacci's "Ceylon," pp. 63, 64.
† Davy's "Interior of Ceylon," pp. 106–108.
‡ Slavery was finally abolished in 1844.

of ten years. The Census of 1871 was under the superintendence of Mr. W. J. McCarthy of the Civil Service. The report was written by Mr. G. S. Williams, also of the Civil Service.

The Census of 1871 showed a population of 2,405,287, an increase of about 300,000 over all former estimates.

At this Census no information was obtained as regards education, and no use was at the time made of the information obtained as regards age* and civil condition.

The Superintendent reported that one of the results of the Census had been a large increase in the number of registered marriages, as it was very widely believed that in consequence of the loss of life in the Franco-German war all the unmarried young men were to be transported to Europe.

The Censuses of 1881 and 1891 were taken by Mr. Lionel F. Lee, of the Ceylon Civil Service, under the Census Ordinance of 1880.

The Census of 1881 showed a population, excluding military and shipping, of 2,759,738. The Superintendent reports that " when the effects of immigration are considered, it can hardly be denied that the native population has not increased to the degree which might reasonably have been expected as a consequence of an increased food supply resulting from the restoration of irrigation works in all parts of the Island." A column, "Able to read, write, or both," was added to the schedule used at this Census, but the columns for birthplace and civil condition were omitted.

Since the Census of 1881 the Ceylon Census has always been taken on the same date as the Census of India.

At the Census of 1891 the population (exclusive of military and shipping) was 3,007,789. " The rate of increase in the previous decade," says the Superintendent, " was so considerably higher that the results of the Census of 1891 have caused some disappointment. Had the flow of immigrants continued at the same rate between 1881 and 1891 as between 1871 and 1881, the ratio of increase in the population would have been fully maintained, and it is to the decrease in the number of immigrants that the loss is due."

Information as regards birthplaces was again obtained in 1891.

Ordinance No. 9 of 1880 was found to be defective, and Census Ordinance, No. 9 of 1900, was passed giving greater powers to Census officers.

The Census of 1901 was taken under the superintendence of Mr. P. Arunachalam, of the Ceylon Civil Service. The population (exclusive of military and shipping) was 3,565,954, and every Province showed a substantial increase of population in the decade.

The Kandyan and Low-country Sinhalese were distinguished at this Census. Information was obtained as to the civil condition of the people, occupations were divided into principal and subsidiary, and earners distinguished from dependents. The ability of the people to read and write English as well as their mother tongue was also ascertained.

The Census of 1911 was held on March 10, 1911, ten years and ten days after the Census of 1901. The population enumerated was 4,110,367—an increase of nearly 71 per cent. since the 1871 Census—or exclusive of military and shipping 4,106,350. Additional information has been obtained at this Census as regards the Tamils and Moors, distinction being made between Ceylon and Indian Tamils and Moors.

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* The ages were subsequently tabulated in 1879 and published as an Appendix to the Report of 1881.

The information required as regards literacy necessitated the language which can be read and written being stated, which enables particulars to be given as to the number of persons who, though they cannot read and write their own language, are yet able to read and write another language. Information was also obtained as to ability to speak English.

The annexed statements show the population (exclusive of military and shipping) at the five Censuses of 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901, and 1911, by males and females, the increase per cent. during each decade, and the number of persons per square mile ; and similar information for the general population (exclusive of the estate population as well as the military and shipping) :—

Population, exclusive of the Military and the Shipping.

Year.	Total Number of Persons.	Males.	Females.	Percentage of Increase since previous Census.	Density of Population.
1871	2,400,380	1,280,129	1,120,251	—*	94†
1881	2,759,738	1,469,553	1,290,185	14·9	109
1891	3,007,789	1,593,376	1,414,413	9·0	119
1901	3,565,954	1,896,212	1,669,742	18·6	141
1911	4,106,350	2,175,030	1,931,320	15·1	162

Population, exclusive of the Military, Shipping, and Estates.

Year.	Total Number of Persons.	Males.	Females.	Percentage of Increase since previous Census.	Density of Population.
1871	2,276,726	1,198,767	1,077,959	—	89‡
1881	2,553,243	1,344,861	1,208,382	12	100
1891	2,745,527	1,437,946	1,307,581	7·5	108
1901	3,124,353	1,649,290	1,475,063	13·7	123
1911	3,592,883	1,896,472	1,696,411	15	141

* No Census previous to 1871.

† The density of the Island in 1871 is calculated on the area given for 1881.

‡ Area in 1871 is not known. Density has been calculated according to the area in 1881.

CHAPTER III.

THE LOCAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION.

Ancient Divisions of Ceylon — Administrative Changes — Ceylon compared with other Countries in Area, Population, and Density—Distribution of Population in the Provinces—in the Districts—Variations in Density of Population — Towns and Villages — Increase in Number of Villages — Urban and Rural Population — Population of the Towns — Houses — Families — Villages, Houses, and Families in each Province — in each District — Houses and Persons per Square Mile in Chief Headmen's Divisions — Number of Towns and Villages classified according to Population — Largest Villages in Ceylon — Density of Population in the Towns—Ceylon compared with Provinces and States of India.

THE ancient divisions of Ceylon were the *Pihiti rata*, which included the portion of the Island to the north of the Mahaweli-ganga and the Deduru-oya—that is to say, roughly, the Northern and North-Central Provinces, the former being generally in the possession of a Malabar dynasty—the Puttalam District, part of the Central Province, and the Trincomalee District, which, according to the *Rajavali*, contained 31 per cent. of the villages in Ceylon; the *Rohana rata*, bounded on the west and north by the Mahaweli-ganga and the Kalu-ganga and on the east and south by the sea, and corresponding to-day with those portions of the Central and Eastern Provinces not included in the Pihiti rata, the Sabaragamuwa, Uva, and Southern Provinces. This rata contained 52 per cent. of the villages in Ceylon; and the *Maya rata*, which was bounded on the north by the Deduru-oya, on the east by the Mahaweli-ganga and the mountains, on the south by the Kalu-ganga, on the west by the sea—the Western and North-Western Provinces, exclusive of the Puttalam District. The Maya rata contained 17 per cent. of the villages in Ceylon.

The proportion of villages in the Provinces included in these divisions has considerably altered.

The divisions comprised in the Pihiti rata to-day represent 16 per cent. of the population of Ceylon, the Rohana rata includes 47 per cent., and the Maya rata contains the comparatively large proportion of 37 per cent. of Ceylon's population.

The presence of the Western invader has produced this change in the distribution of the population, and the enormous development of the Provinces on the western coast of Ceylon.

Ribeiro, in his account of Ceylon on the arrival of the Portuguese, gives seven kingdoms as "making up the Island of Ceilan without including the kingdom of Jaffnapatao, for this did not consist of Chingalas but was a settlement of Malavars, and also the other kingdoms which used to exist in ancient times, such as those of Batecalou, Trequimale, and Jaula,* which had not been considered as such for many years."

* Yala.

The seven Sinhalese kingdoms he gives are the chief kingdom of Cotta. "This kingdom stretched from the sea at Chilao as far as the Grevayas,* a distance of fifty-two leagues, and embraced the best districts of the Island, viz., the Four Corlas, the Seven Corlas, Salpiti Corla, Reigan Corla, Pasdun Corla, the Galle Corla, Beligan, Corna† Corla, Cucuru‡ Corla, Atagan§ Corla, Mature, the Pagoda of Tanavare,|| the Grevayas, the whole of the kingdom of Dinavaca which is called the Two Corlas, as far as Adam's Peak, and the frontiers of Candia and Uva.

"The kingdom of Uva stretched from Adam's Peak to the frontiers of Batecalou and Candia. The kingdom of Candia adjoined the kingdom of Uva and stretched from Adam's Peak to the frontiers of Trequimale, the Bedas of the kingdom of Jafnapatao, and the Four and Seven Corlas, and is in the centre of the Island. The kingdom of Ceitavaca adjoined the frontiers of the Four Corlas and Dinavaca and included the territories of Sofregam. The kingdom of the Seven Corlas adjoined the frontiers of Candia, the Four Corlas, Chilao, and the territory of Mantota. The kingdom of Chilao stretched from Negumbo as far as the mountain of Grudumale¶ and adjoined the Seven Corlas."**

Valentyn†† gives the following list of the divisions of Ceylon in Dutch times. There were—

Six Kingdoms :—

Candi or Candia, also called Cande Ouda or High Mountain, Cotta, Sitavaca, Dambadan, Amoraypoere, Jaffanapatam.

Six Principalities :—

Oeva, Mature, Denuaca, also called Two Corles, Four Corles, Seven Corles, Matale.

Eleven Connties :—

Trinkenemale, Baticalo, Velasc, Bintene, Drembra, Panciapato, Veta, Putelan, Vallare, Gale, Billigam.

Four Marquisates :—

Duranura, Ratienura, Tripane, Accipate.

Nine Lordships :—

Alican, Colombo, Nigombo, Chilauw, Madampe, Calpentyn, Aripo, Man-Aar, The Pearl Fishery.

Besides this general division, there were subdivisions into 34 greater divisions and 33 lesser divisions, and the four separate divisions of Jaffnapatam: Welligamme, Timmoratie, Warmoratie, Pachealapalie.

These divisions are of interest, as showing those parts of the Island which became in turn important either for commerce or for defence against enemies from within and without. The districts which were commercially important from the days of the Portuguese invasion at

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* The Giruwa Dolosdas of the Sinhalese.

† Kolonna.

‡ Kukulu.

§ Atakalan.

|| Devundera.

¶ Kudiramalai, the Hippouros of the Greeks.

** Ribeiro's "History of Ceylon" (translation by Paul E. Pieris, C.C.S.) pp. 3 and 4.

†† Valentyn's "Beschryving Van Ouden Nieuw Oost Indien," pp. 19 21.

The following table compares Ceylon with other countries as regards area, population, and density :—

Table B.—Ceylon compared with other Countries in Area, Population, and Density.

Countries.	Area in English Square Miles.	Population.	Persons per Square Mile.	Areality in Acres.	Proximity in Yards.
Belgium . .	11,373	7,516,730	660·9	0·97	74
England and Wales . .	58,324	36,075,269	618·5	1·03	76
Netherlands . .	12,582	5,945,155	472·5	1·35	87
Germany with Alsace-Lorraine	208,780	64,903,423	310·9	2·06	107
Italy . .	110,623	33,910,000	306·5	2·09	108
Japan . .	175,540	50,751,919	289·1	2·21	111
China . .	1,532,420	409,000,000	266·9	2·40	116
Austria . .	115,903	28,567,898	246·5	2·60	120
Switzerland . .	15,976	3,741,971	234·2	2·73	124
France . .	207,054	39,252,245	189·5	3·38	137
India . .	1,773,168	315,001,099	177·6	3·60	142
Denmark . .	15,582	2,605,268	167·2	3·83	146
Hungary . .	125,430	20,850,700	166·2	3·85	147
Portugal . .	34,254	5,687,627	166·0	3.85	147
Ceylon . .	**25,331$\frac{7}{8}$**	***4,107,839**	**162·0**	**3·95**	**149**
Scotland . .	30,405	4,759,445	156·5	4·09	151
Ireland . .	32,360	4,381,951	135·4	4·73	163
Greece . .	24,977	2,631,952	105·4	6·07	184
Spain . .	194,783	19,503,068	100·1	6·39	189
Turkey in Europe . .	65,350	6,130,200	93·8	6·82	195
Russia in Europe . .	1,996,743	132,997,300	66·6	9·61	232
Federated Malay States . .	27,700	1,035,933	37·3	17·15	310
Siam . .	195,000	6,250,000	32·0	19·97	334
Sweden . .	172,876	5,476,441	31·7	20·20	336
United States of America . .	3,026,789	92,027,874	30·4	21·05	343
German East Africa . .	384,000	10,000,000	26·0	24·58	371
Egypt . .	400,000	10,000,000	25·0	25·60	378
Morocco . .	219,000	5,000,000	22·8	28·03	396
Norway . .	124,129	2,392,698	19·3	33·20	431
Persia . .	628,000	9,500,000	15·1	42·31	486
Victoria . .	87,884	1,315,551	15·0	42·75	489
New Zealand . .	104,751	1,070,652	10·2	62·62	593
Tasmania . .	26,215	191,211	7·3	87·74	700
New South Wales . .	309,472	1,646,734	5·3	120·27	820
Russia in Asia . .	6,207,662	24,082,200	3·9	164·97	960
Canada . .	3,730,000	7,151,869	1·9	333·79	1,366
South Australia . .	380,070	408,558	1·1	595·37	1,824
Queensland . .	670,500	605,813	0·9	708·34	1,990
West Australia . .	975,920	282,114	0·3	2,214·0	3,518

The thirty-nine countries included in this table are arranged according to the number of persons per square mile, in diminishing order. Ceylon comes fifteenth, and since the last Census has gone up one place and down one. Ceylon goes above Scotland with 5½ persons more to the square mile; Portugal, which was bracketed with Ceylon in 1901, now shows 4 persons more to the square mile, but the area of Portugal has been revised.

Ceylon is more thickly populated than either Scotland or Ireland.

* The military population is included in the Ceylon total, but not the shipping.

In respect of area of the countries given in this table, Ceylon has an area larger than Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, and Greece. The countries to which Ceylon most nearly approximates in area are Greece and Tasmania, which respectively show 57 and 155 persons less to the square mile. Ceylon has half as many people again as Greece, and a population more than twenty times as large as that of Tasmania.

Only New South Wales of the Australian Colonies has a population equal to one-third of the population of Ceylon, and the population of the whole Australian Commonwealth only exceeds that of Ceylon by 348,655.

In population Ceylon most nearly approaches Switzerland, which has 360,000 persons less, Scotland with 650,000 persons more, and Ireland with 275,000 more.

Ceylon has a larger population than Switzerland, Denmark, Greece, and Norway amongst the countries of Europe.

Compared with Belgium, which heads this table as the most densely populated country in the world, Ceylon is twice the size of Belgium, only half as populous, and has only one-fourth the number of persons to the square mile.

Comparisons with the chief States of India are shown in Table Q.

Compared with India as a whole, Ceylon has 15½ persons less to the square mile, and the proximity in yards between each person is 142 yards in India compared with 149 yards in Ceylon.

The number of persons to the square mile in the different Provinces of the Island varies considerably.

The following table shows the Provinces of Ceylon, their area, density of population in 1901 and 1911, and percentages of total area and total population (exclusive of military and shipping) :—

Table C.—The Provinces of Ceylon, their Area, Density of Population, and Percentages of Total Area and Total Population, 1911 (inclusive of Estates).

Province.	Area in Square Miles.	Persons.	Persons per Square Mile. 1901.	Persons per Square Mile. 1911.	Percentage of Total Area.	Percentage of Total Population.
Ceylon ..	**25,331⅞**	**4,106,350**	**141**	**162**	—	—
Western ..	1,432	1,106,321	643	773	5·6	26·9
Central ..	2,287¼	672,258	271	294	9·0	16·3
Northern ..	3,369⅞	369,651	101	110	13·3	9·0
Southern ..	2,146¼	628,817	264	293	8·4	15·3
Eastern ..	3,848¼	183,698	43	48	15·1	4·4
North-Western ..	3,016	434,116	118	144	11·9	10·5
North-Central ..	4,068	86,276	20	21	16·0	2·1
Uva ..	3,271½	216,692	59	66	12·9	5·2
Sabaragamuwa ..	1,892¾	408,521	169	216	7·5	9·9

The most striking feature of the table is the predominant position of the Western Province—the smallest Province in area, representing only 5·6 of the total area of the Island, it contains nearly 27 per cent. of the total population of Ceylon. The number of persons per square mile has increased by 130 during the decade, and there are two and

a half times as many persons to the square mile in this Province as in any other Province of Ceylon.

The next most thickly populated Province in Ceylon is the Central Province, which contains nearly 16½ per cent. of the total population in 9 per cent. of the total area, and 294 persons to the square mile.

In 1901 there was only one other Province in Ceylon with more than 200 persons to the square mile—the Southern. To this must now be added the Province of Sabaragamuwa, which has now 216 persons to the square mile, as against 169 to the square mile in 1901—an increase of 47 persons to the square mile.

Every Province shows an increase in density, the smallest increase (1) being in the North-Central Province, which is the largest Province in extent and has the smallest population.

The Eastern and North-Central Provinces—the two largest Provinces in the Island, and forming nearly one-third of Ceylon—contain only 6½ per cent. (4½ and 2 per cent. respectively) of the population and 48 and 21 persons respectively to the square mile.

A statement is annexed showing the population of each Province, exclusive of the estate, military, and shipping population :—

Table D.—The Provinces of Ceylon, their Area, Density of Population, and Percentages of Total Area and Total Population, 1911 (exclusive of Estates).

Province.	Area in Square Miles.	Persons.	Persons per Square Mile.		Percentage of Total Area.	Percentage of Total Population.
			1901.	1911.		
Ceylon ..	**25,331⅞**	**3,592,883**	**123**	**142**	—	—
Western ..	1,432	1,062,176	624	741	5·6	29·5
Central ..	2,287¼	392,941	147	172	9·0	10·9
Northern ..	3,369⅞	369,449	101	110	13·3	10·2
Southern ..	2,146¼	619,331	260	289	8·4	17·2
Eastern ..	3,848¼	183,317	43	48	15·1	5·1
North-Western ..	3,016	419,110	114	139	11·9	11·6
North-Central ..	4,068	86,276	20	21	16·0	2·4
Uva ..	3,271½	144,735	43	44	12·9	4·0
Sabaragamuwa ..	1,892¾	315,548	139	167	7·5	8·7

The large proportion which the estate population bears to the total population of the Central, Uva, and Sabaragamuwa Provinces is clearly shown by this table. The number of persons per square mile, excluding the estate population, falls from 294 to 172 in the Central Province, from 66 to 44 in Uva, and from 216 to 167 in Sabaragamuwa.

The relative importance of the Western Province is further exemplified. Exclusive of the estate population, it contains 29½ per cent. of the total population.

The Southern and North-Western Provinces account for larger percentages (17 and 11½ per cent. respectively) of the population than the Central (11 per cent.).

The most even distribution of population to area is found in the North-Western Province, which contains nearly 12 per cent. of the area of Ceylon and 10½ per cent. of the population inclusive of the estate population, and 11½ per cent. excluding the estate population.

The population, area, and density of population in 1901 and 1911 of the various Districts are shown in the following table :—

Table E.—Districts in Ceylon, their Population, Area, and Density, 1911.

District.	Population, 1911.	Area in Square Miles.	Persons per Square Mile. 1901.	Persons per Square Mile. 1911.
Western Province.				
Colombo Municipality	211,274	12	15,469	17,606
Colombo District (exclusive of the Municipality)	615,554	796¼	672	773
Kalutara District	279,493	623¾	369	448
Central Province.				
Kandy Municipality	29,927	8⅕		3,650
Kandy District (exclusive of the Municipality)	378,502	902⅕	414	419
Matale District	108,367	905⅛	100	120
Nuwara Eliya District	155,462	471⅛	331	330
Northern Province.				
Jaffna District	326,712	998⅝	238	327
Mannar District	25,603	904¾	26	28
Mullaittivu District	17,336	1,466½	13	12
Southern Province.				
Galle Municipality	39,960	6½		6,148
Galle District (exclusive of the Municipality)	251,041	645¾	396	389
Matara District	227,308	481¼	423	472
Hambantota District	110,508	1,012¾	104	109
Eastern Province.				
Batticaloa District	153,943	2,800¼	51	55
Trincomalee District	29,755	1,048	24	28
North-Western Province.				
Kurunegala District	306,807	1,843⅞	135	166
Puttalam District	39,665	909⅞	33	44
Chilaw District	87,644	262¼	284	334
North-Central Province.				
Anuradhapura District	86,276	4,068	20	21
Province of Uva.				
Badulla District	216,692	3,271½	59	66
Province of Sabaragamuwa.				
Ratnapura District	165,992	1,250¾	106	133
Kegalla District	242,529	642	294	378

The most populous District in the Island is the Colombo District, next comes the Kandy District. The only other Districts with populations of over 300,000 are the Jaffna and Kurunegala Districts.

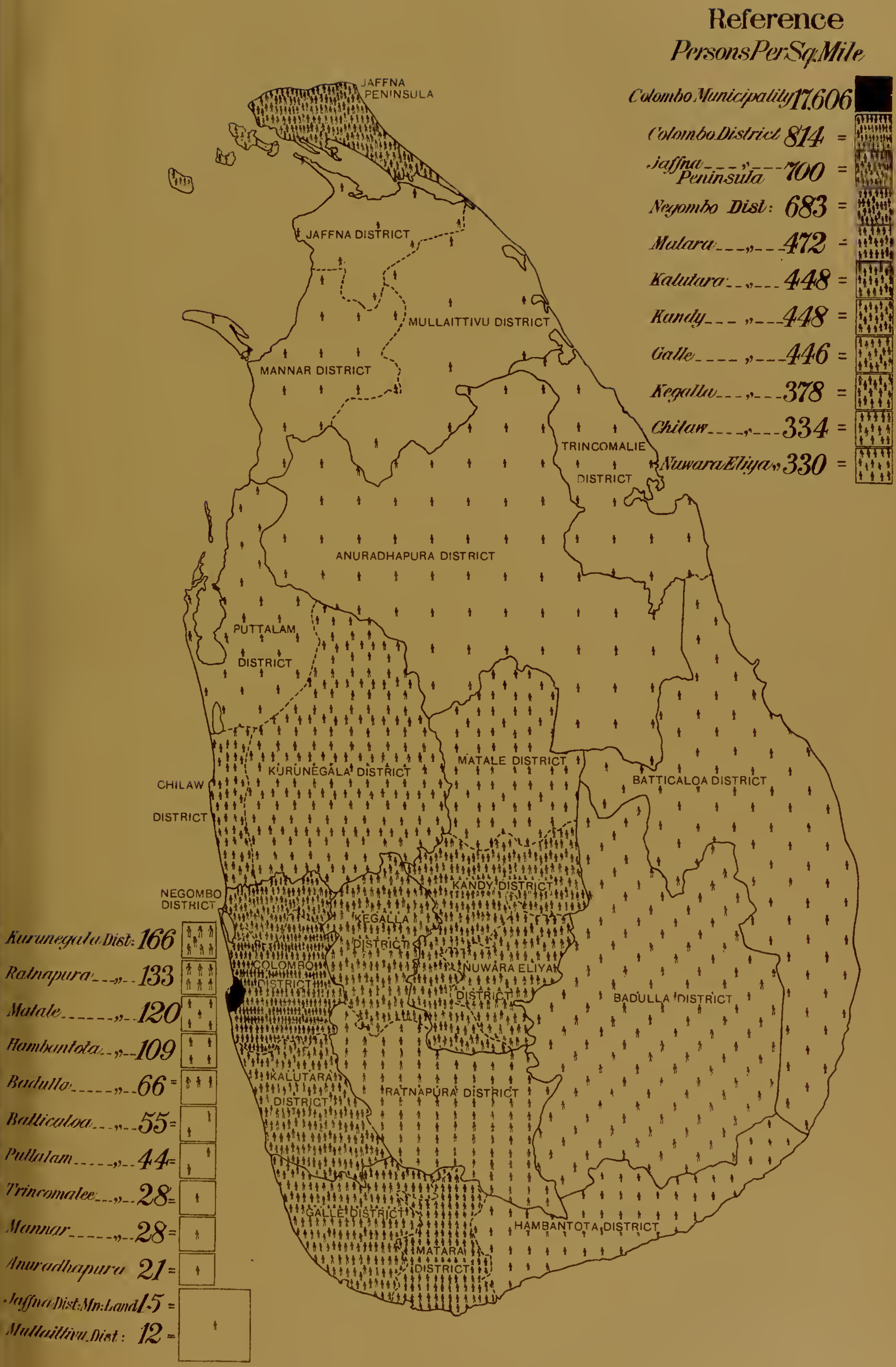
Districts with a population of over 200,000 in numerical order are Kalutara, Galle (exclusive of the Municipality), Kegalla, Matara, and Badulla.

There are five Districts with a population of over 100,000—Ratnapura, Nuwara Eliya, Batticaloa, Hambantota, and Matale.

Chilaw and Anuradhapura Districts have populations of over 85,000 ; the remaining Districts, Puttalam, Trincomalee, Mannar, and Mullaittivu, have less than 40,000.

The District with the smallest population is Mullaittivu (17,336), which is the only District, excluding estate population, to show a decrease in density of population during the decade. The population has actually increased, but not in proportion to the extent of the District, which has been added to since the last Census ; the number of persons to the square mile is the lowest for any District in Ceylon, viz., 12, as compared with 13 in 1901.

The Nuwara Eliya District shows a decrease of 1 person per square mile, including the estate population ; excluding this, the density of population has increased by 10 persons to the square mile.


Reference
Persons Per Sq. Mile
Colombo Municipality 17,606
Colombo District 814 =
Jaffna Peninsula " 700 =
Negombo Dist: 683 =
Matara " 472 =
Kalutara " 448 =
Kandy " 448 =
Galle " 446 =
Kegalla " 378 =
Chilaw " 334 =
Nuwara Eliya " 330 =
Kurunegala Dist: 166
Ratnapura " 133
Matale " 120
Hambantota " 109
Badulla " 66 =
Batticaloa " 55 =
Puttalam " 44 =
Trincomalee " 28 =
Mannar " 28 =
Anuradhapura 21 =
Jaffna Dist: Mn: Land 15 =
Mullaittivu Dist: 12 =
JAFFNA PENINSULA
JAFFNA DISTRICT
MULLAITTIVU DISTRICT
MANNAR DISTRICT
TRINCOMALIE DISTRICT
ANURADHAPURA DISTRICT
PUTTALAM DISTRICT
MATALE DISTRICT
KURUNEGALA DISTRICT
BATTICALOA DISTRICT
CHILAW DISTRICT
NEGOMBO DISTRICT
KANDY DISTRICT
KEGALLA DISTRICT
COLOMBO DISTRICT
NUWARA ELIYA DISTRICT
BADULLA DISTRICT
KALUTARA DISTRICT
RATNAPURA DISTRICT
GALLE DISTRICT
HAMBANTOTA DISTRICT
MATARA DISTRICT

A statement is annexed showing the population and density of each District (excluding the estate, military, and shipping population) :—

Table F.—Districts in Ceylon, their Population, Area, and Density (exclusive of Estates).

District.	Population, 1911.	Area in Square Miles.	Persons per Square Mile. 1901.	Persons per Square Mile. 1911.
Western Province.				
Colombo Municipality	211,274	12	15,469	17,606
Colombo District	602,177	796¼	659	756
Kalutara District	248,725	623¾	341	399
Central Province.				
Kandy Municipality	29,451	8⅕	2,399	3,592
Kandy District	231,240	902⅘	218	256
Matale District	77,181	905⅛	71	85
Nuwara Eliya District	55,069	471⅛	107	117
Northern Province.				
Jaffna District	326,510	998⅝	237	327
Mannar District	25,603	904¾	26	28
Mullaittivu District	17,336	1,466½	13	12
Southern Province.				
Galle Municipality	39,960	6½	5,718	6,148
Galle District	244,746	645¾	334	379
Matara District	224,117	481¼	416	466
Hambantota District	110,508	1,012¾	104	109
Eastern Province.				
Batticaloa District	153,943	2,800¼	50	55
Trincomalee District	29,374	1,048	24	28
North-Western Province.				
Kurunegala District	297,018	1,843⅞	132	161
Puttalam District	37,920	909⅞	33	42
Chilaw District	84,172	262¼	271	321
North-Central Province.				
Anuradhapura District	86,276	4,068	20	21
Province of Uva.				
Badulla District	144,735	3,271½	43	44
Province of Sabaragamuwa.				
Ratnapura District	135,537	1,250¾	92	108
Kegalla District	180,011	642	229	280

These figures show what a large proportion of the population of the Districts in the Central and Sabaragamuwa Provinces is estate population. The largest drop in the number of persons per square mile is in the Nuwara Eliya District, where, counting the estate population, the number of persons to the square mile is 330, and exclusive of the estates only 117 ; in the Kandy District the number of persons to the square mile is 419, but exclusive of estates only 256.

The following Districts show an increase since the last Census of 50 or more persons to the square mile inclusive and exclusive of the estate population :—Colombo, Kalutara, Jaffna, Chilaw, and Kegalla, and, exclusive of the estate population, Matara.

The Colombo Municipality shows an increase of 2,137 persons to the square mile.

The map annexed illustrates the comparative density of the population in the different districts in Ceylon ; it shows the average number of persons to the square mile, taking the ratio which the densities of the different Districts bear to the lowest rate of density for any District as the basis for calculation.

The actual distribution of population within the Districts varies considerably. For instance, in the Jaffna District, Valikamam

North, Valikamam West, and Vadamaradchi West all show densities of over 1,000 persons to the square mile, while the mainland is very sparsely populated, Karaichchi and Punaryn-Tunukkai showing only 17 and 14 persons respectively to the square mile.

The following rural divisions show a density of population of over 1,000 persons per square mile:—In the Western Province, the Kalutara totamune (1,339), and the area comprised by Alutkuru korale South, Colombo Mudaliyar's division, and Salpiti korale (1,306); in the Jaffna District, Valikamam North (1,346) and West (1,265) and Vadamaradchi West (1,065); the Matara Four Gravets beyond the Local Board limits (2,180); and in the Batticaloa District, Nindavur and Karaivaku pattus (1,076).

It is not unfrequently the case that districts adjoining thickly-populated areas are vast tracts of jungle and uncultivated land.

For instance, in the North-Central Province, in 1,200 square miles of the Tamankaduwa palata there are only 6 persons to the square mile, and the actual population of the largest Province in Ceylon is practically confined to a limited area surrounded by uninhabited forest.

The following Chief Headmen's divisions showed a density of less than 12 persons to the square mile :—The Kaddukulam pattu of the Trincomalee District, with an area of 463 square miles and a density of 11 persons to the square mile ; the Panawa pattu of the Batticaloa District, 9 persons to the square mile in an area of 473 square miles ; the Tamankaduwa palata in the North-Central Province, with 1,200 square miles, and the division of Vavuniya North, with 544½ square miles, have only 6 persons to the square mile ; and the Bintenna pattu of the Batticaloa District, which is 701 square miles in extent, has only 4 persons to the square mile.

In the Kaddukulam pattu there are two houses to every square mile ; in Bintenna, Panawa, Tamankaduwa, and the division of Vavuniya North there is only one house to every square mile.

These five divisions cover an extent of 3,381 square miles, with a population of only 22,126, or an extent larger than the Western and Sabaragamuwa Provinces combined, with a population less than that of Moratuwa and a fourth of that of Hewagam korale.

If these figures are compared with those for the density of Colombo town, the Western Province, and the Jaffna peninsula, it is clear that the Island presents marked contrasts in the distribution of its population.

At the Census of 1911 there were 32 towns and 13,829 villages in Ceylon.

The definition of a town given at the last Census has been followed at this. Every place which has a Municipality or Local Board, or is the seat of a Government Agent or Assistant Government Agent, or of a District Court, or which has been brought under the operation of the special system of deaths registration, has been treated as a town.

It is more difficult to define what is meant by a village. "A village in Ceylon," says Tennent,* " resembles a town in the phraseology of Scotland, where the smallest collection of houses, or even a single farmstead with its buildings, is enough to justify the appellation."

According to the sacred ordinances which regulate the conduct of the Buddhist priesthood, a " solitary house, if there be people, must be regarded as a village,† and all beyond it is the forest."

There is a Tamil proverb which says, "*A curry made without Vendayam is not a curry, a village without a market is not a village.*" ‡

Though the largest villages in the Tamil districts would pass this test, it could not be adopted for any Sinhalese districts, even though the Tamil market may be taken to correspond to the Sinhalese " bazaar," for many of the smaller Sinhalese villages are merely groups of huts in paddy fields, the villagers depending upon their paddy crop for their daily bread and for barter for curry stuffs and other goods with travelling pedlars or on visits to larger villages.

The real grounds for decision in the preparation of the village lists were the existence of a separate name, and the fact that the place bearing the name was inhabited. Where a separate name was preserved, and where there was any population, the place has been included as a village, and it is undoubtedly regarded as such by the people of the country.

There is very strong feeling in regard to the preservation of village names, and the name of a hamlet which has been completely

* Emerson Tennent's " Ceylon," Vol. I., p. 422.
† Spence Hardy's " Eastern Monachism," c. XIII., p. 133.
‡ வெந்தயம் போடாத கறியுங் கறியல்லச் சந்தையில்லாத ஊரும் ஊரல்ல.
Vendayam—Trigonella fœnum græcum.

over-shadowed by the growth of a large adjoining village is carefully preserved by the inhabitants, who regard it as the record of their past history, of their caste, and their rights to their lands.*

The village lists were carefully revised, and the number of villages, all of which are inhabited, is 959 more than at the last Census. The increase is practically accounted for by the figures for the Ratnapura District, which show an increase of 747. This is due to the hamlets being treated as separate villages at this Census, while at the last they were grouped together under the name of the largest hamlet, which was taken to be the village.

The urban population numbered 502,828, and the rural population 3,603,522. The urban population forms 12·2 per cent. of the total popnlation, and the rural population 87·8.

At the English Census of 1911 the proportion of persons in England and Wales living under urban conditions was 78 per cent., and under rural conditions 22 per cent.

There has been a marked increase in the tendency of the population to migrate towards the towns during the past decade : the urban population has increased by 23·1 per cent., the rural by 14·1 per cent.

A statement is annexed showing the proportion of urban and rural population in each Province of the Island :—

Table G.—Proportion of Urban and Rural Population in each Province.

Province.	Population.		Proportion to Total Population.	
	Urban.	Rural.	Urban.	Rural.
Ceylon	**502,828**	**3,603,522**	**12·2**	**87·7**
Western	271,295	835,026	24·5	75·4
Central	55,438	616,820	8·2	91·7
Northern	46,418	323,233	12·5	87·4
Southern	69,081	559,736	10·9	89·0
Eastern	19,503	164,195	10·6	89·3
North-Western	19,186	414,930	4·4	95·5
North-Central	5,361	80,915	6·2	93·7
Uva ..	8,534	208,158	3·9	96·0
Sabaragamuwa	8,012	400,509	1·9	98·0

As would naturally be expected, the largest proportion of urban population is found in the Western Province, nearly a quarter of the total population being found in the towns ; the next largest proportion of urban to rural population is in the Northern Province, where 12½ per cent. of the population live in towns. This proportion is almost entirely accounted for by the town population of Jaffna.

The smallest proportion of urban and largest proportion of rural population is found in the Province of Sabaragamuwa, where there are only nine towns and villages with a population of over 1,000. 98 per cent. of the population of this Province is rural.

There is a Tamil saying, " *What business has he in the village, now that he is grown up?* " †

Modern education is increasing the desire for town life and town employment, and the next decade will probably show a very marked increase in the urban population.‡

* *Vide* Chapter VII.

† உண்டு தின்று உயரமானால் ஊரிலே காரியமென்ன ?

‡ There is another Tamil proverb: "*If a crab gets fat it will not stay in its hole*" (நண்டு கொழுத்தால் வளையில் இராது).

The following table shows the population of the 32 towns in Ceylon compared with their population in 1901, and the percentages of increase or decrease :—

Table H.—Towns in Ceylon, Population, Percentages of Increase or Decrease.

Name of Town.	Population. 1901.	Population. 1911.	Percentage of Increase or Decrease.
Western Province.			
Colombo	159,385	211,274	32·5
Moratuwa	23,412	27,253	16·4
Negombo	11,040	12,960	17·3
Kalutara	11,500	13,006	13·1
Panadure	4,479	5,708	27·4
Minuwangoda	677	1,094	61·5
Central Province.			
Kandy	23.786	29,927	25·8
Gampola	3,791	5,521	45·6
Nawalapitiya	3,454	3,767	9·0
Hatton-Dikoya	2,341	3,025	29·2
Matale	4,951	5,792	16·9
Nuwara Eliya	5,494	7,406	34·8
Northern Province.			
Jaffna	33,861	40,441	19·4
Mannar	3,083	3,777	22·5
Mullaittivu	1,308	1,392	6·4
Vavuniya	562	808	42·7
Southern Province.			
Galle	37,165	39,960	7·5
Matara	11,880	13,851	16·5
Weligama	7,585	8,672	14·3
Hambantota	2,843	3,092	8·7
Tangalla	2,333	3,506	50·2
Eastern Province.			
Batticaloa	9,969	10,666	6·9
Trincomalee	10,316	8,837	— 14·3
North-Western Province.			
Kurunegala	6,483	8,163	25·9
Puttalam	5,115	5,990	17·1
Chilaw	4,168	5,033	20·7
North-Central Province.			
Anuradhapura	4,048	5,361	32·4
Province of Uva.			
Badulla	5,924	6,488	9·5
Bandarawela	550	1,531	178·3
Lunugala	350	515	47·1
Province of Sabaragamuwa.			
Ratnapura	4,084	5,476	34·0
Kegalla	2,340	2,536	8·3

The population of every town, with the sole exception of Trincomalee,* shows an increase, and in the case of Colombo, Panadure, Kandy, Nuwara Eliya, Gampola, Hatton, Mannar, Vavuniya, Tangalla, Kurunegala, Chilaw, Anuradhapura, Lunugala, Bandarawela, Ratnapura, and Minuwangoda the increase is over 20 per cent.

* *Vide* Chapter IV., p. 92.

Considerable difficulty has always been experienced in defining the term *house* to cover the great diversity of structures which are used for occupation in the East.

At the Indian Census it was found impossible to lay down any general principle as to what should be held to represent a house, and Provincial Superintendents were allowed to adopt whatever definition might seem best suited to local conditions. The tendency everywhere has been to define a house as the residence of a commensal family.

The main object of the definition adopted was to secure that every building which could be or was likely to be used for occupation should bear a Census number, the Census number being a guarantee that it would be visited and enumerated.

The definition adopted at the Ceylon Census of a house was "the dwelling-place of one or more families with their resident servants, *having a separate principal entrance* from the common way, space, or compound."

Pansalas, viharas, ambalams, and buildings not primarily intended to be used as dwelling-houses, though used as temporary quarters, were numbered, but were not included in the lists of inhabited houses.

The definition was very generally understood, and the figures show that the number of houses is, on the whole, very fairly accurate. The number of persons per house in each District varies from 4·2 persons per house in the Anuradhapura District to 5·6 persons per house in the Kegalla District.

There were, however, several local conditions which undoubtedly influenced the proportion of persons per house, and which render comparison with the figures for the last Census misleading. For instance, the number of occupied houses in the Northern Province has increased by 6,000, the increase in the Jaffna District alone being 5,840. The explanation lies partly in the fact that there has been a notable tendency in the Jaffna District for the married sons to leave the parental roof and to start establishments of their own, instead of living with their parents as was hitherto the custom.

In parts of Colombo there has been a large increase in the number of partitioned-off dwelling quarters, even amongst the poorest classes; these quarters were given separate numbers, and the result has been a very large increase in the number of houses in certain wards of Colombo, due, not to the erection of more houses, but to their subdivision.*

In the Matale District the number of occupied houses has apparently decreased by 1,500, but this is ascribed to erroneous numbering of houses at the Census of 1901, when every room inhabited by a separate family under one roof was given a number and treated as a separate house. The number of houses in this District has undoubtedly considerably increased.

The *family* was defined as "a number of persons living together in the same house and having their meals cooked for them in common."

The Tamils have a saying that "*When plates are interchanged intermarriages take place*,"† if persons can eat together they can intermarry, commensality being confined to persons of the same caste.

The figures for number of families were prepared from the house lists, which gave the name of the principal member of each family

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* *Vide* Chapter V., Colombo, St. Paul's Ward, p. 143.

† கலம் கலந்தால் குலம் கலக்கும்.

in the house, but in most cases one house one family was generally accepted as correct by the enumerator.

Information was not obtained as to the number of families on estates.

Probably the only means of obtaining anything like accurate information with regard to the number of families in Ceylon would be the insertion of an entry in the Census schedule for relationship to head of the family, as is given in the English Census schedules and in the first Census schedule ever issued in Ceylon (1871).

As it is, the information as regards families cannot be regarded as reliable, and has not been included in any of the Census tables.

The total number of occupied houses (exclusive of estates) at the Census was 691,899, situated in 13,829 villages and 32 towns. This would give on an hypothesis of equal distribution an average of 27·3 houses to the square mile and 23·5 acres to each house, and an average distance of 362 yards from one house to the next and 5·2 persons to each house.

The total number of families (exclusive of the estate population) was 761,226, giving an average for Ceylon of 4·7 persons to each family.

The following table compares the villages (including towns), houses, and families, at the Censuses of 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901, and 1911 :—

Table I.—Ceylon: Villages, Houses, Families, Persons, and Density, 1871–1911 (exclusive of Estates).

	1871.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
Number of Villages and Towns	12,069	12,438	13,088	12,898	13,861
Number of Houses ..	389,018	477,917	535,621	598,076	691,899
Number of Families ..	494,175	532,193	559,886	664,311	761,226
Number of Persons ..	2,277,828	2,553,243	2,745,527	3,124,353	3,592,883
Village per Square Mile ..	·48	·49	·52	·51	·54
Persons :—					
Per Village ..	189	205	210	242	223
Per House ..	5·9	5·3	5·1	5·2	5·2
Per Family ..	4·6	4·8	4·9	4·7	4·7
Houses per Square Mile ..	15·0	19·0	21·0	23·6	27·3
Area per House in Acres ..	41·7	34·0	30·3	27·1	23·5
Average Distance between two adjoining Houses in Yards	488	436	411	389	362

It is noteworthy that the number of persons per house and per family has remained the same at this Census and the last. While the number of villages per square mile has increased, the average number of persons per village is larger than at any other previous Census except the last, when there was a large decrease in the number of villages.

As has been shown, comparisons are likely to be fallacious, as the figures for houses and families depend so largely upon the enumerator's interpretation of the definitions used.

It may be safely asserted, however, that while changes in local customs affect these figures, the number of villages in Ceylon has changed but little during the last forty years. Few villages have been abandoned, except on account of an outbreak of disease, and the gradual movement towards the towns has but little affected the ordinary cultivator, who clings to his ancestral plot of land.

New villages have been created under tanks, as bazaars near estates, at junctions of roads, near railway stations, especially on the Northern

The North-Central Province has the smallest number of houses per square mile (5) and of persons per village (75).

The Eastern and Uva Provinces have respectively only 8·8 and 8·6 houses per square mile.

The largest number of persons per house is in the Province of Sabaragamuwa (5½).

Only two Provinces, the North-Western (4·6) and the North-Central (4·2), have less than 5 persons per house.

Sabaragamuwa shows also the largest number of persons per family (5·1); the only other Province with 5 persons per family is the Western Province. The lowest average of persons per family is found in the North-Central (4) and Eastern (4·1) Provinces.

The following table gives similar information to Table J in regard to each District :—

Table K.—Villages and Houses per Square Mile and Persons per Village, House, and Family in each District of Ceylon (exclusive of Estates), 1911.

District.	Villages per Square Mile.	Persons per Village.	Houses per Square Mile.	Persons per House.	Persons per Family.
Western Province.					
Colombo Municipality ..	—	—	3,222	5·5	5·2
Colombo District ..	1·3	532	140	5·4	5·0
Kalutara District ..	·8	472	73	5·5	4·9
Central Province.					
Kandy Municipality ..	—	—	639	5·6	5·4
Kandy District ..	1·0	246	49	5·2	4·7
Matale District ..	·5	157	15	5·7	4·3
Nuwara Eliya District ..	·7	141	24	4·9	4·4
Northern Province.					
Jaffna District ..	·3	1,131	61	5·4	4·5
Mannar District ..	·3	96	6	5·0	4·8
Mullaittivu District ..	·2	57	3	4·5	4·0
Southern Province.					
Galle Municipality ..	—	—	1,123	5·5	5·5
Galle District ..	1·2	320	76	5·0	4·7
Matara District ..	·8	526	89	5·5	4·9
Hambantota District ..	·4	271	22	5·0	4·9
Eastern Province.					
Batticaloa District ..	·1	393	10	5·5	4·0
Trincomalee District ..	·1	176	6	4·9	4·4
North-Western Province.					
Kurunegala District ..	1·7	94	36	4·5	4·3
Puttalam District ..	·3	114	8	5·4	4·7
Chilaw District ..	1·1	269	66	4·9	4·5
North-Central Province.					
Anuradhapura District ..	·3	75	5	4·2	4·0
Province of Uva.					
Badulla District ..	·3	156	9	5·2	4·3
Province of Sabaragamuwa.					
Ratnapura District ..	1·0	102	20	5·4	5·1
Kegalla District ..	1·5	181	50	5·6	5·2

NORTHERN PROVINCE

DENSITY MAP.

Jaffna District Peninsula	..	700 persons to the square mile		
Mannar District	..	28	,,	,,
Jaffna District Mainland	..	15	,,	,,
Mullaittivu District	..	12	,,	,,

		No. of Villages per Square Mile.		No. of Persons per Village.		Average Distance between Villages.
Jaffna District Peninsula	..	·42	..	1,443	..	1·67 miles
Jaffna District Mainland	..	·11	..	129	..	3·19 miles
Mannar District	..	·25	..	96	..	2·14 miles
Mullaittivu District	..	·18	..	57	..	2·51 miles

Chief Headman's Division.	Houses per Square Mile (exclusive of Estates).	Persons per Square Mile. Inclusive of Estates.	Persons per Square Mile. Exclusive of Estates.
Kandy District.			
Harispattu	155	861	777
Pata Dumbara	83	601	445
Pata Hewaheta	67	512	326
Tumpane	58	328	309
Uda Bulatgama	14	394	77
Uda Dumbara	20	120	94
Uda Nuwara	104	584	541
Uda Palata	51	538	280
Yati Nuwara	135	913	699
Matale District.			
Matale South	36	324	207
Matale East	9	74	48
Matale North	9	61	53
Nuwara Eliya District.			
Kotmale	12	354	63
Uda Hewaheta	35	292	171
Walapane	28	198	122
Jaffna District.			
Jaffna Division (including Local Board)	503	2,926	2,926
Valikamam East	120	662	662
Valikamam North	235	1,346	1,346
Valikamam West	244	1,265	1,265
Vadamaradchi East	30	119	119
Vadamaradchi West	177	1,065	1,065
Tenmaradchi	95	458	458
Pachchilaippali	14	69	67
Karachchi	3	17	17
Punaryn-Tunukkai	3	14	14
The Islands	123	571	571
Delft	40	202	202
Mannar District.			
Mannar Island	47	230	230
Mantai	2	12	12
Musali	7	31	31
Mullaittivu District.			
Maritime Pattu	3	15	15
Vavuniya North	1	6	6
Vavuniya South	4	16	16
Galle District.			
Galle Four Gravets	182	945	926
Gangaboda Pattu	54	292	266
Wellaboda Pattu	182	914	902
Talpe Pattu	119	587	587
Bentota-Walallawiti Korale	66	347	337
Hinidum Pattu	8	38	38
Matara District.			
Matara Four Gravets	407	2,180	2,180
Wellaboda Pattu	170	921	921
Weligam Korale	104	550	550
Morawak Korale	24	133	113
Kandaboda Pattu	80	398	398
Gangaboda Pattu	94	487	487
Hambantota District.			
Hambantota Four Gravets } Magam Pattu }	4	18	18
Giruwa Pattu East	20	106	106
Giruwa Pattu West	71	346	346

Chief Headman's Division.	Houses per Square Mile (exclusive of Estates).	Persons per Square Mile. Inclusive of Estates.	Persons per Square Mile. Exclusive of Estates.
Batticaloa District.			
Manmunai Pattu North	49	232	232
Manmunai Pattu South	15	109	109
Bintenna Pattu	1	4	4
Chammanturai Pattu	7	47	47
Eravur and Koralai Pattus	9	48	48
Eruvil and Porativu Pattus	8	49	49
Nindavur and Karaivaku Pattus	189	1,076	1,076
Akkarai Pattu	9	50	50
Panawa Pattu	1	9	9
Trincomalee District.			
Kaddukulam Pattu	2	11	11
Koddiyar Pattu	7	37	37
Tampalakamam Pattu	4	21	20
Kurunegala District.			
Hiriyala Hatpattu	21	89	87
Weudawili Hatpattu	68	332	297
Dambadeni Hatpattu	67	335	328
Dewamedi Hatpattu	43	196	195
Katugampola Hatpattu	44	206	202
Wanni Hatpattu	17	72	72
Puttalam District.			
Puttalam Division	14	70	60
Demala Hatpattu	3	17	17
Kalpitiya Division	7	50	49
Chilaw District.			
Pitigal Korale North	22	106	96
Pitigal Korale Central	80	409	391
Pitigal Korale South	158	805	793
Anuradhapura District.			
Nuwaragam Palata	5	22	22
Hurulu Palata	5	22	22
Kalagam Palata	14	58	58
Tamankaduwa Palata	1	6	6
Badulla District.			
Yatikinda	28	285	126
Bintenna	6	30	28
Buttala	3	18	14
Wellawaya	3	40	13
Udukinda	34	244	187
Wellassa	6	38	36
Wiyaluwa	21	157	113
Ratnapura District.			
Kuruwiti Korale	29	195	174
Nawadun Korale	27	196	142
Atakalan Korale	22	141	112
Kadawata Korale	18	128	86
Kolonna Korale	13	77	65
Kukul Korale	9	61	50
Meda Korale	18	95	88
Kegalla District.			
Paranakuru Korale	102	678	568
Beligal Korale	50	307	286
Galboda Korale	82	481	458
Kinigoda Korale	88	497	479
Alutgam Korale	21	227	115
Dehigampal Korale	52	459	276
Panawal Korale	35	360	196
Lower Bulatgama	22	319	121

There is a considerable difference between the population inclusive and exclusive of estates in some of the Chief Headmen's divisions in the planting districts—notably in Kotmale (Nuwara Eliya District),

where, including the estate population there are 354 persons to the square mile and excluding estates, only 63; the difference is still more marked in Uda Bulatgama (Kandy District), 394 with estates and 77 without.

The Yatikinda and Wellawaya divisions in Uva show respectively 285 and 40 persons to the square mile if the estate population is included, and 126 and 13 persons if the estates are omitted.

Particulars with regard to the number of houses, population, sex, race, religion, and literacy of every town and village are given in the village statistics published in a separate volume.

The following table shows the number of towns and villages in each Province and District in eleven classes according to population:—

Table M.—Number of Towns and Villages according to Population in 1911.

1.—With a Population of less than 2,000.

Province and District.	Towns and Villages.	1 to 50.	50 to 100.	100 to 500.	500 to 1,000.	1,000 to 2,000.
CEYLON	**13,861**	**3,932**	**2,829**	**5,650**	**947**	**364**
Western Province ..	1,547	37	100	837	372	175
Central Province.. ..	1,689	255	344	992	86	5
Northern Province ..	752	344	108	139	54	52
Southern Province ..	1,538	162	214	828	225	88
Eastern Province ..	484	181	97	132	34	20
North-Western Province ..	3,635	1,463	925	1,171	54	16
North-Central Province ..	1,086	464	366	254	1	—
Province of Uva ..	875	218	218	390	47	1
Province of Sabaragamuwa ..	2,255	808	457	907	74	7
Western Province.						
Colombo Municipality ..	1	—	—	—	—	—
Colombo District ..	1,057	22	62	555	280	119
Kalutara District ..	489	15	38	282	92	56
Central Province.						
Kandy District	895	87	152	576	70	5
Matale District	456	96	112	235	12	—
Nuwara Eliya District ..	338	72	80	181	4	—
Northern Province.						
Jaffna District	254	23	17	64	47	50
Mannar District	229	129	54	40	3	1
Mullaittivu District ..	269	192	37	35	4	1
Southern Province.						
Galle District	767	72	99	447	117	30
Matara District	385	22	42	192	72	41
Hambantota District ..	386	68	73	189	36	17
Eastern Province.						
Batticaloa District ..	366	134	75	92	30	18
Trincomalee District ..	118	47	22	40	4	2
North-Western Province.						
Kurunegala District ..	3,059	1,270	787	971	27	3
Puttalam District ..	281	122	90	63	5	—
Chilaw District	295	71	48	137	22	13
North-Central Province.						
Anuradhapura District ..	1,086	464	366	254	1	—
Province of Uva.						
Badulla District	875	218	218	390	47	1
Province of Sabaragamuwa.						
Ratnapura District ..	1,274	656	233	357	24	3
Kegalla District	981	152	224	550	50	4

Table M.—Number of Towns and Villages according to Population in 1911—*contd.*

2.—With a Population of 2,000 and over.

Province and District.		Towns and Villages.	2,000 to 5,000.	5,000 to 10,000	10,000 to 20,000	20,000 to 50,000	50,000 to 100000	Over 100000
CEYLON	..	**13,861**	**111**	**19**	**4**	**4**	—	**1**
Western Province	..	1,547	20	2	2	1	—	1
Central Province	..	1,689	3	3	—	1	—	—
Northern Province	..	752	53	1	—	1	—	—
Southern Province	..	1,538	18	1	1	1	—	—
Eastern Province	..	484	13	6	1	—	—	—
North-Western Province	..	3,635	3	3	—	—	—	—
North-Central Province	..	1,086	—	1	—	—	—	—
Province of Uva	..	875	—	1	—	—	—	—
Province of Sabaragamuwa		2,255	1	1	—	—	—	—
Western Province.								
Colombo Municipality	..	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
Colombo District	..	1,057	16	1	1	1	—	—
Kalutara District	..	489	4	1	1	—	—	—
Central Province.								
Kandy District	..	895	3	1	—	1	—	—
Matale District	..	456	—	1	—	—	—	—
Nuwara Eliya District	..	338	—	1	—	—	—	—
Northern Province.								
Jaffna District	..	254	51	1	—	1	—	—
Mannar District	..	229	2	—	—	—	—	—
Mullaittivu District	..	269	—	—	—	—	—	—
Southern Province.								
Galle District	..	767	1	—	—	1	—	—
Matara District	..	385	14	1	1	—	—	—
Hambantota District	..	386	3	—	—	—	—	—
Eastern Province.								
Batticaloa District	..	366	11	5	1	—	—	—
Trincomalee District	..	118	2	1	—	—	—	—
North-Western Province.								
Kurunegala District	..	3,059	—	1	—	—	—	—
Puttalam District	..	281	—	1	—	—	—	—
Chilaw District	..	295	3	1	—	—	—	—
North-Central Province.								
Anuradhapura District	..	1,086	—	1	—	—	—	—
Province of Uva.								
Badulla District	..	875	—	1	—	—	—	—
Province of Sabaragamuwa.								
Ratnapura District	..	1,274	—	1	—	—	—	—
Kegalla District	..	981	1	—	—	—	—	—

A comparison of the figures in this table with those for the last Census shows an actual increase for the Island of 170 in the number of villages with a population of less than 50; but the increase in this class of villages in the Ratnapura District alone is 530, and, with the exception of the Mannar and Batticaloa Districts, every other District in the Island shows a decrease in the number of villages with a population of less than 50. The decrease in the number of these villages is due principally to the general all-round increase in population; the increase in the Ratnapura District has been already explained.*

* *Vide* p. 24, *supra.*

The largest increases are in the classes 1,000 to 2,000 and over.

The Western and Southern Provinces show increases of 39 and 26 in the number of villages with a population between 1,000 and 2,000. The increase in the Southern Province is chiefly due to an increase of 13 in the Hambantota District, where the villages in this class have increased from 4 to 17.*

The Jaffna District shows an increase of 9 in the number of villages with a population of 2,000 to 5,000, due to concentration of population in the peninsula.

The only District which contains no town or village with a population of more than 2,000 is Mullaittivu.

The annexed table shows the village containing the largest population in each District in 1901 and 1911 :—

Table N.—Village with the largest Population in each District.

Province and District.	1901. Village with the largest Population.	1901. Population.	1911. Village with the largest Population.	1911. Population.
Western.				
Colombo ..	Wellawatta ..	4,253	Wellawatta ..	6,232
Negombo ..	Horampella ..	2,225	Horampella ..	2,553
Kalutara ..	Potupitiya ..	2,137	Talpitiya ..	3,084
Central.				
Kandy ..	Atabage Udagama	1,579	Atabage Udagama ..	2,081
Matale ..	Aluvihare ..	800	Aluvihare ..	826
Nuwara Eliya ..	Talawakele ..	745	Talawakele ..	882
Northern.				
Jaffna ..	Chankanai ..	5,942	Chankanai ..	6,661
Mannar ..	Kidavedditoppu ..	1,590	Erukkalampiddi ..	2,194
Mullaittivu ..	Mulliyavalai ..	886	Putukkudiyiruppu ..	833
Southern.				
Galle ..	Talpe ..	2,007	Talpe ..	2,025
Matara ..	Dewundara South	3,606	Dewundara South ..	4,086
Hambantota ..	Kammaldeniya North ..	1,696	Getamanne ..	3,120
Eastern.				
Batticaloa ..	Kattankudi ..	9,420	Kattankudi ..	9,343
Trincomalee ..	Periyakiniyai ..	2,180	Periyakiniyai ..	2,259
North-Western.				
Kurunegala ..	Galbodagama ..	830	Makandura ..	1,138
Puttalam ..	Kalpitiya Malay Quarters ..	708	Periyakudiyiruppu ..	966
Chilaw ..	Ulhitiyawa ..	2,073	Ulhitiyawa ..	2,391
North-Central.				
Anuradhapura..	Tammuttegama ..	469	Tammuttegama ..	518
Uva.				
Badulla ..	Nagollagama ..	992	Nagollagama ..	1,118
Sabaragamuwa.				
Ratnapura ..	Balangoda ..	1,718	Dumbara ..	1,500
Kegalla ..	Dedigama ..	1,652	Dedigama ..	1,920

* *Vide* Chapter IV., pp. 86 to 89.

In only six instances has the village which had the largest population in 1901 not the first place in 1911.

Wellawatta will not appear in any similar table at the next Census, for it now forms part of the Colombo Municipality, having been included in Municipal limits from November, 1911.

It is noticeable that the village with the largest population in the North-Central Province has a population of only 518, and the largest villages in Puttalam, Mullaittivu, Matale, and Nuwara Eliya Districts have less than 1,000 inhabitants.

Table O gives the largest villages in Ceylon with a population of over 3,000 :—

Table O.—The largest Villages in Ceylon.

No.	Village.	District.	Population.
1	Kattankudi	Batticaloa	9,343
2	Eravur	do.	7,365
3	Karunkoddittivu	do.	6,878
4	Chankanai	Jaffna	6,661
5	Chayntamarutu	Batticaloa	6,638
6	Wellawatta	Colombo	6,232
7	Chammanturai	Batticaloa	5,553
8	Ṇintavur	do.	4,961
9	Karaitivu West	Jaffna	4,888
10	Karaitivu East	do.	4,830
11	Alaveddi	do.	4,657
12	Kalmunaikkudi	Batticaloa	4,621
13	Elalai	Jaffna	4,318
14	Karaveddi West	do.	4,222
15	Dewundara South	Matara	4,086
16	Chulipuram	Jaffna	3,976
17	Galkissa	Colombo	3,944
18	Kondavil	Jaffna	3,914
19	Uduvil	do.	3,701
20	Chunnakam	do.	3,690
21	Ragama	Colombo	3,675
22	Dikwella (Sinhalese)	Matara	3,625
23	Tellippalai East	Jaffna	3,609
24	Batticotta West	do.	3,558
25	Manippay	do.	3,495
26	Batticotta East	do.	3,407
27	Tanakkarakkurichchi	do.	3,381
28	Denepitiya	Matara	3,264
29	Matakal	Jaffna	3,215
30	Urumpirai	do.	3,172
31	Arappattai	Batticaloa	3,168
32	Getamanno	Hambantota	3,120
33	Kokkuvil East	Jaffna	3,096
34	Talpitiya	Kalutara	3,084
35	Valvettitturai	Jaffna	3,032
36	Puloli West	do.	3,028

Eight out of the thirty-six are in Sinhalese Districts, and of these three are in the Colombo District (Wellawatta, Galkissa, and Ragama) and three in the Matara District. The rest are all in the Jaffna (20) and Batticaloa (8) Districts, the largest village of all being a Moor village, and the next two Moor and Tamil villages, close to Batticaloa town. Kattankudi, with a population of 9,343, would come between Batticaloa and Trincomalee, or tenth amongst the towns of Ceylon.

The largest Jaffna village is Chankanai, famous for its market.

The following table gives information as to the area, population, houses, number of houses and persons per acre, and number of persons per house for the various wards of the Colombo Municipality and the principal towns.

Table P.—Colombo Municipality and other Principal Towns; Area, Population, Houses, and Persons, 1911.

Town.	Area in Acres.	Population.	Houses.	Houses per Acre.	Persons per Acre.	Persons per House.
Colombo Municipality ..	7,634	211,274	38,667	5·0	27·6	5·4
Fort Ward	220	3,497	170	·7	15·9	20·5
Pettah Ward ..	92	7,967	1,411	15·3	86·6	5·6
St. Paul's Ward ..	143	24,732	5,328	37·2	172·9	4·6
St. Sebastian Ward ..	116	11,543	2,137	18·4	99·5	5·4
Kotahena Ward ..	1,643	40,556	7,369	4·4	24·6	5·5
New Bazaar Ward ..	289	22,306	4,361	15·0	77·1	5·1
Maradana Ward ..	1,297	43,743	7,815	6·0	33·7	5·6
Slave Island Ward ..	313	20,979	4,156	13·2	67·0	5·0
Kollupitiya Ward ..	1,928	25,036	3,813	1·9	12·9	6·5
New Extensions Ward ..	1,593	10,915	2,107	1·3	6·8	5·1
Negombo Local Board ..	4,640	12,960	2,434	·5	2·7	5·3
Kalutara Local Board ..	1,066⅔	13,006	2,361	2·2	12·1	5·5
Moratuwa Local Board ..	5,248	27,253	4,427	·8	5·1	6·1
Kandy Municipality ..	5,248	29,451	5,239	1·0	5·6	5·6
Matale Local Board ..	160	5,792	1,097	6·8	36·2	5·2
Nuwara Eliya Local Board ..	3,120	7,406	1,168	·3	2·3	6·3
Jaffna Local Board ..	4,800	40,441	6,866	1·4	8·4	5·8
Galle Municipality ..	4,160	39,960	7,299	1·7	9·6	5·4
Matara Local Board ..	960	13,851	2,366	2·4	14·4	5·8
Hambantota Local Board ..	960	3,092	570	·5	3·2	5·4
Batticaloa Local Board ..	800	10,666	1,969	2·4	13·3	5·4
Trincomalee Local Board ..	1,920	8,837	1,891	·9	4·6	4·6
Kurunegala Local Board ..	2,560	8,163	1,688	·6	3·1	4·8
Puttalam Local Board ..	5,520	5,990	1,300	·2	1·0	4·6
Chilaw Local Board ..	480	5,033	959	2·0	10·4	5·2
Anuradhapura Local Board ..	5,920	5,361	1,116	·1	·9	4·8
Badulla Local Board ..	1,940	6,488	1,282	·6	3·3	5·0
Ratnapura Local Board ..	1,440	5,476	852	·5	3·8	6·4
Kegalla Local Board ..	560	2,536	413	·7	4·5	6·1

The density of population in Colombo is dealt with in Chapter V.* It is noticeable that the number of persons per house in the towns is much higher than in the Districts.

Excluding the divisions of Colombo, the largest number of persons per house in any town is in Ratnapura (6·4), while Nuwara Eliya (6·3) and Kegalla (6·1) both show an average of over 6 persons per house.

The town with the lowest number of persons per house is Puttalam (4·6), while Kurunegala (4·8), Anuradhapura (4·8), and Trincomalee (4·6) show less than 5 persons per house.

The density of population per acre is greatest in Matale town,† which has a very thickly populated bazaar with 36 persons and 7 houses to the acre; other towns with more than 10 persons and 2 houses to the acre are Colombo (28 persons and 5 houses to the acre), Matara (14 persons and 2 houses), Batticaloa (13 persons and 2 houses), Kalutara (12 persons and 2 houses), and Chilaw (10 persons and 2 houses). Anuradhapura has the lowest number of houses (·1) and persons (·9) to the acre.

The following table compares Ceylon in regard to area, population, and density with the various Provinces and States of India for which figures are available.

* *Vide* Chapter V., the Town of Colombo, p. 140, *infra*.

† It is, however, doubtful whether the area of Matale Local Board is correctly given, as the area has not been surveyed, and only an estimate of the extent has been given.

Table Q.—Ceylon compared with Provinces and States of India in Area and Density of Persons, Villages, and Houses.

Province, State, or Agency.	Area in Square Miles.	Villages, Townships, &c.	Occupied Houses.	Population, 1911.	Average Number of: Persons per Square Mile.	Villages, &c., per Square Mile.	Persons per Village, &c.	Houses per Square Mile.	Persons per Occupied House.
CEYLON ..	25331	13861	691899	4106350	162	·5	223	27	5
INDIA* ..	1389496	537727	49195890	244267542	176	·4	454	35	5
Provinces.									
Ajmer-Merwara ..	2711	748	122832	501395	185	·3	670	45	4
Andamans and Nicobars ..	3143	147	3669	26459	8	·05	180	1	7
Baluchistan ..	54228	1570	84689	414412	8	·03	264	2	5
Bengal ..	115792	125772	10287416	52668269	455	1·0	419	89	5
Bombay (Presidency) ..	123059	26256	3890927	19672642	160	·2	749	32	5
Bombay ..	75993	21259	3211050	16113042	212	·3	758	42	5
Aden ..	80	3	5477	46165	577	·04	15388	68	8
Sind ..	46986	4994	674400	3513435	75	·1	704	14	5
Burma ..	229839	37741	2471597	12115217	53	·16	321	11	5
Central Provinces and Berar ..	399811	39117	2938534	13916308	139	·4	356	29	5
Coorg ..	1582	495	33747	174976	111	·3	353	21	5
Eastern Bengal and Assam ..	99103	108719	6456420	34018527	343	1·0	313	65	5
Madras ..	142330	54095	7829702	41405404	291	·4	765	55	5
N.-W. F. Province	13418	3052	435161	2196933	164	·2	720	32	5
Punjab ..	97213	33560	4427095	19974956	205	·3	595	46	4
United Provinces..	107267	106455	10214101	47182044	440	1·0	443	95	5
States and Agencies.									
Baluchistan States	80410	2123	83978	420291	5	·03	198	1	5
Baroda State ..	8182	3096	506297	2032798	248	·4	657	62	4
Bengal States ..	29955	21481	895690	4538161	151	·7	211	30	5
Bombay States ..	63888	14751	1625667	7411675	116	·2	502	25	5
Central India Agency ..	77367	33100	2038155	9356980	121	·4	283	26	5
Central Provinces States ..	31168	8668	388571	2117002	68	·3	244	12	5
Eastern Bengal and Assam States ..	12542	3795	114136	575835	46	·3	152	9	5
Hyderabad State..	—	—	—	13374676	—	—	—	—	—
Kashmir State ..	84432	8926	553124	3158126	37	·1	354	7	6
Madras States (including Cochin and Travancore)	10549	4781	913519	4811841	456	·5	1006	87	5
Cochin ..	1361	282	163286	918110	675	·2	3256	120	6
Travancore ..	7594	3990	663153	3428975	452	·5	859	87	5
Mysore State ..	29475	16831	1158004	5806193	197	·5	345	39	5
North-West Frontier Provinces (Agencies, &c.)..	—	—	—	1622094	—	—	—	—	—
Punjab States ..	36532	11014	948473	4212794	115	·3	382	26	4
Rajputana Agency	128987	32404	2438346	10530432	82	·2	325	19	4
Sikkim State ..	2818	315	16733	87920	31	·1	279	6	5
United Provinces States ..	5079	2191	170588	832036	164	·4	380	34	5

* The figures here given for India are for Provinces only, and do not include States and Agencies.

In density of population Ceylon exceeds the Bombay Presidency—in 1901 Bombay showed 10 persons more to the square mile than Ceylon, there are now 2 less—and is three times as densely populated as Burma. Bengal has a density of population nearly three times that of Ceylon, while Madras is nearly twice as densely populated and has twice as many houses to the square mile. Comparing Ceylon with the Indian States, &c., which most nearly approximate in population, the density of population in Sind (with 3½ million people) is half that of Ceylon, Kashmir (with 3 million) is less than one-fourth as densely populated, while Travancore (3½ million) has nearly three times as many persons to the square mile.

It is noteworthy that 5 persons to an occupied house is the average for practically the whole of India and Ceylon. The only provinces in India with an average of less than 5 persons to a house are Ajmer (with a population of half a million) and the Punjab, and amongst the States, Baroda (with a population of 2 million), the Punjab States, and the Rajputana Agency.

CHAPTER IV.

MOVEMENT OF POPULATION.

DISTRICT HISTORIES.

Population—Decline in rate of Increase of Estate Population—Difference between Estimated and Actual Population—Increase of Population in the Provinces—in the Districts—inclusive of and Exclusive of Estate Population — District Histories — Colombo — Negombo — Moratuwa — Kalutara — Kandy Town and District — Matale — Nuwara Eliya — Jaffna — Mannar — Madu Pilgrimage — Mullaittivu — Galle Town and District — Matara — Hambantota — Batticaloa — Trincomalee —Kurunegala — Puttalam — St. Anna's Pilgrimage — Chilaw — North-Central Province—Uva—Ratnapura—Adam's Peak—Kegalla.

In the ordinary course of its history every country should show an increasing population. It is only the influence of one of the three natural checks on population—war, pestilence, and famine—which, as a rule, is responsible for a decrease in population.

The population of Ceylon at the Census of 1911 was 4,110,367, including the military and shipping.

For the purpose of comparison, &c., the military and shipping population will be omitted, as they are both fluctuating and uncertain elements in the population.

Exclusive of military and shipping, the population of Ceylon at the 1911 Census was 4,106,350, which was an increase of 540,396 persons, or of 15·15 per cent. on the figures of 1901.

Excluding the estate population, which is almost entirely composed of an immigrant population from South India, the population of Ceylon in 1911 was 3,592,883, which was an increase of 468,530 persons, or of 15 per cent. on the general population of 1901.

These increases must be regarded as very satisfactory. They compare very favourably with the increases of population during the decade in England and Wales, which showed an increase of 10·9 per cent., Scotland an increase of 6·4 per cent., and British India an increase of 7 per cent.*

The rate of growth of population between 1901 and 1911 is less for the total population, including the estate population, than for the period 1891–1901, when it was 18·6 per cent., but excluding the estate population the increase in population between 1901–1911 was greater than the increase between 1891–1901, which was 13·8.

The estate population increased by 68 per cent. between 1891 and 1901, and by 16 per cent. between 1901 and 1911.

The decline in the rate of increase of the estate population is due to several causes. 1900—the year preceding the last Census—still holds the record for the largest number of arrivals of Indian immigrants in Ceylon in any one year (207,994), and when the Census of 1901 was taken most estates had their labour force at full strength.

The average number of yearly arrivals of immigrants during the next ten years is half the number for 1900.

* Ireland decreased in population by 1·7 per cent. between 1901 and 1911.

Improved methods of cultivation enabled many estates to reduce the number of their coolies. In the older planting districts there was not the same demand for labour for clearing; there was also an immense amount of opening up of land in tea and rubber in other parts of Ceylon, and labour was spared from some of the older estates to feed the younger properties.

The result has been that while the estate population of the Kandy and Nuwara Eliya Districts has decreased by 5 per cent. and 3 per cent. respectively, Ratnapura, Kalutara, Kurunegala, Kegalla, and Badulla show increases of 83, 81½, 67½, 50½, and 39 per cent. respectively in estate population.

A further and a far-reaching influence affecting labour has been the very large field for Sinhalese labour supplied by rubber estates.

It was early found that the resident population of the Island—the villagers—could be attracted to work on rubber estates, and the result has been that Sinhalese labour on estates has increased enormously during the decade.

The recruitment of labour from the Coast is very largely dependent on the seasons in South India. A period of good harvests on the Coast means a decrease in immigration to Ceylon, and *vice versâ*.

Competition for the Indian labourer has greatly increased during the decade. A new rival in South Africa was in the field in the earlier period, and "the rubber boom" increased the demand from countries better able to compete in attractions with Ceylon.

There is not, however, any immediate reason to regard the figures for the estate population with apprehension, or to believe that the supply of labour from South India is now failing to meet the demand; but the question of how far the supply can be maintained demands the attention of all planters.

A statement (Table A) is annexed showing the estimated population of each District in Ceylon on March 10, 1911, according to the Registrar-General's figures, based on the Census of 1901 and calculated on excess of births over deaths, and the actual figures according to this Census:—

Table A.—Statement showing the Estimated and Actual Population of each of the Districts in Ceylon (including the Estate Population) on March 10, 1911.

District.	Estimated Population.	Actual Population according to the Census.	Difference between Estimated and Actual Population.
Colombo	589,644	657,751	—68,107
Negombo	178,602	169,077	+ 9,525
Kalutara	262,708	279,493	—16,785
Kandy	411,220	408,429	+ 2,791
Matale	97,601	108,367	—10,766
Nuwara Eliya	164,287	155,462	+ 8,825
Jaffna	334,979	326,712	+ 8,267
Mannar	23,607	25,603	— 1,996
Mullaittivu	14,744	17,336	— 2,592
Galle	297,931	291,001	+ 6,930
Matara	238,932	227,308	+11,624
Hambantota	110,659	110,508	+ 151
Batticaloa	160,645	153,943	+ 6,702
Trincomalee	31,008	29,755	+ 1,253
Kurunegala	273,528	306,807	—33,279
Puttalam	28,452	39,665	—11,213
Chilaw	86,116	87,644	— 1,528
Anuradhapura	79,291	86,276	— 6,985
Badulla	193,565	216,692	—23,127
Ratnapura	136,685	165,992	—29,307
Kegalla	214,233	242,529	—28,296

The estimate of the population of the Island prepared by the Registrar-General is calculated on the excess of registered births over registered deaths and of immigrants over emigrants since the last Census.

According to this estimate the population of Ceylon on March 10, 1911, should have amounted to 4,191,908, which was 85,558, or 2·08 per cent., more than the actual population.

As is stated in the Preliminary Report on the 1911 Census of England and Wales, " the method of estimating by births, deaths, and migration is not practicable in the case of portions of the country, since no records are made of internal migration." It is, however, interesting to note that the differences are most marked in those Districts which are most affected by movements of population.

The Census figures are, in most cases, in excess of the estimated population. The Districts to show a population considerably below the estimate are Negombo, Kandy, Nuwara Eliya, Jaffna, Galle, Matara, Batticaloa, and Trincomalee. The decreases in Kandy and Nuwara Eliya can be explained by the actual decreases in the estate population; the Galle and Matara Districts show a high rate of emigration and a low rate of immigration ;* there has been a large emigration of Jaffnese southwards and to the Straits ;† there is constant movement between the Negombo and the Colombo and Chilaw Districts. Trincomalee town is the only town to show a decrease in population, owing to the closing of the dockyard, and there was a considerable movement of population between the Batticaloa and Badulla Districts during the decade.

The estimated population by Districts, which is calculated on the excess of registered births over registered deaths, is 177,913 less than the population as enumerated at this Census.

In arriving at his estimate of the total population of Ceylon, the Registrar-General has allowed for an excess of 263,471 arrivals over departures of immigrant coolies between the dates of the Census of 1901 (March 1, 1901) and the Census of 1911 (March 10, 1911).

Taking, then, the population calculated on the population at the last Census, plus excess of registered births over registered deaths and excess of arrivals over departures of immigrant coolies, the population at this Census should have been 85,558 more than the actual figure, or a population of 4,191,908.

But an examination of the figures for arrivals and departures of immigrant coolies showed that, while the returns may be accepted as approximately correct for arrivals, the omissions under the departures more than account for the difference between the estimated and the actual population of Ceylon. It appears that the departures of immigrant coolies by the boats of the Ceylon Steamship Company to Paumben, Tondi, and Ammapatam were not included in the returns of departures. 45,868 deck passengers travelled to these ports by this line between 1901 and 1910.

Further, in furnishing the figures of departures to Ammapatam, Tondi, and Paumben prior to 1909, the Agents of the British India Steam Navigation Company did not separate miscellaneous and estate coolies, with the result that the coolies carried by this line to these ports were probably all included under Miscellaneous in the Plague Committee's returns, and so were omitted from the returns of departures of immigrant coolies.

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* *Vide* Chapter X., Birthplaces.

It is not now possible to ascertain exactly how many of the departures to Paumben, Tondi, and Ammapatam by these two lines were immigrant coolies, but the number would certainly cover the discrepancy between the actual and the estimated population.

In all countries there are considerable differences between the estimated and actual population. At the Census of England and Wales in 1901 the provisional official estimate of the population, which is based on the assumption of an annual rate of increase equal to the mean rate in the previous decade, showed a deficiency of 144,231, or ·44 per cent., and at the 1911 Census the estimated population was in excess of the actual population by 406,402, or 1·13 per cent.

The Registrar-General in his Preliminary Report on the Census of England and Wales in 1911 refers to the various methods of estimating the population :—

" It is in its effect on the calculation of mortality and other rates in certain local areas, where the variations between estimate and Census result are much greater, that the defect of any method based on a general assumption is most apparent ; and here unfortunately it is more difficult to devise a remedy. But even as regards the total figures of population, the existing method is open to objection. The alternative method of calculating the population, not on any arbitrary hypothesis, but by means of such data of the movements of the population from year to year as might be available, would obviously be more satisfactory, but has not hitherto been found to be practicable. If it were possible to add to the population enumerated at a Census the number of births and the number of persons who have entered the country up to a given date, and to subtract the number of deaths and the number of persons who have left the country, the population at that date could be accurately ascertained. But although the addition and subtraction on account of births and deaths is provided for by the statistics prepared in the General Register Office, there are at present no returns which show even approximately how many persons enter and how many leave England and Wales year by year. In other words, the natural increase of population is known, but the balance of inward and outward passenger movement (often referred to as the balance of migration) is not known."*

Every District showed an increase at this Census. The causes which have contributed towards these increases are fully examined in the District Histories given below.

The following table shows the Provinces arranged in the order of their rates of growth in the last decade (1901 to 1911) and compared with the three previous decades :—

Table B.—Rate of Growth of Population in the Provinces, 1871–1911.

Province.	1901–1911.	1891–1901.	1881–1891.	1871–1881.
1. Sabaragamuwa ..	26·9	24·4	14·5	14·4
2. North-Western ..	22·7†	10·5	9·1	6·2
3. Western ..	20·1	20·7	13·5	16·6
4. Uva.. ..	16·4	17·3	—3·9	28·5
5. Southern ..	10·9	15·7	13·0	8·7
6. North-Central ..	8·9	5·1	13·9	3·7
7. Northern ..	8·4	6·8	5·5	7·4
8. Central ..	7·8	31·3	·2	29·6
9. Eastern ..	5·8	16·9	16·4	13·3

* Preliminary Report on the Census of England and Wales, 1911, p. V.

† The pilgrims at St. Anna's pilgrimage at Kalpitiya were included in the population of this Province. Excluding the pilgrims, the increase per cent. for the North-Western Province is 20·9.

The Sabaragamuwa, North-Western, North-Central, and Northern Provinces show larger increases than during the previous decade, and Sabaragamuwa, the North-Western, and Northern Provinces show the largest increases at any Census of these Provinces.

The Western Province shows a considerable increase since 1891.

Uva, the Southern, Eastern, and Central Provinces show smaller increases than at the Census of 1901.

In 1901 the Central Province showed the largest increase in population of any Province, 31·3 per cent. At this Census it shows a lower rate of increase than any other Province except the Eastern, its rate of increase being one-fourth of what it was between 1891 and 1901.

The decrease in the estate population is responsible for this falling off, as is shown in the next Table C, which gives the rate of growth of the general population excluding the estate population, between 1901–1911. The Central Province here shows an increase of 16·1 per cent.—a larger increase than that of five other Provinces, while Uva falls from the fourth to the eighth place, Uva and the Central Province changing places.

Table C.—Growth of Population in the Provinces, 1901–1911 (exclusive of Estates).

	Province.	Rate of Increase. Per Cent.
1.	North-Western	21·8*
2.	Sabaragamuwa	19·7
3.	Western	18·8
4.	Central	16·1
5.	Southern	10·9
6.	North-Central	8·9
7.	Northern	8·6
8.	Uva	7·7
9.	Eastern	5·8

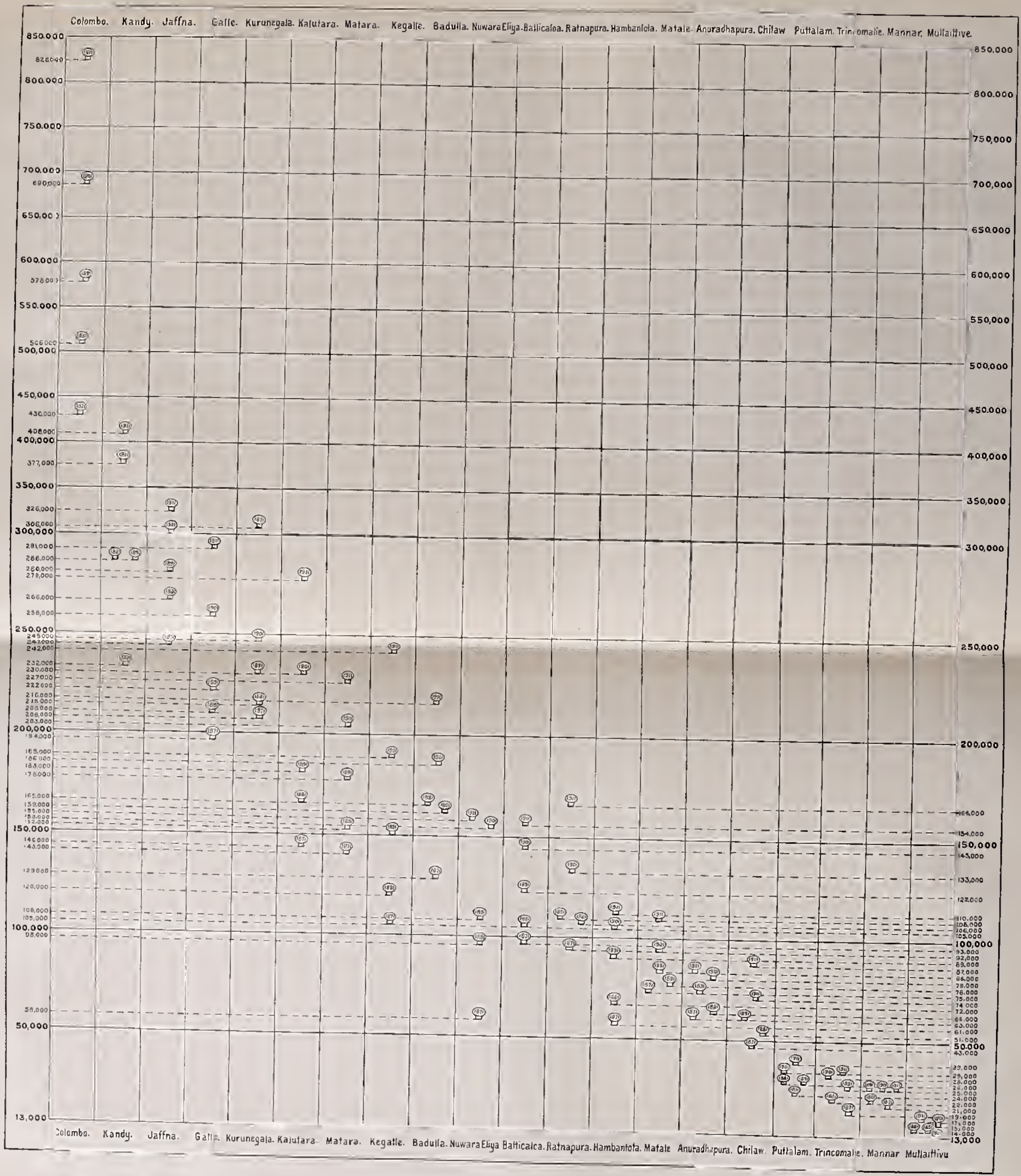
The next table shows the rate of growth of population inclusive of estates in the Districts (1871–1911), arranged in the order of their rates in the last decade and compared with the three previous decades:—

Table D.—Rate of Growth of Population in the Districts, 1871–1911.

District.	Rate of Increase per Cent. 1901–1911.	1891–1901.	1881–1891.	1871–1881.
Puttalam	33·2†	11·8	·9	7·5
Colombo Municipality	32·5	23·4	14·9	20·0
Kegalla	28·4	25·5	25·6	13·9
Ratnapura	24·8	22·9	2·0	14·8
Kurunegala	23·0	8·4	7·0	3·5
Kalutara	21·5	25·2	11·3	13·2
Chilaw	17·7	17·7	22·2	18·8
Matale	17·5	20·5	— 11·7	15·2
Badulla	16·4	17·3	— 3·9	28·5
Colombo (including Negombo, and excluding the Municipality)	15·8	18·1	14·1	17·2
Galle (including Municipality)	12·7	15·9	6·3	7·8
Mullaittivu	11·9	8·9	— ·5	4·7
Matara	11·5	14·6	16·9	5·9
Anuradhapura	8·9	5·0	13·9	3·7
Jaffna	8·7	7·5	5·1	7·9
Kandy (including Municipality)	8·1	30·9	·007	24·2
Batticaloa	6·1	18·3	16·4	13·1
Hambantota	5·3	17·4	24·2	18·2
Trincomalee	4·6	10·5	16·0	14·1
Mannar	2·7	— 1·9	14·6	5·3
Nuwara Eliya	1·2	39·6	11·1	69·5

* The figures for the North-Western Province include the pilgrims at St. Anna's. Excluding them the increase for the Province was 19·9.

† The figures for the Puttalam District include the pilgrims at St. Anna's. Excluding them the increase for the District was 11·4.


Colombo. Kandy. Jaffna. Galle. Kurunegala. Kalutara. Matara. Kegalle. Badulla. Nuwara Eliya. Batticaloa. Ratnapura. Hambantota. Matale. Anuradhapura. Chilaw. Puttalam. Trincomalie. Mannar. Mullaittive.
850,000
800,000
750,000
700,000
650,000
600,000
550,000
500,000
450,000
400,000
350,000
300,000
250,000
200,000
150,000
100,000
50,000
13,000

The Colombo Municipality and the Districts of Kegalla, Kurunegala, Ratnapura, Mullaittivu, and Jaffna show the largest increases for any Census, while Anuradhapura and Mannar* show larger increases than at the last Census. Puttalam (exclusive of the pilgrim population) and Chilaw have maintained the same rate of increase as between 1891 and 1901.

The Nuwara Eliya, Trincomalee, Hambantota, Batticaloa, Kandy, Galle, Matara, Matale, Colombo, Kalutara, and Badulla Districts have not maintained the same rate of increase as they showed for the last decade.

The Nuwara Eliya District, which showed the largest increase between 1891–1901, viz., 39·6 per cent., and the Kandy District, which was second with an increase of 30·9 per cent., have fallen respectively to the last and sixteenth places in the list. As has been shown, the falling off is entirely due to the decrease in the estate population, which forms so large and important a portion of the population of these two Districts.

The diagram opposite shows the increases or decreases in each District at each of the five Censuses, and the population in round figures of the District at each Census.

Table E shows the growth of the population (exclusive of the estate population) in the Districts, 1871–1911 :—

Table E.—Growth of Population in the Districts, 1871–1911 (exclusive of Estates).

District.	Percentage of Increase or Decrease. 1901–1911.	1891–1901.	1881–1891.	1871–1881.
Colombo Municipality ..	32·5	23·4	14·9	20·0
Puttalam ..	29·4†	10·4	·5	7·5
Kegalla ..	22·2	14·6	10·2	14·9
Kurunegala ..	21·9	6·8	7·3	3·5
Chilaw ..	18·5	15·7	20·0	17·4
Kandy ..	17·4	5·5	—11·3	34·6
Kalutara ..	16·8	18·6	9·4	12·5
Matale ..	16·8	8·2	—10·8	16·7
Ratnapura ..	16·5	14·0	3·0	11·3
Colombo (exclusive of the Municipality) ..	15·5	17·5	13·5	16·2
Galle ..	12·5	14·8	5·5	7·6
Matara ..	11·9	14·0	16·0	5·5
Mullaittivu ..	11·9	8·9	— ·5	4·7
Nuwara Eliya ..	10·0	15·0	1·2	28·6
Jaffna ..	9·0	7·3	5·1	7·5
Anuradhapura ..	9·0	5·0	13·9	3·8
Badulla ..	7·8	6·3	—1·2	13·2
Batticaloa ..	6·1	18·3	16·5	13·1
Hambantota ..	5·4	17·4	24·2	18·2
Trincomalee ..	3·4	10·4	16·0	14·1
Mannar ..	2·7	—1·9	14·6	5·3

In addition to the Districts which show larger increases than at the 1901 Census, irrespective of estate population, Chilaw, Kandy, Matale, and Badulla all show larger increases in their general population than between 1891–1901, though, if the estate population be included, the last three named Districts show a falling off from increases of 31, 20½, and 17 per cent. in 1901 to 12¾, 17½, and 16½ respectively in 1911.

* A decrease of nearly 2 per cent. in 1901 has been converted into an increase of over 2½ per cent. in the population of the Mannar District.

† The figures for the Puttalam District include the pilgrims at St. Anna's. Excluding them the increase for the District was 7·4.

The rates of growth in all the planting districts, excluding the estate population, are, with the exception of Badulla, 10 per cent. or over, and including the estate population Badulla showed an increase of 16½ per cent.

In some Districts, owing to the number of villagers employed on estates, a large number of Sinhalese have been included in the estate population, though of course such is only the case where these persons were sleeping on the estate on the Census night. The number of Sinhalese included in the estate population does not therefore represent by any means the number employed on estate work, the large majority of whom return every evening to their homes in the village where they were enumerated at the Census. But allowing for the number of Sinhalese included in the estate population at this Census and the last, and including them in the figures for the District population, exclusive of the rest of the estate population, the following Districts show additional increases in their resident population :—

Nuwara Eliya	..	From 10 per cent.	to	13 per cent.
Galle	..	12½	,,	14 ,,
Kalutara	..	16½	,,	18 ,,
Matale	..	16½	,,	17½ ,,
Ratnapura	..	16½	,,	17½ ,,
Kegalla	..	22	,,	23 ,,
Badulla	..	7½	,,	8 ,,

Allowing for the number of the resident population enumerated on the estates, and excluding the estate population, both the Kalutara and Galle Districts show practically the same rate of increase as at the 1901 Census.

The map annexed shows the rate of increase in the population (including estate population) in each District in the decade.

The past and present position of the Districts and towns in Ceylon and the changes which have taken place in each during the decade are dealt with separately.

The history and development of the town of Colombo have been given a separate chapter (Chapter V.).

The most thickly populated and prosperous Province in Ceylon is the *Western Province.*

At the Census of 1911 the *Colombo District* maintained and further strengthened its position.

The concluding words of the District Report written after the Census of 1901 may be repeated here : "The decade has not been remarkable for any sudden variations in the prosperity of towns or villages. There has been a steady movement forward, in which all classes have participated. For the villager the period has been one in which he has seen a steady advance, which has meant for him more wants realized and more wants satisfied."

These words equally well describe the position ten years later.

The population of the District, including Negombo, but excluding the Colombo Municipality, is 615,554, which is an increase of 84,113 since the last Census.

The Colombo District alone shows an increase of 16·5 per cent. Each division shows a very similar rate of increase, ranging from 18½ per cent. in Siyane korale East to 15 per cent. in the area now forming the Salpiti korale.

The estate population has largely increased in every korale except Siyane korale West, where there are very few Tamil coolies.

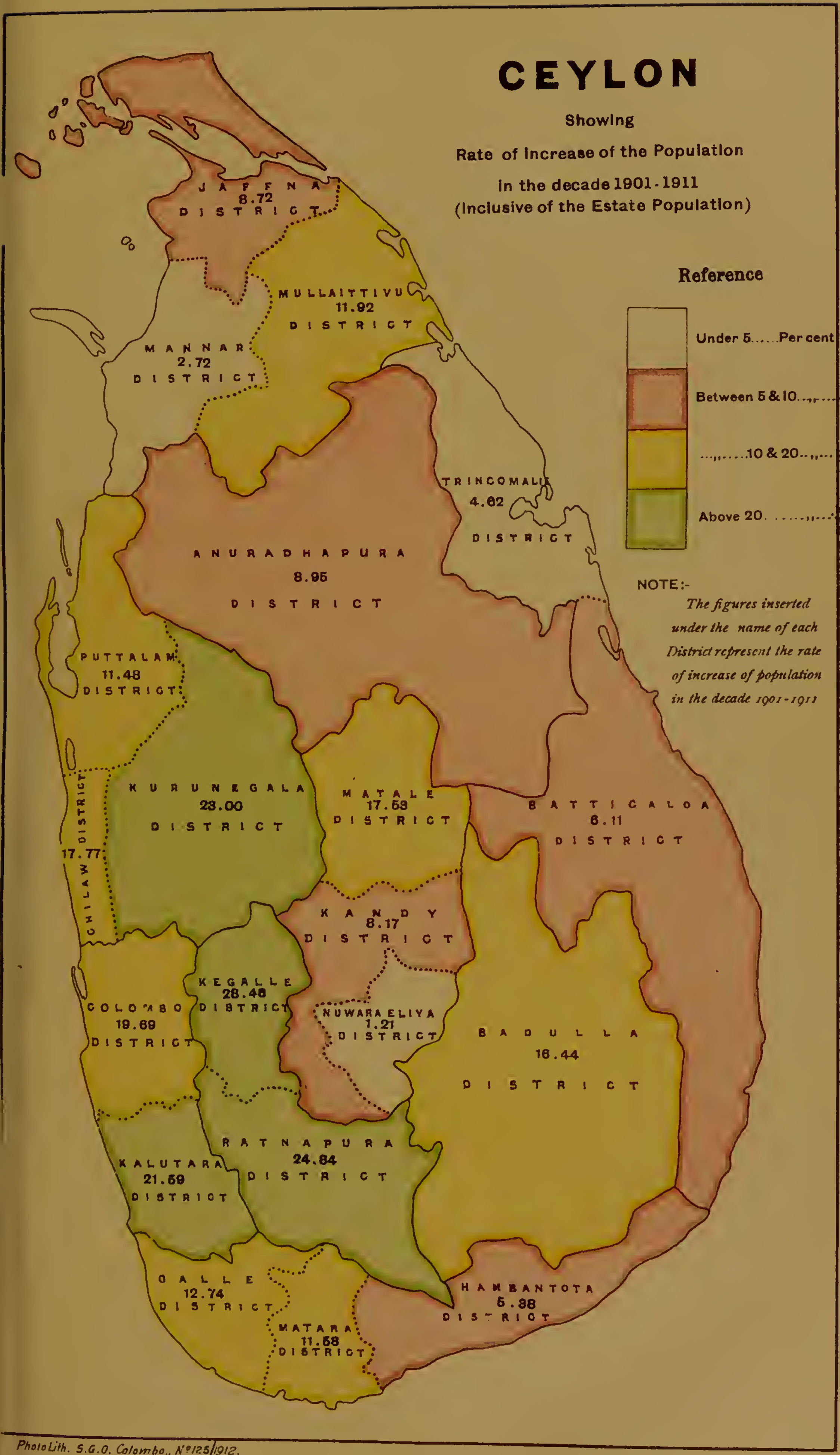


Photo Lith. S.G.O. Colombo., No. 125/1912.

In Alutkuru korale South the estate population has increased five-fold, though this is principally due to the coolies enumerated at Ragama camp being included at this Census in the estate population; the increase in Hewagam korale, which is the only korale with a considerable estate population, is 56 per cent.

The total number of the estate population enumerated through the estate superintendents in the Colombo and Negombo Districts was 11,115. In addition to the population counted on the large estates, there were 2,262 estate labourers (almost all Indian Tamils) enumerated by the headmen on small native estates.

There have been many small estates opened by native owners during the last ten years, with rubber, tea, and coconuts. The extent under rubber cultivation in 1910 was estimated to be 6,371 acres.

The Government Agent (Mr. H. W. Brodhurst) reports that "one very noticeable feature of the development of rubber cultivation in the Colombo District is the number of small native estates. Among others, numerous village headmen have acquired considerable wealth by their ventures in rubber."

The *Negombo District* shows an increase of 14 per cent. Hapitigam korale has increased by over 22 per cent., and the Negombo Local Board area by over 17 per cent.

The Superintendent of the Census of 1891 characterized the increases in Hapitigam korale of 21·1 between 1871 and 1881 and 21·6 between 1881 and 1891 as "abnormal, and due to immigration from Alutkuru korale." The increase in this division between 1891 and 1901 was 16·6, between 1901 and 1911 22·2 per cent. The increase is the same including or excluding the estate population. This increase is due to the prosperity and extension of coconut cultivation in this division, which has further resulted in the opening of copra, desiccating, and fibre mills, which give employment to large numbers of persons.

The acreage under coconut cultivation in the Western Province in 1901 was 269,600 acres; in 1910 it was 282,800 acres.

The Negombo District has always been in the forefront of agricultural prosperity, and the population has taken full advantage of an increased demand for any agricultural product. The staple wealth is the coconut. The increase in the price of coconuts, however, seriously affects the food supply of all classes, and it may be found that while the well-to-do classes have become wealthier, the gradations of wealth are more marked than they were ten years ago. In fact several of the Mudaliyars report that during the last ten years the standard of living amongst the poorer classes has actually gone down, owing to the rise in the price of food stuffs without any proportionate increase in the income and earnings of these classes.

This is not the case, however, where increased demand for a commodity has been accompanied by increased demand for labour to supply it. The Mudaliyar of Siyane korale West (Mr. L. de Livera), reporting on the history of his division, says that "during the early part of the decade rice and curry stuffs were not so great a source of expenditure as they became towards the latter end; indeed, the increase in the cost may be said to have doubled itself, although the general prosperity of the villager has not in any sense improved; the improvements in other aspects of village life have helped him to meet the situation without complaint, if not with equanimity.

"These aspects are the industry of the people generally in agricultural pursuits and their enterprise in seeking work outside their homes in the mills and on small leaseholds."

It is also certainly true of the Western Province generally that wages have greatly increased, and that employment can be easily obtained. Years of previous prosperity have accustomed the villager to various articles of dress, furniture, and diet of which he never previously knew the use; his wages have therefore to go further, and he has to earn more. These changes in manners and customs are referred to at length elsewhere (*vide* Chapter VI., Changes in Manners and Customs), but their general bearing has been referred to here as specially illustrated by the conditions of life of the people in this prosperous District.

The very large increase in the population of the Colombo Municipality includes a large number of persons from the Colombo and Negombo Districts. The general movement is towards the towns, and especially towards Colombo.

The population of Wellawatta, which was 4,253 in 1901, at this Census was 6,232, an increase of 46½ per cent. This is the last Census at which this important suburb of Colombo will be included in the District; its inclusion within Municipal limits has been sanctioned.

Moratuwa, which was described by Emerson Tennent as "a village containing a population of 12,000, and chiefly inhabited by carpenters of the fisher caste, who devote themselves to the making of furniture from the jak tree," is now a Local Board town with a population of 27,253.

Spence Hardy,* writing of Moratuwa in 1864, says: "In coming from Galle the overland stranger supposes, when he enters Morotto, that it is a suburb of Colombo, and that the stately mansions he sees are the residences of the Government officials or merchant princes of the metropolis. But he finds, to his surprise, that the whole have been built and are inhabited by natives, who have displayed great taste in their erection, as the approach to Venice † is scarcely studded with structures of a chaster style of architecture. There is nothing about them that is tawdry, either in colour or form, nothing gewgaw, or out of taste, unless it be the nondescript figures placed over some of the gateways. The description of the place given nearly fifty years ago, 'wretchedly poor,' is no longer applicable .... There is scarcely an estate in the Island that has not contributed to the wealth of Morotto, as the men of this village have been employed to build the dwellings, stores, and lines of the planters, and a great part of their furniture has been made by the same hands .... Great numbers are employed as coopers, in the making of barrels for the shipment of coffee .... Much wealth has been gained by farming tolls and ferries," and from the profits of arrack farms. Moratuwa has never looked back, and is now fifth amongst the towns of Ceylon.

The Local Board was created at the beginning of 1908, and the boundaries of the town were changed. The increase in population of the area, which now comprises the Local Board town, is 16½ per cent.

Its population is pre-eminently native, 94 per cent. of its inhabitants being Low-country Sinhalese. There are 1,221 more females than males in Moratuwa town, due probably to the number of men employed as carpenters on estates and in mills in Colombo. Many of the latter only return to their homes for the week end.

Besides the introduction of the Local Board, other events of importance in the history of the town during the decade were the Agricultural Show held here in 1904 and the laying of the foundation stone of a

* "Jubilee Memorials," by Spence Hardy, pp. 191 and 192.

† The town was recently described by one of its leading inhabitants as "The Paris of Ceylon."

hospital by H. R. H. Princess Louise of Schleswig-Holstein in 1907. The hospital is the gift to the town of Mr. E. L. F. de Soysa, whose family have long been connected with the prosperity of Moratuwa.

The town of Negombo has been considerably reduced in size since the last Census, notably in the removal of Pitipane and Duwa from the Local Board limits. The population of the area which now forms the Local Board town of Negombo has increased by over 17 per cent.

" The Country of Nigumbo is extraordinarily rich in fish," wrote Valentyn in his Memorie dated 1663, " on account of the mighty and great backwater that it has, and it has also enough seedlands not only to feed the people that now live there, but also much more land on the side of Maraville . . . . . . it is also called the capital of the Seven Corles, where the very best cinnamon in the whole known world grows and in very great quantity, and therefore my opinion has always been that the Company's Fortlet, or rather Nestlet, that lies there, ought to be razed and a better one made, or if it were not desired to make a fort, then a quarter of the town might be properly fortified. As has happened once and again in the course of time or through a hasty war with some European Prince, this valuable place might be easily taken from us [the Dutch], and we should be quit not only of the best but of not much less than half of all the Ceylon cinnamon, yea, at once of all our profits, proposals, and intentions . . . . . . On account of the cheapness of provisions I have always made it a practice to have Nigumbo guarded by trusty soldiers, and also to provide them with nice little plots of land . . . . . . Nigumbo is inhabited by about 2,000 souls [in 1911 its population was 13,000], among whom so many are serviceable, all being Christians [Negombo still shows a very large preponderance of Christians, 10,000 of the 13,000 inhabitants being Christians*].

" The Nigumbers pride themselves on being faithful to us above all other natives, and some credit can moreover be placed in that because we have resided there so many years longer than here, there being also among them some who speak really good Netherlandish . . . . . . Your Excellency will also be pleased not to allow any Moors or Mohamedans to settle at Nigumbo, as they are very harmful to our Colony [there were 718 Moors in Negombo at this Census].

" The Nigumbers with our permission travel to the opposite coast of Madura and Choromandel, and are bold seamen, as they are mostly fishers."†

Cinnamon cultivation is no longer what it was, though the Negombo District is still the centre of this cultivation. The Government Agent reports that the " acreage cultivated has decreased yearly, and it is improbable that any temporary rise in price will check the conversion of cinnamon into coconut plantations."

But any loss Negombo may have suffered on this account has been more than compensated for by the opening of the railway to Negombo, which was completed in December, 1909.

The Chairman, Negombo Local Board (Mr. R. G. Saunders), writes of Negombo : " It is only 23 miles from Colombo, the road being in excellent order and one of considerable beauty, and is an ideal spot both for the visitor who wishes to see something of the Island and its people in a short space of time and for the Colombo business man who desires a ' week-end ' away from the noise and dust of Colombo ; this has already been ' discovered ' to a certain extent, and since the advent of motoring visitors to the town have increased largely."

* Of these 10,000, 9,700 are Roman Catholics. † Valentyn, pp. 166–7

The health of the town is excellent, and compares favourably with other seaside towns in Ceylon ; situated as it is on the sea and lake, there is usually a fresh breeze, except in March, April, and May, when it is very warm.

The Kelani Valley railway was opened to Avisawella in 1902, and an important planting district was thus brought into close touch with Colombo.

The Negombo line shows at present a more profitable passenger than goods traffic. Its extension to Chilaw will probably largely increase the latter.

The Kelani Valley line, on the other hand, has shown increasing goods traffic, and the " rubber boom " in the district through which it runs has largely added to its receipts.

The line of development of the villages in the District has followed the line of the railway. Hanwella, formerly a place of considerable importance and a fort in the Dutch times, is now cut off from the railway line, and Padukka has taken its place as the centre of traffic in the Hewagam korale, and as "the half-way house" between Colombo and the Kelani Valley, which Hanwella was formerly when the coach was the means of transport.

The Western Province, including the Colombo Municipality, has a population larger than that of the Federated Malay States, while excluding the town of Colombo *or* the District of Kalutara, the population is still considerably larger than the total population of the Straits Settlements, including the town of Singapore.

It is the most thickly populated area in Ceylon, and its general prosperity at present can be taken to be typical of the conditions commonly prevailing throughout Ceylon.

The *Kalutara District* shows an increase of 16·8 per cent. in population exclusive of the estate population, and inclusive of the latter of 21·5 per cent.

The population of the District at the 1911 Census was 279,493, being an increase of 49,636 persons since the last Census.

There are few parts of the Island which have enjoyed greater prosperity than this rich District; its sources of wealth are numerous and varied, and it is intimately associated with the principal industries of the Island.

It is famous for its rubber estates—it can claim to be the principal rubber district in the Island—and it was the first to profit by the " rubber boom."

Its climate is especially favourable to the growth of rubber, which throughout the District has shown excellent results, and borne out the report of the Kalutara Planters' Association in 1904 that " Para rubber has found exactly the conditions of soil and climate that it requires."

The Assistant Government Agent, in his Administration Report for 1904, reported that " there are 6,759 acres of tea land planted with rubber among the tea bushes."

For land planted with rubber only the following figures give the areas and show the progress made :—

		Acres.			Acres.
1901	..	436	1906	..	14,278
1902	..	667	1907	..	25,578
1903	..	1,127	1908	..	30.076
1904	..	3,301	1909	..	34,000
1905	..	6,365	1910	..	45,000

The approximate area in bearing during 1904 was 242 acres, or 49,484 trees; it is estimated that 15,237 acres were in bearing in 1910.

The acreage now under rubber cultivation is about 45,000 acres, of which about 10,000 acres are planted in tea and rubber and 35,000 acres exclusively in rubber.

The output of rubber from this District alone in 1910 amounted to 1,675,141 pounds.

There was a great demand for Crown land for rubber plantation, and the revenue of the District from the sale of Crown lands reached record figures—in 1901 it amounted to Rs. 49,650; in 1906 it was Rs. 1,110,000. The acreage of Crown land sold for rubber cultivation during the decade is estimated at about 37,000 acres.

Though rubber has in some parts been cultivated to the exclusion of tea, the acreage under tea has also increased, the figures given by the Assistant Government Agent for 1901 and 1909 being—1901, 18,500 acres under tea cultivation; 1909, 22,715 acres in tea.

Under such conditions it is not surprising that the estate population of this District shows an increase of over 81 per cent. There is only one District in the Island (Ratnapura) which shows a larger increase.

The increase in the European population of the District is 94·3 per cent., also due to the expansion and prosperity of the estates.

In estate population the Kalutara District ranks sixth amongst the Districts of the Island, as it does exclusive of its estate population. It would come fourth if the population of the Kandy and Galle Municipalities be excluded from the population of the Kandy and Galle Districts. It has a larger population than that of any other District administered by an Assistant Government Agent, and exceeding that of three Provinces—the Eastern, North-Central, and Uva.

For it is not merely on tea and rubber estates that this District depends for its prosperity: it is the principal centre of the arrack distillation. The number of arrack distilleries in the District is 156, and the amount of arrack distilled averages rather over 900,000 gallons a year.

During the years 1909–1910 the distillers and holders of stocks raised the price of arrack from Rs. 300 a leaguer to Rs. 525 a leaguer. This increase threatened ruin to the renters. Government authorized the importation of arrack from Madras free of Customs duty. The price then fell to Rs. 300 a leaguer. The importation of Madras arrack has now been discontinued.

The decade has been a very prosperous one for the coconut landowner. Coconuts in the Kalutara District at one time reached a price of Rs. 80 per 1,000. The Assistant Government Agent estimates that there are approximately 47,000 acres under coconut cultivation. The yield per acre varies considerably, owing to the number of trees tapped for toddy.

The state of paddy cultivation is reported to be normal; the area cultivated has increased from 39,700 acres in 1901 to 41,680 acres in 1909.

There is a very considerable sea-fishing industry carried on by the maritime population, the fishermen being on contract to supply the Colombo and up-country markets.

A new industry—the manufacture of aerated waters—has been introduced at Panadure and Kalutara. The ready sale of these waters is further evidence of the prosperity of the inhabitants of the District.

There are important saw mills at Horetuduwa, and coconut desiccating mills at Panadure.

As the District has developed, so have the means of communication. It has now about 138 miles of principal roads, and 118 miles of roads under the control of the District Road Committee.

The Assistant Government Agent (Mr. G. F. Plant) reports that "One of the most noteworthy features of the period under review was the inauguration of Village Committees in 1905. This measure, strenuously opposed at the commencement, has been a means of conferring immense benefits on the people. The small extra tax of fifty cents a head has helped to open up nearly 200 miles of roads, a dozen schools, five public markets, and numerous village cemeteries, to establish galas, to provide for the scavenging and conservancy of some of the larger bazaars, and to improve village paths, bridges, and edandas."

The actual increase in population during the period was 49,636, of whom 13,803 were included in the estate population.

The number of births between 1901–1910 inclusive exceeded the number of deaths by 31,987.

Kalutara has always borne a high reputation for its healthiness. Percival, writing in 1803, says: "For its cool, healthy, and pleasant situation, Nigumbo is usually ranked next to Jafnapatam, though some give the preference to Caltura, another delightful village about thirty miles south of Colombo."*

There is a Sinhalese saying, "*To be born at Kalutara and educated at Matara is the best fate a man can desire.*"†

The District shows the lowest infantile mortality of any District in Ceylon for the period 1901–1910. The difference unaccounted for by excess of births over deaths is comparatively small, and is due to increased emigration into the District.

The largest increase, excluding the estate population, is in Pasdun korale West, which has increased by over 26 per cent. The estate population of the division has increased by nearly 53 per cent., or a total increase of over 34 per cent.

Including the estate population, Pasdun korale East shows the largest increase, viz., 37 per cent., the increases being nearly 19 per cent. in the population exclusive of estates and 212 per cent. in the estate population alone. "This remote division has in fact been transformed during the decade," writes Mr. Plant; "thousands of acres of forest have been felled and planted with rubber, new roads have been opened, schools and dispensaries have been established, and a poor and neglected population has become comparatively comfortable and well-to-do."

Pasdun korale West has the largest estate population, nearly twice as large as the estate population of Rayigam korale and Pasdun korale East, while there are twice as many estates in this korale as in any other korale in the District. The density of population in Pasdun korale West has increased from 267 to 358 persons per square mile.

The Mudaliyar (Mr. S. T. Gunawardena) says of his division: "The great development of my korale is due chiefly and prominently to the energy of European capitalists and to a few native gentlemen resident in Kalutara, Panadure, Moratuwa, and Colombo. The natives of the korale did not at all go into the rubber cultivation at the time that the

* Percival's "Ceylon," p. 88.

† කළුතර උපදින්ටත් මාතර ඉගෙණගන්ටත් ඇත්නම් මදු.

estates were being opened. Their income on the whole did not much increase by this general prosperity of the korale. Their condition and mode of living has not much changed for the better. They worked on the estates, earned wages, ate and clothed themselves a little better than before, and spent all what they earned." He ascribes an increase in tiled buildings to "the people being compelled to make tiles because the estates purchased the cadjans at high prices," but notes that "the number of hackeries has greatly increased, and that much better conveyances are used to cope with the large number of people now travelling."

The Rayigam korale shows an increase of over 20 per cent. exclusive of estates, which have increased by 63 per cent. This division has always been an important one, and was at one time a subordinate principality, of which Rayigam Bandara, the younger brother of Bhuvaneka Bahu, seventh king of Cotta, was the founder, but the period for which it retained that distinction is not known.*

The Totamune Mudaliyar's division, excluding the town of Panadure, has increased by over 12½ per cent. This division has a population of 118,277 persons, nearly twice the population of Rayigam korale.

The Mudaliyar (Mr. J. V. G. Jayawardene), in an interesting report on the Census in his korale, says that "changes in the general condition of the people for the better have taken place towards the end of the decade. This is due mainly to the high price which the distiller gets for his arrack from the renter and the wholesale dealer, and to the very good rates obtainable in the market for coconut and copra. There is also plenty of employment on rubber estates for tappers and weeders, who get good wages for their labour, even lads and girls making 40 cents or more per day for work which can be readily obtained not far from their homes." The Mudaliyar further reports that "substantially built houses have been erected during the decade, more at Potupitiya than in any other single village. This village is inhabited particularly by the Hinna caste of people, who have learnt good lessons from the sweet uses of adversity. They have their schools, their vihares, and their own village 'samagama,' which inquires into and settles their differences and petty disputes." The population of Potupitiya has increased from 2,137 in 1901 to 2,388 in 1911.

The Local and Sanitary Board towns in the District are Kalutara, Panadure, and Horana.

"About a day's journey from Gale," says Baldæus, "stands the Fort of Caleture in a most delightful country near the entrance of a large and broad river, on the seashore surrounded by a double strong wall of earth. It was reduced by the Director-General Gerrard Hulst, 15 Oct., 1655." Kalutara Local Board town shows an increase of over 13 per cent., as compared with a rate of increase of nearly 6 per cent. in the previous decade. The revenue of the Kalutara Local Board has increased from Rs. 20,084 in 1901 to Rs. 31,407 in 1910. Taxes realized Rs. 9,951 in 1910, as compared with Rs. 5,823 in 1901.

Panadure is described in Casie Chitty's "Gazetteer" as "a large and populous village situated on the south bank of a river which falls into the sea 15 miles south from Colombo. It received its name from a contraction (or permutation) of Sinhalese words 'Pan bun ratte,' or 'the country where lamps were broken,' and is conjectured to have been so called from the story of devils having broken in one night the 1,000 lamps which had been placed there by the King Wijeya

* Casie Chitty's "Gazetteer," p. 202.

Bahu in honour of Buddha, of whom he was a zealous votary.* It is a place of considerable traffic, having a customs-house, and much arrack is distilled in the neighbourhood. The population in 1814 was estimated at 1,109, and the Second Maha Modaliar of the Gate is *ex-officio* the Chief Vidhan of the village." The population is now 5,708, and showed an increase of 27½ per cent. during the decade.

Panadure may be described as the Moratuwa of the Kalutara District and the time may not be far distant when it will be joined to Moratuwa and regarded as an important suburb of Colombo.

Horana town only came into existence as a town in 1910. Its population in 1901 was 1,256; in 1911, 1,522.

The future of the District is most promising; it does not rely on one industry alone, but from geographical position, climate, and soil is favourably situated for the development of all its agricultural industries. It is in close touch with Colombo, and any set back in any of its principal industries would undoubtedly be followed by increased emigration to Colombo. At present the District can find ample employment for all its population.

The limits of the *Kandy Municipality* were altered in 1902 by the exclusion of portions of Ampitiya† and eight other villages, the population of which was estimated at 2,600.

The population of the area which now forms the Municipality, at the 1901 Census was 23,911, and at the Census of 1911 was 30,148, including an estate population of 476 and a military population of 221, being an increase of 6,237, or 26 per cent. This is the largest increase which has taken place in the population of Kandy at any Census.

The period was a healthy one, and the births exceeded the deaths by 1,384. There was an outbreak of smallpox in 1908 with 43 cases, but it was soon stamped out.

Several important measures to improve the sanitary condition of the town have been recently taken, and improvements have been effected in the drainage and water supply. The lighting, too, has been considerably extended, and nearly the whole town is now lit with electricity.

The increase in the population of the town is due to its trade and its importance as a planting and tourist centre.

The Low-country Sinhalese outnumber the Kandyans in the Kandy capital by 2,745, and are perhaps the most industrious and prosperous members of the community. The number of Tamils and Moors have also considerably increased. The Indian Moors and Indian Tamils are the principal traders in rice and grains. The Ceylon Moors are engaged in the piece goods, iron, and crockery ware trades. A large number of the jewellers are Moors.

The Kandyan villager finds a market for firewood, fruit, and vegetables, and the Kandy market is the best fruit and vegetable market in Ceylon, while a considerable portion of the vegetables and fruit brought in are forwarded to the Colombo and up-country markets.

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* Other derivations are connected with a tradition of a lighthouse, the light from which was extinguished on the approach of an enemy. A more likely derivation is from *panna*—craft or sailing vessels, and *turai*—roads or place of anchorage.

† Ampitiya is the place where the game of *an-keliya* was played during the time of the Kandyan kings, performances usually taking place to appease demons in times of sickness.

The Kandyan handicrafts, which had been gradually dying out, were revived by the formation of the Kandyan Art Work Association and the establishment of a separate Kandyan Art Museum at Kandy. The Museum was opened by Sir Henry Blake in 1904, and is located in a building which was known as the Meda Wahala, and which is reported to have been built in 1774 as a palace for the queen and ladies of the royal household. A considerable business is now done in the silver, brass, ivory, and wood carving work for which Kandyan craftsmen are renowned; while the best standards of Kandyan art are preserved by the supervision exercised from the kachcheri, and the exhibition of a representative collection of old Kandyan works of art.

Further encouragement was given to ancient arts and crafts by the exhibition of different craftsmen at work at carving, mat making, weaving, &c., at the Rubber Exhibition—the first Rubber Exhibition ever held—at Peradeniya in 1906. The ceilings and pillars of the exhibition buildings were all painted by Kandyan artists.

Two valuable educational institutions, Trinity College—which now has 235 day pupils and 186 boarders—and the Industrial School, are situated in the division of the town known as Wewelpitiya, so called from the canes (*wé-wel*—වේවැල්) which were once found in its neighbourhood, and which were planted for use in the construction of palanquins, beds, and other articles for the king.

The beautiful surroundings of the town have been further improved by the opening in 1905 of Wace Park—called after Mr. H. Wace, C.M.G., Government Agent, whose death in 1906 was a great loss to the town and Province for which he had done so much—and the construction of Lady Blake's Drive, now perhaps the most beautiful drive round Kandy.

A comparison between Kandy as it is to-day and the descriptions we have of Kandy—the ancient capital of the Kandyan kingdom—throws interesting light on the material advantages of modern civilization, as compared with what are so frequently and so inaccurately termed "the splendours of a glorious past."

Though reference is made by writers of the first half of the sixteenth century to the territory or kingdom of Candia,* and though there was no doubt a town where Kandy is now situated, it was not until the last few years of the sixteenth century that the real history of Kandy commences.

In 1592 Connappoo Bandara, better known as Don John of Austria, "this faithful, virtuous, and powerful king," as the *Mahawansa* describes him, ascended the throne in the city of Sirivaddhana with the name of Vimala Dhamma Suriya. "And this famous king built eighteen towers in divers places around the great city, and united them with a high and thick rampart, and set guards in them, to defend the city from the enemy." This statement is confirmed by the Dutch chronicler of Spilbergen's visit to Kandy in 1602, who states that the captive Portuguese were employed by the king in the erection of his fortifications, palace, &c.† In 1610 (six years after the death of Vimala Dhamma) Kandy was sacked and burnt by the Portuguese under Jeronymo de Azevedo, and it probably never again acquired the magnificence it possessed under that monarch.

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* The name by which Kandy is known amongst the natives is "Maha Nuwara"—the Great City. Kandy or Cando means the hill or hill country, and was the name given to the country in which the town was situated. In the earlier European works on Ceylon "the Kingdom Candia" is always spoken of; when the name was first applied to the royal city is not known.

† "Ceylon Literary Register," Vol. VI., pp. 333 and 325.

The description given by Percival of the town of Kandy describes it at a time when it had only just ceased to be the capital of an independent people, before whose sovereign in his palace at Kandy European delegates had prostrated themselves and offered every mark of homage and respect.

"The city itself is a poor, miserable-looking place surrounded by a mud wall of no strength whatever. It has been several times burnt by Europeans, and was once deserted by the king, who retired to a more inaccessible part of his dominions. It is upon the occasion of the embassy of General Macdowal that any information concerning the present state of Candy has been obtained; and even then it could be little more than guessed at, as the ambassador and his suite were admitted only by torchlight, and always retired before break of day. From what could then be observed, the city consists of a long straggling street built on the declivity of a hill; the houses mean and low, but with their foundations raised in such a manner above the level of the street that they appear quite lofty to passengers. The reason of this extraordinary taste is to enable the king to hold his assemblies of the people and to have his elephant and buffalo fights in the street, without interfering with the houses. When the king passes along the street, none of the inhabitants are allowed to appear before their houses, or the paths on a level with them, as that would be attended with the heinous indecorum of placing a subject higher than the prince descended of the sun. At the upper end of this street stands the palace, a poor mansion for the abode of the king. It is surrounded with high stone walls, and consists of two squares, one within the other. In the inner of these are the royal apartments, and it is there that the court is held and audiences given. The exterior of the palace and the rest of the city could be but partially observed by those who attended General Macdowal, owing to the pressure of the crowd and the dazzling glare of the torches. By every account indeed which I have heard, Candy contains nothing worthy of notice, and from the want of either wealth or industry among the inhabitants it is not indeed to be expected that anything could be met with in this straggling village to attract the attention of the traveller."*

The only accounts of the city of Kandy which reached the outer world prior to its capture by the British in 1815 were from the ambassadors, whose visits were considered by the Kandyan monarchs as the best evidence of their power and prestige, and whom it was therefore their object to impress with the magnificence of their capital and the pomp and ceremony maintained there.

But in a city where no subject could build a tiled house, whitewash his dwelling house, walk on the same level with his sovereign, or be carried in a palanquin, and where the principal street—Malabar street—was reserved for the relatives and connections of the royal family, it would have been impossible to expect anything in the nature of a city of palaces, or even a town with streets of well-appointed houses.

The palace dominated the town as completely and effectively as any feudal Baron's castle ruled over the burgh in the mediæval days before guilds and corporations had become powers in the land.

Pybus, in his account of his Mission to the King of Kandy† in 1762, writes of "an excellent custom established here (Kandy) for preventing disorders in the streets at night, by the ringing of a bell through every

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* Percival's "Ceylon" (1803), pp. 235 and 236.
† Pybus' "Mission to the King of Kandy," p. 36.

street at about eight o'clock or so soon as business is over at the palace, to give warning that whoever shall be found in the streets after the ringing of that bell, without a large light in their hands, shall be severely punished."

Another primitive custom followed in Kandy at that time was the measurement of time. At the gate called Pattetti-Wahal-kada, leading from Malabar street into the open space adjoining the Octagon,* in a hall called a Mandappa, a large brass basin was mounted on a stone pillar. It was filled with water, on which a silver cup with a tiny hole in its bottom was floated. The moment this cup became so full as to sink, a Sinhalese *peya*, or 24 minutes, was registered. The attendant in charge immediately noted the time and replaced the pitcher in the water. This process went on regularly throughout the day and night.

Pybus† gives an account of the hall of the ambassadors where he was lodged during his stay in Kandy.

"We all walk together, with several people before us with different kinds of flags, through a double row of men under arms to the number of about two hundred, most of them tolerably well armed, to a large square building with mud walls covered with thatch, having a spacious area in the middle, with several different apartments on the east and west side of it, and two large rooms on the right and left coming in, for putting the presents in, which the Dutch always bring with them, this being the place where they are quartered. Upon our arrival here, I was conducted by my friend the General to my apartment, accompanied by the other four, where, after many speeches made concerning the indifference of lodging, I was given to understand that the king would let me know when it would be convenient to him to see me."

The site of this hostelry is still commemorated in Huduhumpola street, which means literally the place of the "white ambassadors" (hudu—white; the place where the white men sojourned, "huddahitiya-pola").

The receptions of the ambassadors always took place at night, when every effort was made to simulate a magnificence which in reality did not exist.

The population of the town seems always to have been inconsiderable. Davy, writing in 1821, estimates that when Kandy was at "its fullest just before the rebellion broke out, the total population did not exceed three thousand souls,"‡ or one-tenth of its present population.

Ten years after the British occupation Kandy was still an inconsiderable town of no importance, except as the former capital and on account of its temple with its famous Tooth Relic, and in 1848 its population, including the military, was just over 7,500.

The following extracts from "Reminiscences of Kandy as it was in 1825,"§ published in the "Ceylon Literary Register," graphically describe the past state of the town :—

"The entrance to Kandy from Colombo was by the street of that name, which consisted of a row of huts on both sides of the way, but not so closely packed as at present, thatched with paddy straw, enclosed with the cadjan pandal, with the exception of some of the superior Moor shops, which were secured by single planks slipped into

* There is some doubt as to where this Mandappa actually stood.
† Pybus' "Mission to the King of Kandy," pp. 66 and 67.
‡ Davy's "Interior of Ceylon," p. 371.
§ "Ceylon Literary Register," Vol. IV., p. 270.

a groove for safety at night. The drains in the streets in those days, and for some time afterwards, were trenched, but not bricked; therefore these openings intended for drains got no nearer the use desired than that of being the receptacle of filth, and in rainy weather they became small ditches, over which were placed a plank or a few stout pieces of wood as approaches to these huts.

" The appearance of Kandy at this period was very humble, and the only sign that could lead a stranger to suspect he was in the city of Kandy was the greater number of hovels forming a street, which, however, was not sufficient indication to two officers of the 45th Regiment coming to join headquarters, who went almost through the place, inquiring how much further it was to Kandy.

" The Officers' quarters were principally in Malabar street, and were old Kandyan buildings, some thatched, others with flat tiles on a sloping roof, former abodes of the Malabar servants or attachés to the palace. They had mud wall and floors, and were not particularly water-tight. Our mess-house was a long room with a broad verandah, and situated where the Queen's Hotel now stands, but facing the lake, with a garden extending almost as far as the present Oriental Bank, watered by a kitool spouting from the lake across the road and removable at pleasure. But this was seldom disturbed, the thoroughfare not being frequented, as carriages were little used, especially in that direction, there being no road around the lake, but only the bund between the upper and lower lakes leading to the Castle Hill barrack, by a flight of rough steps ascending immediately up the steep face of the hill, native work, of very irregular formation, notwithstanding which an officer of the 45th rode his pony up them.

" We had no Officers' guard, but did acting field officers' duty, visiting the main guard at the Governor's gate at hours, the Colombo road end of Trincomalee street, the approach from Dumbara, and hailing the Magazine guard on the island in the lake.

" Kandy was anything but a lively place in those days. Natives with bundles of firewood from the neighbouring hills, women with their water chatties, and villagers with plantains, fowls, eggs, &c., fowls selling at 2 fanams each, a bunch of plantains at about the same, and 120 eggs for 8 fanams or 1*s*. Tamils and other strangers were scarcely seen excepting upon Buddhist festivals."

In those days the journey to Kandy was made on foot and in palanquins. In 1832 a mail coach was started, which left Colombo three times a week " at gunfire," and was due to reach Kandy between five and six o'clock of the same day.

The opening of the railway and the planting enterprises in the neighbourhood made Kandy once again a mountain capital, and it is now the principal centre in the Island for planters' meetings and tourists' excursions.

The prosperity of the town has been thus considerably augmented, whilst its advantages as a winter health resort have attracted capital, which has been spent on developing and improving its natural and great advantages.

The population of the *Kandy District*—excluding the Kandy Municipality and the estate population—in 1911 was 231,240. With the estate population, which numbered 147,262, the population of the District was 378,502, being an increase of 6·9 per cent. in the decade. Allowing for changes caused by the addition to the District of portions excluded from the Kandy Municipality, the total population has increased by nearly 24,700.

The decade was a healthy one, and the births exceeded the deaths for the decade 1901–1910 by 34,721, as compared with an excess of births over deaths of 15,272 in the previous decade; that is to say, while the population has only increased by 6·9 per cent., the natural increase by the excess of births over deaths is double what it was between 1891 and 1900.

The increase in the population—exclusive of estates—is 16·5 per cent., representing an increase in numbers of 32,879.

The explanation of the total increase being small, as compared with the increase between 1891–1901, which was nearly 31 per cent., is that the increase in estate population, which was 54½ per cent. between 1891 and 1901, has been succeeded by an actual decrease of 5½ per cent. in the estate population between 1901 and 1911.

The Government Agent (Mr. L. W. Booth) in his District Census Report says that "this decrease in the estate figures seems to be due to the fact that the number of coolies in 1901 was abnormally great, as a famine at the Coast in that year caused the coolies to leave India and come to Ceylon to be supported by their relatives here. The competitions of other districts where large areas have been newly opened has had a tendency to reduce the number of coolies employed on estates in fully planted districts. The increased employment of Sinhalese on estates in some parts of the district has also tended to reduce the number of Tamil coolies."*

There has been a marked increase in the extent of all the principal cultivations. In 1901 it was estimated that there were 8,800 acres under coconut cultivation, and in 1910 12,650 acres. The extent under tea is estimated to have increased by 6,000 acres, and at the end of 1910 there were 7,360 acres under rubber, a new cultivation.

The period has been a very prosperous one for the Kandyan villager; the increase in the Kandyan population is over 15 per cent.

All the Ratemahatmayas' divisions—excluding the estate population—show increases, varying from 23¼ per cent. in the division of Tumpane to 8½ per cent. in Uda Bulatgama.

The rubber "boom" has considerably affected the prosperity of this District as elsewhere, and the villagers in many parts have found regular and well-paid employment on rubber estates. Notably is this the case in the Tumpane division, which increased in population by 23¼ per cent. between 1901–1911, as compared with an increase of under 2 per cent. in the previous decade. Its population has increased nearly one hundred-fold since the first settlement which gave it its name.†

Settlers have been attracted to this division from the Low-country (the Low-country Sinhalese have increased by over 60 per cent.) and neighbouring divisions.

The next largest increase is 20½ per cent. in the Pata Hewaheta division, though the estate population has actually decreased by over 18½ per cent. The division is a very prosperous one, and there has been an influx into it for purposes of trade and the opening up of new estates.

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* *Vide* remarks under Nuwara Eliya District *infra*, and p. 46, *supra*.

† "The tradition is that King Gaja Bahu, when settling the people in the different districts, sent to Tumpane one hundred and fifty. After the distribution of the people the king questioned the headman as to the number in his charge, and when it came to the turn of the Tumpane headman to answer, he said the number was 'Tunpanahai' (three fifties), instead of saying 'Eka-siyapanahai' (one hundred and fifty), whereupon the king called the headman a fool; since then the people of Tumpane are called fools. Knox calls it 'Tunpanahay,' 'three fifties.'"—Lawrie's "Gazetteer of the Central Province," Vol. II., p. 830.

The next largest increase is in Udu Nuwara, which has increased by nearly 20 per cent. The adjoining district of Yati Nuwara has increased by 14 per cent., while its estate population has remained practically stationary.

These two divisions are still pre-eminently Kandyan, and their prosperity to-day would probably compare very favourably with their condition when Knox wrote of them : "These two Counties (Oudanour and Tattanour) have the pre-eminence of all the rest in the Land. They are most populous and fruitful. The Inhabitants thereof are the chief and principal men : insomuch that it is a usual saying among them, that if they want a King, they may take any man, of either of these two Counties, from the Plow, and wash the dirt off him and he by reason of his quality and descent is fit to be a King. And they have this peculiar Priviledge, that none may be their Governour but one born in their own Country."*

The present Ratemahatmaya of Udu Nuwara (C. B. Nugawela, Dewa Nilame) reports that the people of his division are "cultivators with a considerable degree of civilization, they eat and dress well. A majority of them are above want. Houses are built and furnished in the modern style."

Harispattu has increased by 18¼ per cent., and its estate population by 54 per cent. The country of the "four hundred"† is now a division with nearly 44,000 inhabitants.

The Ratemahatmaya (Mr. P. B. Nugawela) reports that "the villagers now have taken largely to trading in timber, boutique keeping, making of tea chests, and keeping of carts for bartering goods from the Wanni and districts outside. Tea, rubber, and cacao estates, and plumbago pits are giving employment to a large number of inhabitants, and several villagers have now felt the benefit of cultivating their high lands with valuable products, to which they never before directed their attention."

Pata Dumbara can also show an increase of over 18½ per cent. This division has benefited largely by the increase in tobacco cultivation, land suited for this cultivation fetching high prices. In 1906 prices as high as Rs. 107 and Rs. 180 an acre were reached. It is reported that five to ten lakhs of rupees are obtained annually by tobacco cultivators in this division. 478 acres in this Division are under this cultivation.

Vegetable cultivation forms the chief industry of the less hilly portions of the Lower Dumbara division; the produce is taken to the Kandy market, where it is sold largely to traders from up-country, who visit weekly, and to estate coolies on Sundays.

"The Sunday market" has now become a regular institution in the principal bazaars of Uda and Pata Dumbara.

Uda Dumbara shows an improvement on the rate of the decade 1891–1900, when the population increased by 7½ per cent.; the increase between 1901–1910 was 10 per cent.—the increase between 1891 and 1900 followed on decreases in the two previous decades. The acreage under tobacco has increased three-fold during the decade.

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* Knox's "Historical Relation," p. 3. [The references to Knox's "Historical Relation of Ceylon" are to the last edition, published by James Mac Le Hose & Sons, 1911.]

† Knox calls it "Horseput" (four hundred soldiers). "Harisiapattu—the country of the four hundred. According to tradition it received its name from its having been originally peopled by 400 captives brought from the Coromandel Coast by King Gaja Bahu I. (113–125 A.D.), in lieu of those whom the sovereign of that country had carried off from Ceylon during the reign of his father."—Casie Chitty's "Gazetteer," p. 98.

The Government Agent stated in his Administration Report for 1907 that in the neighbourhood of Kandy the ordinary cooly was earning from 40 to 50 cents a day on rubber estates, and in Upper Dumbara Sinhalese labour had been paid at the rate of from 60 to 75 cents a day.

Uda Palata, which showed the largest increase in 1901, viz., 30½ per cent., has only increased at half this rate, probably due to the labour on the estates, which shows an increase of only 9½ per cent.

The town of Gampola, which is in this division, has increased in population by over 45½ per cent., and has now a population of over 5,500. Gampola was at one time the capital of the Island—"the delightful city of Gangasiripura,"* the royal city on the river. It is mentioned in Sinhalese history as early as 502 B.C., and became the capital of the Island under Bhuvaneka Bahu IV. in 1347, and continued so for fifty years.

Uda Bulatgama shows the smallest increase of any division, 8½ per cent. The town of Nawalapitiya in this division has increased by 9 per cent. There are more Low-country Sinhalese, Moors, and Tamils in this town than there are Kandyans, who form only one-tenth of the population.

The division of Uda Bulatgama is almost entirely composed of estates, of which there are 226, with a population of close upon 73,000—a decrease on the estate population of 1901 of 16 per cent.

The small increase in the resident population is principally due to the decrease in the estate labour affecting trade, but this division is in other respects perhaps the least prosperous of the divisions of the Kandy District. Trade is in the hands of Moormen, Tamils, and Low-country Sinhalese.

The villagers cultivate paddy and dry grains and make jaggery, but the returns are very poor, and not sufficient to support a fourth of the population, who are therefore obliged to live on imported rice, hill paddy, and yams.

Uda Bulatgama is the only division to show an excess of deaths over births both during this decade and the last. Between 1901 and 1910 the deaths exceeding the births by 381; between 1891 and 1900 the excess of deaths was 3,507.

236 pilgrims to Adam's Peak on the night of the Census were enumerated in this division.†

While the Kandyans have increased by over 15 per cent. in the Kandy District, the Low-country Sinhalese have also increased by 21 per cent., and Moors by 16½ per cent.

As is to be expected from the estate figures, Tamils show a decrease of nearly 6 per cent., while Europeans have also decreased by 6 per cent.

In 1835 there were 1,200 Europeans, of whom 300 were females, in the Central Province, most of whom were engaged on military duties. At this Census there were 2,679, of whom 1,142 were females.

The average number of persons to the square mile in 1835 in the Central Province was 54½; it is now 294.

The population of the *Matale District* at the Census was 108,367, inclusive of estates; the estate population numbered 31,186.

The increase in numbers in the total population of the District since 1901 is 16,164, or an increase of 17·5 per cent., while the increase in the estate population is 5,050, or 19 per cent. The increase in the

* *Mahawansa* (translation by L. C. Wijesinha, Mudaliyar), Chapter XC., p. 264.
† For an account of the pilgrimage, see *infra*, p. 121.

estate population is small, compared with the increase during the previous decade, which was 69 per cent., but the increase in the population exclusive of estates is double the rate of increase between 1891 and 1901.

The District went through a period of great depression between 1881 and 1891, when the population actually decreased by 11½ per cent. The last Census showed a great improvement, and this improvement has been steadily maintained, and the District is to-day one of the most prosperous in the Island.

"Matale embraces all the three peculiarities of surface by which Ceylon is distinguished: its southern division occupies the northern portion of the mountain zone, its central a part of the hilly regions, and its northern the low and heated plains. The surface of the country is therefore very diversified, but the greater part of it is covered with a luxuriant vegetation. Its population is very scanty, probably it does not reach twenty to the square mile."*

The description written in 1849 still holds good, but to-day there are 120 persons to the square mile in the Matale District.

Between 1891 and 1900 the births exceeded the deaths in the District by only 645, while between 1901 and 1910 the excess of births over deaths was 5,070, in spite of two bad years.

1906 was a year of unusual sickness, owing to the abnormal droughts in the early part of the year, and the deaths exceeded the births by 1,431; while in 1909 there was also an excess of deaths (575), due to a period of drought and sickness in the previous year, when the Matale town water supply ran short in August and the north-east monsoon failed. There was even scarcity of food in Matale North, owing to the inability of the people to cultivate their paddy fields for two successive years.

The increase in population is due principally to migration into the District. The Low-country Sinhalese have increased by 31 per cent., but their number is still small, as compared with the native population, Kandyan Sinhalese.

The Assistant Government Agent (Mr. F. G. Tyrrell) in his District Census Report says: "The opening up of new estates has afforded opportunities for the enterprise of the Low-country and Moorman trader, and at estate centres new bazaars have sprung up, or the existing ones have increased in size and importance.

"There has been little movement of the Kandyan population, and that of a temporary character. The villager likes to work on estates near his village. If driven by temporary necessity to seek work further afield, as soon as his immediate wants are relieved he returns to the cultivation of his field or garden and a leisured independence. Numbers of villagers from Matale North, when their paddy cultivation failed them in 1908 and 1909, came south to work temporarily on estates, and were thus able to keep themselves and their families from actual want."

The increase in the estate population does not correspond with the increase in the acreage brought under cultivation. The Assistant Government Agent reports that "the reason for this lies in the fact that Sinhalese labour is now very largely employed on both the new and old estates. The Kandyan has outgrown his prejudice against estate labour. Competition for his services on the new estates is keen, and the rate of wages throughout the District has risen."

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* Pridham's "Ceylon," Vol. II., p. 652.

While the estate population of Matale South and Matale East have increased by 8¼ and 5½ per cent. respectively, the estate population of Matale North increased from 170 to 3,285, or nearly twenty-fold, owing to the development of rubber cultivation.

The decade has been noticeable for the wide extension of estate cultivation, principally of rubber; and the capital introduced to acquire and work the new estates has resulted in a general increase of prosperity throughout the District.

The acreage under cultivation in 1901 and 1910 of the four principal estate products of the District was as follows :—

	1901.	1910.
Tea	19,600	19,000
Cacao	9,600	10,600

As was stated by the Assistant Government Agent in his District Census Report for 1901, no great extensions of tea or cacao could be anticipated.

	1901.	1910.
Cardamoms	1.500	900
Rubber	—	26,000

Rubber was planted largely in 1904, 1905, and 1906, the record price for virgin land in this District, viz., Rs. 140 an acre, being reached in the latter year. Tobacco cultivation in native gardens was introduced from Dumbara in 1902, and has made great strides in the centre and north of the District. Cotton has recently been tried with success in the north. The acreage under paddy remains stationary.

The increases in population—exclusive of the estate population—are general throughout the District. The largest increase is in Matale South, which has increased by 19½ per cent., Matale town has increased by 17 per cent., Matale North by 16 per cent., and Matale East by over 12½ per cent.

It is noteworthy that there should be such considerable increases in the population of Matale town and the district through which the North road runs, as during the decade the railway to Jaffna was opened and the dockyard at Trincomalee was closed. The North road running through the whole length of the Matale District had always been the main artery of communication between the south, south-west, and central portions of the Island on the one side and the Northern Province and the Trincomalee District on the other. The cart traffic on the road was very heavy, while Matale was the junction from which travellers to Anuradhapura and the North and to Trincomalee started their coach journey.

The cart traffic is still considerable, especially in the neighbourhood of Matale, and the road is now a favourite one for motorists. The cave temples of Dambulla and the rock citadel of Sigiriya in the Matale District, and the ruins of Polonnaruwa, are usually visited by travellers passing through Matale by motor from Kandy to Anuradhapura and Trincomalee.

The population of the *Nuwara Eliya District* at the Census was 155,462, of whom 100,393 formed the estate population.

The increase in numbers since the last Census is 1,855. The actual increase in the population—exclusive of estates—was 5.026, while the estate population decreased by 3,171.

The increase per cent. in the total population was 1·2 per cent.—the smallest increase in any District in Ceylon—while at the last Census

the rate of increase was 39½ per cent., which was the highest rate of increase for any District. This decrease is entirely due to the decline in the estate population, which forms two-thirds of the total population of the District. Between 1891 and 1901 the estate population increased by 55 per cent., while between 1901 and 1911 it decreased by 3 per cent. The increase in the population of the District—exclusive of estates—was 10 per cent., as compared with an increase of 15½ per cent. at the last Census.

Between 1901–1910 the births exceeded the deaths by 11,066, or double the actual increase of population in the District. The births were 12,000 and the deaths 7,000 more than in the previous decade.

All the races in the District, except the Tamils, show increases. The Kandyan Sinhalese, who form nearly four-fifths of the resident population, have increased by 15 per cent., the Low-country Sinhalese by 13½ per cent., while Europeans and Malays also show increases.

The difference between the excess of births over deaths and the actual increase in population is fully accounted for by the decrease in the number of Tamils in the District. There was a decrease of five thousand in the Tamil population.

The Assistant Government Agent (Mr. R. A. G. Festing) reports that in his opinion and in that of the leading planters of the District the figures for the estate population are very accurate, and that the decrease cannot be ascribed to estate labour having escaped enumeration. The decrease is most marked in Uda Hewaheta and Kotmale. It appears that the estates were fully provided with labour at the beginning of 1901, and that improvements in the methods of cultivation have effected a saving of labour, with the result that the labour forces on the estates have been reduced in numbers.*

" Further, the number of Sinhalese who work on estates is now considerable, and far in excess of the numbers so employed ten years ago." The Assistant Government Agent states that " the Chief Headmen have noticed that there is not now among the Sinhalese villager that strong objection to estate work that there used to be."

In fact, the very small increase of ·31 per cent. in the population of the Kotmale district, excluding the estate population, is ascribed to the fact that numbers of the Sinhalese of this division now work and live on estates, and were included in the estate population of the division. 2,700 Sinhalese were enumerated on estates in the Kotmale division.

Exclusive of the estate population, the Walapane division has increased in population by 11½ per cent., and Uda Hewaheta by 9½ per cent. Both these increases denote favourable conditions for the resident agricultural population.

The Assistant Government Agent reports that " there has been little marked change in the District during the past ten years. Paddy cultivation still continues to be the chief employment of the people. A few small native tea gardens have sprung up, but otherwise there is little change. No new industries have been introduced. Prices have risen a little, but the rise is not so marked in the District as in the town. The Kandyan population is gradually adopting a more advanced style of dress. Ten years ago half the rural population wore no banians nor coats ; now it is the exception to see a man without either. The general appearance of the population seems better, and they have adopted a more expensive style of living, but it is doubtful if they are really better off.

* *Vide* pp. 46 and 59, *supra.*

"But if there has been little change in the District, there has been a very marked change in Nuwara Eliya town. The place is becoming more and more popular every year among both residents and visitors to the Island. So many improvements have been made that the town would scarcely be recognizable by one who had not seen it for ten years. The construction of the Uda Pussellawa Railway, the laying out of the park, the great improvements to roads and drains, the introduction of telephone communication, &c., have made the place an up-to-date sanitarium, with the natural result that the cost of living has gone up very considerably. Lately there has been a marked increase in the number of natives who visit the town during the season."

The population of Nuwara Eliya town and gravets at the Census was 7,406, which is an increase of 34½ per cent. on the figures for 1901. The population of the town increased by 29 per cent., and is nearly three times what it was in 1891.

Nuwara Eliya is now a world-renowned sanitarium, and is famous both in the East as well as in the West for its climate, while its excellent golf links attract yearly an increasing number of visitors from India and the Far East.

On the night of the Census (March 10) persons of 43 different races were enumerated in Nuwara Eliya, including visitors from England, Germany, Austria, France, Australia, America, Canada, Mauritius, and Java.

Nuwara Eliya as a place of residence is a discovery of British times. It is of interest to read the description given by travellers only ninety years ago of the spot which is now a fashionable hill station, with hotels, clubs, and bungalows "equipped with every modern luxury."

Davy gives the following account of the Nuwara Eliya patana in 1821: "We entered a forest, in which we began to see traces of elephants, and proceeded over wooded hills gradually descending till we came to a great extent of open country, the aspect of which was no less novel than agreeable.

"Our guides called it Neuraellyia-pattan. In point of elevation and extent, this tract, there is reason to believe, surpasses every other of the kind in the Island; perhaps it is fifteen or twenty miles in circumference, and its average height may be about 5,300 feet above the level of the sea.* Surrounded by the tops of mountains, which have the appearance of hills of moderate height, its character is that of a tableland, elevated and depressed into numerous hillocks and hollows.

"Beautiful as this region is, and cleared, and possessing, in all probability, a fine climate (certainly a cool climate) like the similar heights between Maturatta and fort M'Donald, it is quite deserted by man. It is the dominion, entirely, of wild animals; and, in an especial manner, of the elephant, of whom we saw innumerable traces; indeed, judging from the great quantity of the dung of this animal which was scattered over the ground, it must abound here more than in any other part of the Island.

"All I could collect from the natives with me with regard to this region amounted to this: that the pattan was never inhabited, and that,

* About noon, in a spot sheltered by several large rhododendrons, two or three hundred yards on the plain, the barometer was 24·90°; the thermometer attached 60°, and detached 64°.

except by the passing traveller, it is visited only by two descriptions of men—by the blacksmiths of Kotmale, who come in the dry season to make iron, and by the gem-renter and his people in quest of precious stones."*

Hamilton's "East India Gazetteer," published in London in 1828, quotes Davy, and adds that Nuwara Eliya is "abandoned to the grove elephant, which, notwithstanding the coolness of the temperature, makes it his abode, being attracted by the excellence of its pasture, the seclusion of its recesses, and above all by the absence of his persecutor, the two-legged miscreant."†

Forbes refers to the historical legend connected with Nuwara Eliya: "Turning round the northern end of Hakgalla mountain, we reached an open valley fringed with bar-berry bushes, and diversified by groups and single trees of the superb rhododendron arboreum; the dell was surrounded by hoary forests, whose rich but sombre colouring was unable to counteract that sullen gloom which shade and silence threw over the scene between Hakgalla and the massive Pedro. This is the Seeta Talawa (plain of Seeta), where it is believed the goddess was concealed together with Trisida, the niece of Rawana, who was her sole companion. Hanuman, eluding the vigilance of the guards, contrived to penetrate to their bower; and having delivered to Seeta the ring of Rama, with assurances that her release would be accomplished, he proceeded to set fire to the neighbouring forests. It was this conflagration which cleared Nuwara-ellia, and other plains in this region, of genii, and as they now are—that is, barren of useful productions—Vishnu has doomed them for ever to remain. Thus speak the legends, Hindu and Cingalese; and it is probable their credit may long remain unrefuted by extensive cultivation."‡

To Sir Edward Barnes is due the credit of realizing the potentialities of Nuwara Eliya. It was converted by him in 1828 into a convalescent station for the troops.

Casie Chitty, in his "Gazetteer" published in 1834,§ quotes from the "Colombo Journal": "The temperature of the air never approaches to what is called tropical heat, and though the cold is sometimes so great as to produce ice, yet that piercing wind which is so frequently complained of in England is never felt. The mean daily variation of the temperature is as high as 112°, and the annual range from 35½° to 80½°.

"From the establishment of a mail coach between Colombo and Kandy—by which easy conveyance persons may advance 72 miles on their journey with little or no fatigue—we may expect it to become the resort of invalids, even from the coast. The European soldiers resident at Nuwara Eliya appear ruddy and healthy, and possess the same strength and spirits as in their native land; and may be said also to possess that robustness of frame common among the inhabitants of an English agricultural district.

"Of this beautiful spot, reclaimed from the wilderness, much more might be said, but as time will doubtless develop numerous advantages yet undiscovered, we have confined ourselves to such information as has already appeared from able pens regarding the present advantages it offers to Europeans, both in salubrity and comfort. Even this, brief as it is, may prove not uninteresting, when this infant station at

* Davy's "Interior of Ceylon," pp. 457–460.
† "Ceylon Literary Register," Vol. II., p. 311.
‡ Forbes' "Eleven Years in Ceylon," Vol. II., pp. 130, 131.
§ Casie Chitty's "Gazetteer," pp. 174, 175.

some future period shall have become conspicuous among the posts on the Island.

"There is a bazaar which is improving daily ; and the establishment of a native resthouse for coolies proves highly beneficial."

The main line of railway from Colombo and Kandy was extended to Nanu-oya in 1884, and the railway to Nuwara Eliya was opened to passenger traffic in December, 1903. Leaving Colombo at ten o'clock at night, Nuwara Eliya is reached by half-past eight the following morning.

The extension to Ragalla was opened in 1904. At Kandapola the line reaches an elevation of 6,316 feet—the highest point on the whole railway system of Ceylon.

The future of the sanitarium may be regarded as assured, while the District depends for its prosperity on the continued prosperity of the tea cultivation.

The *Jaffna District* is the chief Tamil District in the Island, and contains 29½ per cent. of the area of the Northern Province and 88 per cent. of its population. Its population at the Census was 326,712, an increase of 26,191 during the decade, or 8·7 per cent. ; exclusive of estate population, the increase was 8·9 per cent. This is a larger increase than in any of the three previous decades.

During the period 1891–1910 inclusive the births exceeded the deaths by 34,288, so that the actual increase in population during the ten years is less than the excess of births over deaths. At the last Census there was also a decrease (5,000) as compared with the excess shown in the births over the deaths during the period 1891–1900.

The reasons for the comparatively small increases in the District are the thickly populated areas which do not allow of any large expansion and the increase in emigration. One of the most remarkable features of the past ten years has been the steady flow of Jaffnese to the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States.

Tambapillai Adigar, the retired Maniagar of Jaffna town, in an interesting report says : "The price of land has more than doubled in Jaffna during the past decade. This, as well as other signs of general prosperity among the people, is due, not to any improvement in local industries and trade, but to the very large number of the sons of Jaffna who are employed in various capacities outside Jaffna—in other parts of Ceylon, in India, in Burma, and especially in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States. Thousands of our boys are educated in the Jaffna colleges and English schools, and when they get out of them the vast majority of the English-educated Jaffnese find employment in those countries, while a limited number of peasant and poorer classes also by emigration to the Straits and the Federated Malay States are enabled to earn and return to their native country with a good competence. There is not a village in the Jaffna District which is not benefited by the employment of its inhabitants abroad. Several lakhs of rupees are annually remitted to Jaffna by her sons abroad, and this accounts for the increased prosperity of the country."

The figures showing the value of remittances by money order from Federated Malay States and Straits Settlements to Jaffna of recent years fully bear out the Adigar's statement.

In 1903 the value of money orders issued in the Federated Malay States and Straits Settlements *payable in Ceylon* was Rs. 189,487. In 1910 1,146 money orders amounting to Rs. 91,792 were issued on the Jaffna peninsula from the Straits Settlements, and 6,077 money orders

amounting to Rs. 511,086 were issued between the Jaffna peninsula and the Federated Malay States, making a total of Rs. 602,878 remitted to Jaffna, practically entirely by Jaffnese, in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States. In addition to these remittances, a large amount of money passes through the Chetties.

Kuala Lumpur, the principal town in the Federated Malay States, has been called "the little Jaffna." It is unfortunate that the Census statistics of the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States do not show the Jaffna Tamils separately.

In the Federated Malay States Census Report for 1901 a recommendation appears that "in the returns for Abstracts of Population under heading of 'Other Races' the nationality of Egyptians might well be omitted, as there are none here, and the words 'Jaffna Tamils' be inserted instead.

"There are a large number (285 in Perak alone*) of this peculiar race here, and it will be interesting to compare the increase or decrease in their numbers compared with that of the other Ceylon natives and Tamils from the Presidency of Madras, India."

This recommendation was not adopted. The numbers of this "*peculiar race*" have certainly largely increased.

The Superintendents of Census of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States have kindly supplied me with figures showing the number of persons enumerated whose birthplace is given as Ceylon. From these figures it is possible to arrive at very closely approximate figures for the number of Jaffnese in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States. In the Federated Malay States the district of birth was given in most cases—3,231 males and 549 females gave their birthplace as Jaffna. In addition to these, 1,843 males and 358 females gave their race as Ceylon-born Tamils and their birthplace as Ceylon. The very large majority of these may be assumed to be Jaffnese, as estate coolies, even if born in Ceylon, would almost certainly have been included as Indian Tamils.

In the Straits Settlements the district of birthplace was not given. 1,843 males and 278 females gave Ceylon as their birthplace, of whom 305 males and 72 females were Sinhalese; the very large majority of the rest were no doubt Jaffnese.

It may be safely assumed that there were 7,000 Jaffnese in the Federated Malay States and Straits Settlements at the Census of 1911, and their numbers are increasing. Many Jaffnese also attend the Madras University and find work in the Presidency.

The majority of Jaffnese obtain employment in Colombo and in the Far East as clerks, overseers, and conductors on estates. They make excellent accountants. While the Jaffnese emigrate in such large numbers to distant lands, they do not desire to *settle* down anywhere else than Jaffna. The one object of their desires, the Mecca which they all hope to arrive at before they die, is Jaffna.

It was hoped that the completion of the Northern railway in 1905 would bring settlers from Jaffna to the Wanni, and that the large extents of paddy lands under irrigation works, notably under the Karachchi scheme, would be taken up by colonists from Jaffna. Such has not proved to be the case. The Jaffnese are willing to emigrate only if they have the prospect of good wages which, by the exercise of thrift, will give them sufficient to provide them with an annuity for the

* At the 1911 Census 921 males and 173 females, natives of Ceylon, enumerated in the State of Perak, gave their birthplace as Jaffna.

last part of their life in Jaffna. Notably industrious as small farmers in the Jaffna peninsula, they prove inefficient *field* workers on a daily or monthly wage, though the rate of pay may be much higher than the amount they could obtain from cultivation of their own land. They are not disposed to act as pioneers in country which requires to be opened up, and which needs continuous effort for a year to two before they can obtain any profit.

Their characteristics have changed but little since the time of the Dutch, when in the Instructions from the Governor-General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon (1656–1665) it is reported of the Jaffnese that " on account of the fertility of the soil, the affection of the people for the place of their birth and their long residence there, they cannot be easily moved, though the lands do not yield a sufficiency to provide for them all ...... A promise of greater freedom must be held out to the people of the higher castes who would be willing to take up work and settle down in the district of Ponneryn. It would be of great advantage to the Company and further the interests of the Island if matters could be arranged in this way. But as we cannot realize our wishes all at once we must try to get on with those who are now employed in the work, leaving the rest to time."*

The new element which has encouraged emigration is education. The Jaffnese do not emigrate as pioneers, cultivators, settlers, but as passed candidates and examination successes.

The extent of emigration is also apparent in the proportion of the sexes. In the Jaffna District the females exceed the males by 7,376 ; there are 511 females to 489 males in 1,000 persons.

With the exception of Galle, Jaffna is the only District in Ceylon where there is a preponderance of females.†

Of the thirteen divisions into which the District has been divided, nine comprise the Jaffna peninsula, which with The Islands division include an area of 450⅛ square miles, containing 315,000 of the population, leaving 11,500 for the remaining 548½ square miles of the District.

Three divisions show a decrease in population, viz., Karaichchi (9 per cent.), Delft (4½ per cent.), and Vadamaradchi East (3 per cent.).

The decrease in the Karaichchi division is from a population of 2,879 in 1901 to 2,612, of whom 1,879 were males in 1911. The increase in population in this division between 1891 and 1901 was 60·9 per cent.

The Government Agent of the Northern Province (Mr. J. P. Lewis) in his Administration Report for 1904 pointed out that " owing to special circumstances connected with the conditions of the division, the Census Report for 1901 cannot be depended on as regards ascertaining the population of the villages of the Karaichchi division. At the time the Census was taken they were full of farmers and labourers from Tenmaradchi division." The Government Agent annexed a list of ten villages in this division showing a difference of 1,000 between their population in 1901 according to the Census and in 1902 according to the Village Register. He adds: " These statistics show that Karaichchi wants a resident population. It is to be hoped that the Karachchi

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* Instructions from the Governor-General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon, 1656–1665 (translation by Sophia Pieters), pp. 11–13.

† *Vide* Chapter XI., Sex.

irrigation scheme will make the division sufficiently attractive to induce some of the Tenmaradchi people not to visit it periodically, but to remain in it permanently." These hopes have not been realized, though the resident population of the District is probably slightly increasing.

The decrease in numbers at the Census is probably due to a number of the cultivators, who come to this District annually with their coolies for the cultivation season, having finished their paddy harvest and returned to their homes by the 10th March—the date of the Census.

The decrease in the population of the island of Delft represents only 178 persons, and is explained by the Maniakar to be due "to the temporary absence of several families in the peninsula and the mainland on account of scarcity of food supply in the island."

The population of the island of Delft has varied but little. At the first Census of 1827 it was 3,063, with 115 more females than males; at the Census of 1911 the population was 3,728, with 32 more females than males.

The decrease in Vadamaradchi East is probably due to the harvesting in Tenmaradchi, an adjoining division ; but this division, a small one with a population of only 4,000, is a stationary one ; the population has only varied by 170 in forty years.

The division to show the largest increase is Jaffna town, which has increased by 19½ per cent. within Local Board limits and by 16 per cent. outside these limits. From being the third largest town in Ceylon, it is now the second largest, having beaten Galle during the decade for the second place. It is thickly populated. There are 5,392 persons to the square mile—a density of population only surpassed by Colombo.

The connection of Jaffna with Colombo by railway has largely added to the prosperity of the town. It has extended the market for Jaffna copra, tobacco, and cigars. The passenger traffic is heavy, especially at the holiday seasons, when there is an exodus of clerks from Colombo to their homes in Jaffna.

Within the town itself the females preponderate. The only other towns in Ceylon where there are more women than men are Moratuwa and Weligama. This preponderance of females is due to the large numbers of Jaffnese employed elsewhere, which has been previously referred to.

The foundation of Jaffna is described in Casie Chitty's Tamil Plutarch :—

"Yalpana Nayanar, otherwise called Viraragaven, was a minstrel who lived in the Chola country. Being blind, he depended for his subsistence entirely on the earnings of his wife. One day his wife having delayed to serve out to him his meals at the proper hour, he quarrelled with her on that account and quitted his house, saying that he was going to Ceylon, upon which she sneeringly observed : 'Ah ! You are going to Ceylon to obtain a tusked elephant and a fertile land.' When he arrived in Ceylon, he was refused admittance into the king's presence, as it was considered ominous for a king to see a blind man, but it was afterwards arranged that the king should stand behind the curtain and hear the blind minstrel's song . . . . The king being greatly pleased with his performance honoured him with the gift of a tusked elephant and by the donation of a piece of land on the northern extremity of the Island in perpetuity, and thus was realized what his wife had said in bitter irony.

"The land which he obtained from the king was no other than the present peninsula of Jaffna. It was then uninhabited* and covered with jungle, but he had it cleared, and, having induced a colony of Tamils from Southern India to settle in it, soon rendered it a rich country, which he called after his own professional name Yalpana Nadu, that is, the minstrel's country. He did not, however, assume any sovereignty over the country, but inviting over from the continent a youth, who was the natural son of a Chola king by a Brahaman woman, installed him as its king under the title of Singariya Chakravarti. The installation of Singariya Chakravarti is stated in the 'Kailasa Malai' to have occurred in the Kali year 3,000 (101 A.D.), and if the date be correct, the Sinhalese monarch who patronized the minstrel must have been Wasa Bahu, who reigned at Anuradhapura from 62 to 106 A.D.† In the lyric which has been noticed above, the minstrel does not celebrate his patron under his proper name, he styles him Pararajasingham, an appellation signifying one who is a lion to other kings."

Another account of the origin of Jaffna is given in "Dakshina Kailasa Manmyam," which forms part of the ancient "Skandu Purana": "A Gandharva named Susangita coveted the lute used by Ravana. When the latter was killed by Rama in battle, Susangita

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* It appears to be very unlikely that Jaffna was uninhabited when the district was thus donated to the minstrel Yalpana Nayanar, since—

(*a*) According to the "Yalpana Vaipava Malai," or History of Jaffna, from which Casie Chitty appears to have derived his account, there were at least two famous temples, one at Maviddapuram, dedicated to Kandaswamy, and the other called the Tiru Tambaleswara Kovil at Keerimalai, before Jaffna was gifted to the minstrel.

(*b*) The traces of a previous Sinhalese occupation of Jaffna shown in—

(1) Names of places—*e.g.*, Kodikamam (Godigamuwa), Kokuvil (Kokkawila), Pannagam (Pannagama), Valikamam (Weligama ?)—why should not Jaffna have been called Weligama—the sandy village ? It is practically included now in the four divisions of Valikamam.

(2) Names of persons ending in appu—*e.g.*, Kandappu, Sinnappu—the Tamil form is appa. The termination appu is not inflected like other Tamil words ending in short u. Foreign words in u do not drop the u in inflection.

(3) About the year 1902 Buddhist images were unearthed at Kottiyawatta (a Sinhalese name) near Chunnagam (Hunnagama ?). Images of Buddha have also been discovered in the Mannar District.

(4) It is said that the Jaffnese formerly grew their hair like the Sinhalese, and traces of this custom are still found in interior villages.

(5) The existence of Naga shrines in the Jaffna peninsula pointing to the early prevalence of snake worship—*e.g.*, the shrine of Nagammal at Nayinaitivu, where there is a large stone visible above the surface of the sea, round which there is an image of a coiled serpent. It is further noteworthy that the festival at this shrine is held on the Buddhist Esala Poya day.

This island and stone are connected by many with the story of the worship by Manimekalai of the shrine where Buddha preached his Dharma to the Nagas—*vide* the Tamil work called "Manimekalai," said to have been written about the beginning of the second century A.D. It is curious that there should be no mention of Jaffna in this work had it been a Tamil kingdom at the time.

† As Mr. Arunachalam pointed out in a note on this extract in his Census Report for 1901 (Vol. I., p. 81), the Kali year corresponds to 101 B.C., not A.D., but the "Kailasa Malai," the work quoted by Casie Chitty, mentions that the minister of Singariya Chakravarti, who came over with him to Jaffna, built the Nallore Kandaswami temple in the year 870 Saka, which corresponds to 948 A.D. This minister's name, Bhuvaneka Bahu, is still invoked at the temple.

It is much more likely that the later date represents this re-colonization of Jaffna, when it was given the name it now bears. The Sinhalese king in 948 was Kasyapa V., reigning at Polonnaruwa.

took possession of the lute and went to the sacred shrine at Keerimalai. Siva, being pleased with his music, appeared before him and addressed him thus : ' Susangita, I am pleased with your music. As you have a lute always in your hand, may you be known as Yalpani (Yal—lute; pani—hand). Clear the jungle about this place and form a settlement here, calling it after your name.' In accordance with the command of Siva, he cleared the jungle, formed a settlement which he peopled with various castes, and called it Yalpanam."

It was a place of great importance both in the times of the Dutch and the Portuguese. The foundations of the Jaffna fort were laid by the Portuguese in 1624, but it was completed only in 1632.

The siege of Jaffnapatam by the Dutch in 1658 is graphically described by Baldæus.

Of the 54,000 persons included in Jaffna both within and outside Local Board limits, 50,000 are Tamils and 3,000 Moors.

Tenmaradchi, which had showed a steady decrease at each of the last Censuses, shows an increase of nearly 4 per cent.

Punaryn, which showed a continuous decline since 1881, taken together with Tunukkai, shows an increase of nearly 3½ per cent.

After Jaffna, the most important places in the Jaffna District are Kayts, with a population of 1,202 as compared with 1,194 in 1901, Kankesanturai, which was not shown separately in the Census Report of 1901, with a population of 1,565, Point Pedro, which shows a diminished population—2,999 in 1901 and 2,483 in 1911—and Valvettiturai with a population of 3,032 in 1911, as against 2,856 in 1901.

None of these, though well-known ports in the Northern Province, have a population half as large as the village of Chankanai, with 6,661 inhabitants. This village is famous for its market, and population is attracted in consequence.

The period may be described as one of steady increase and prosperity for the Jaffna District. The extension of the railway has brought Jaffna within easy reach of the metropolis, and has made it " really an integral part of Ceylon instead of being a detached portion of the Island without ready means of communication." One of the consequences has been the growth of the town population. But in spite of certain changes in the standard of comfort Jaffna has preserved its essential characteristics, and there is little likelihood of any marked change in them. It is a centre of conservative Hinduism and the home of the Ceylon Tamil.

The Jaffna house and compound are typical of the character of the place and its people. The high fence which shuts out the view of the house from the road; the gate of palmyrah planks, the same height as the surrounding fence, with a heavy weight attached which closes it after the visitor as he passes through ; the low-roofed house ; the *kottahai* or visitors' reception hall ; the stock of paddy, the food supply for the year, on its *kórkkáli* or raised stage—all strike the visitor's eye. The general appearance of the place is markedly distinctive. One searches for a suitable adjective : it is Indian, it is Tamil, it is Dravidian ; it is certainly not typical of Ceylon.

Jaffna is the stronghold of the Tamil population scattered over Ceylon. It preserves its Indian relationship and its Indian prejudices.

The only serious offences against the law which occur in any number in the Jaffna peninsula are caste riots, which were of comparatively frequent occurrence during the first period of the decade. Caste distinctions are more strictly observed here than practically anywhere else in Ceylon.

The effects of emigration, of education, and of increased prosperity will no doubt be felt, but the progress of Western civilization will be very much slower amongst the Tamils of the North than amongst the Sinhalese.

The Jaffna man emigrates, educates himself, and buys more things with the object of adding to his capital. His aim is to live on the interest he can get on this capital, and the larger the interest the greater the provision for the days when he can no longer hope to add to his savings. It is the spending of the East, and not the saving, which influences the spread of Western civilization.

At the last Census the only District in the Island which showed a decrease in population was *Mannar*. At the Census of 1891 the population of the *Mannar District* was 25,398, at the Census of 1901 24,926, or a decrease of nearly 1·9 per cent. At this Census the population is 25,603, or an increase of 2·7 per cent.

It would be a matter for considerable satisfaction if it could be shown that this increase represents an increase in the resident population of this backward and unhealthy District. The additional population of 677 is, however, largely accounted for by the number of immigrants attracted to the District from India and other Tamil districts for work on and in connection with the railway, while a festival at Madu attracted 320 pilgrims on the Census night, of whom 278 were Sinhalese.

Mannar has always had the reputation of being one of the most malarious Districts in the Island. Its population suffered severely from cholera until the closing of the North road in 1899, and though there has been no outbreak of cholera since then, the District still presents the worst bill of health of any District in Ceylon.

Between 1891 and 1900 the registered deaths exceeded the registered births by 1,165, and between 1901 and 1910 the excess of deaths was 1,403. In 1903 the deaths exceeded the births by 513. The death-rate in this year was principally due to the severe mortality at the Pearl Fishery, owing to fever and chills, the result largely of heavy dews and cold nights following very hot days.

There are some signs of improvement. In 1909 and 1910 the births exceeded the deaths. The Mannar island division shows an excess of only one death between 1901 and 1910; for the previous decade the balance of deaths over births was 391.

The principal cause of the heavy mortality of the Mannar District is the number of infantile deaths. The average number of deaths of children under one year to one thousand registered births in this District for the period 1901–1910 was 359, an average of 62 more deaths a year than in any other District in Ceylon.

The average for Ceylon was 180 deaths of infants under one year to 1,000 births, or one-half the infantile death-rate of the Mannar District.

In 1908 the rate rose to 431 deaths to 1,000 births. The causes of this heavy infantile mortality appear to be the weakness of the mothers, and improper feeding and care of the children.

Attempts have been made to train native women from this District as midwives, and to establish trained midwives in the District, but it has been found almost impossible to induce any persons to submit themselves to improved methods. The deaths in maternity cases are very numerous. "This matter has now reached such a stage that when a woman conceives she gives up all hopes of successfully getting through the ordeal, and makes all future arrangements subject to that contingency. I think this hopelessness and fear are great contributing

factors to this disastrous state of affairs," writes the Mannar Kachcheri Mudaliyar, a native of this District.

The heavy rate of infantile mortality, the climatic unhealthiness of some parts of the District, and the very poor standard of living of the majority of the population retard any natural increase of population. The increase is chiefly due to outside influences, but these are all such as materially to improve the condition of the people of the District. It is where there has been no immigration into the District that there have been the largest decreases in the native population.

The Musali division, which is the least affected by the railway works, shows a decrease of 6·8 per cent. This is principally accounted for in Musali South, which has suffered from successive years of drought and scarcity, resulting in the emigration of its inhabitants to other Districts. If immigrants can be attracted to this division, it may be possible for Government again to take up the Akattimurippu scheme, which will benefit this part of the District, as the Giant's tank scheme has benefited the Mantai and Nanaddan divisions. The surveys for the scheme were approved in 1902, but work was stopped in 1905 on account of its cost being incommensurate with the return which could be expected from the existing population.

The other two divisions of the Mannar District show increases of 10½ per cent. in Mannar island and nearly 2 per cent. in Mantai.

The population of Mannar town has increased by 22·51. The Assistant Government Agent (Mr. John Scott) reports that this increase "is certainly not due to railway works, for only comparatively few railway employés live in the town, probably less than 50. The increase may be put down to increased prosperity."

The Moorish population in the thickly populated Moor villages in the island has also increased. The figures for birthplaces show that 600 more Moors born in the Mannar District were enumerated there than at the last Census. There were 600 more Moors in the Mannar island in 1911 than in 1901. In both the other divisions the Moors have decreased in number.

There has also been a marked increase of population under the Giant's tank since this important work was completed in 1901 and channels first constructed below it in 1906. The population of the area under Giant's tank shows an increase of 1,500. There are 22 new villages with a population of 800 persons. Paddy cultivation has largely increased,* and considerable areas of Crown land have been bought and opened up.

The purchase of a block of 102 acres under Giant's tank by an Indian Chetty and an Up-country kangany in 1902 may prove to be the first step in the development of this District by *outside capital and labour*—the great wants of the District.

The successful Pearl Fisheries held in 1903–1907—the fishery of 1905 beat all records—undoubtedly distributed large sums of money throughout the District, and gave lucrative employment to the people of Mannar.

In the opinion of the Assistant Government Agent, "general prosperity may be said to have increased in most parts of the District:

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* The Director of Irrigation in his Administration Report for 1910–1911 says: "The two Kalapokam harvests under Giant's tank in 1910–1911 made a total of 12,794 acres reaped, and the yield for each is given as 10-fold and 15-fold respectively—the latter being an unusually high figure. This means a return of, say, 460,000 bushels of paddy, which at local prices was value for about 9 lakhs of rupees. The Engineer in charge writes most encouragingly regarding the improvement in cultivation and general control and management."

more clothes are worn, and more expensive articles are used, such as turbans, umbrellas, coats and trousers, &c. Liquor shops have increased in number; the native shops sell tinned food stuffs, cigarettes, &c., and numerous European commodities. The use of kerosine oil has greatly increased; good brick houses are being erected everywhere, especially in Mannar, where some fine substantial buildings are to be seen; all well-to-do houses contain articles of European furniture, many of which have been bought by the owners at sales."

Work on the Mannar railway was started in 1909, and "with the construction of the Mannar railway, Mannar may regain some of its former importance, in which case the Paumben railway will restore what the Paumben channel took away."*

The trade of Mannar was ruined by the cyclone of 1814, which made a breach in the Paumben reef; the breach was subsequently enlarged by the Indian Government and became the Paumben channel. Trade was diverted to Paumben, and Mannar no longer had the monopoly which she enjoyed, when she controlled the only channel coastwise north and south with through connection with India.

The Dutch attached great importance to the possession of Mannar. In the Instructions from the Governor-General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon (1656 to 1665), the following particular instructions in regard to Mannar are given :—†

"Mannar, situated towards the south, is a valuable frontier station, and constitutes as it were the key to the District of Jaffnapatam.

"The garrison in the Fort must therefore never fall short of 60 soldiers.

"But in the event of an enemy's arrival it must be strengthened to 150 men, merely for the defence of the Fort.

"The Fort must therefore be always furnished with sufficient provisions for at least a year, and be also abundantly supplied with ammunition. Because when the Portuguese recover their strength they are very likely to attack this island.

"Besides the protection of the island itself, attention should be paid to its revenues, derived from the pearl fishery and from dye-roots, salt, and elephants, which the people of Mantotte, Moesilipatte, and other places have to deliver.

"The passage between the coast of Ceylon and the island of Mannar also yields a certain income, the collection of which must be looked after.

"There is, westward of Mannar, a second strait, which separates this island from the sandbanks of Adam's Bridge. A constant watch should be kept there also.

"The cultivation of cotton, rice, *naetchery*, &c., must be promoted as much as possible, and therefore the sluices in the river of Moesilipatte must be kept in constant repair; because the use of these will conduce to improving the fertility of the soil.

"Measures should be taken to bring about an increase in the population of the district of the Wannias, situated between Mannar and Ponnoryn, which is at present scantily peopled.

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* Notes on Delft, by J. P. Lewis, C.C.S., in the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) Journal, Vol. XXI., p. 358.

† Memoirs and Instructions of Dutch Governors, Commandeurs, &c. (translation by Sophia Pieters), pp. 11–13.

"This object may be attained if some of the superfluous population of Jaffnapatam were diverted to the lands of Ponneryn. Orders must be issued in course of time with this object."

With a through connection with India, Mannar may once again enjoy a prosperity which has been graphically described by many writers.

"In early times, when Mannar was the emporium of Mohammedan commerce, both its exports and imports must have been very extensive, for we are informed by Sir Alexander Johnstone that in the immense warehouses which the Mohammedan merchants had established on the island, they received the most valuable productions of Ceylon from their subordinate agents, who vended at the different seaports which were situated in the neighbourhood of those provinces where the various articles of commerce were produced, and these found their export trade through the Persian Gulf and Bassorah with Bagdad and all the countries under the Caliphat on the one side, and through the Arabian Gulf and Egypt with all the Mohammedan powers settled along the coasts of the Mediterranean and of Spain on the other, while all the manufactures and productions of those countries were here imported."*

Reference has been made to the presence of 320 pilgrims at Madu on the night of the Census. Madu, or Madhu, is now one of the most famous scenes of pilgrimage in Ceylon. The great festival of the year is held on July 2, and is attended by between 20,000 to 30,000 persons. The shrine is visited by pilgrims throughout the year, the number being larger than usual on the Census night (March 10). Of recent years a minor feast, in honour of St. Joseph, is celebrated on March 19. It is becoming the custom for the pilgrims from St. Anna's† to travel by boat to the Mannar District, and to return to their homes after visiting Madu.

The pilgrims at this season of the year are almost all Sinhalese. Of the 320 persons who appeared to be pilgrims enumerated at Madu, 278 were Sinhalese, of whom 230 had come from the town of Colombo and 26 from the Chilaw District.

At the great festival in July the assemblage is principally Tamil.

It is a most picturesque sight, for the thousands present are all camped out in enclosures of branches and hastily improvized screens of leaves in the jungle which surrounds the church. It is essentially a forest pilgrimage. The pilgrims formerly all came considerable distances on foot or in carts. The opening of the Northern railway has now considerably reduced the travelling to be done to this remote spot, for pilgrims have now only some 24 miles to travel by foot or cart, and when the Mannar line is completed the distance is likely to be reduced to 6 or 7 miles.

The great feature of this pilgrimage has been the feeding of all the pilgrims in front of the church on the last day of the festival—known as the *pitche choru* or *viruntlu*—when the thousands seat themselves on the ground to wait patiently for hours—ranged in lines, irrespective of caste, occupation, or other differences of rank and race—for the portion of curry and rice to be given them, which they receive in any receptacle they have brought with them—plates, bottles, plantain leaves, baskets, all are used. After the food has been blessed by the Bishop of Jaffna, who presides at the festival, the vast crowd clap their hands, rise to their feet, and in a few hours the camp is practically empty. Both the meal provided at the *pitche*

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* Casie Chitty's "Gazetteer" (1834), pp. 153, 154.

† *Vide* p. 100.

choru and the earth of Madu are considered to possess special sanctity—" Madu medicine " is reputed to have effected cures in cases of snake-bite.

The origin of the festival is given in a " Brief notice of the origin and history of the Sanctuary of Madhu," which the Bishop of Jaffna has been so good as to send me :—

" Tradition says that the original home of the statue at Madhu was Mantai, once an important town with a large Catholic church built by the Portuguese, who had, during their rule, converted the whole of Mannar island and Mantote to the Faith. When the Dutch took possession of Mantai and converted it into their meeting-house (1670), some Catholics hid away the statue of Our Lady and eventually emigrated with it into the Kandyan territory.

" They numbered, says the tradition, twenty families, and settled themselves in Marutha-Madhu, which was then a small village on the royal Ramesaram-Kandy route and a custom-house for the Kandyan king. Soon other emigrants came from Jaffna to swell their number. Seven hundred Catholics of the peninsula, in the company of seven priests, crossed over to Poonaryn in the mainland, and took refuge in the Wanni. Meeting their fellow Catholics at Madhu, they too made it their City of Refuge, under the patronage of Our Lady of the Holy Rosary. Among the newly-arrived Catholics was the daughter of a Portuguese captain, named Helena, whose fervent piety and edifying life won for her the title of " saint " among the faithful. Saint Helena, or Santalena as she was commonly known, married the Kandyan Customs officer at Madhu, and the first little church of Our Lady of Madhu was erected by this pious lady. The Christians have immortalized her memory by calling the new Christian village Silena-Marutha-Madu, which, to the present day, continues to be one of the names of the sanctuary.

" An annual festival was established (1870), to be solemnly celebrated on the 2nd of July. In 1876 the corner stone for the present substantial building was laid."

Maruthamadu is a spot venerated not only by the Roman Catholics, but also by Buddhists, Hindus, and Muhammadans.

Mr. Ievers, in his " Manual of the North-Central Province," states that " St. Mary's Church at Madu is considered by the Buddhist and a great many of the Tamil pilgrims, who resort there, as the temple of Pattiniamma ('Amman Kovil')," * while there is a legend among the Moors that two Muhammadan priests were murdered on the spot by a Kandyan king on account of their religion.

The size of the *Mullaittivu District* has been increased since the last Census by the addition of Karunavalpattu South Udaiyar's division, transferred to Vavuniya North from Punaryn-Tunukkai, Jaffna District—an area of 187½ square miles with a population of 373 in 1901.

A few miles of coast at Chundikkulam in the Maritime pattus were transferred to Pachchilaipallai, Jaffna.

Allowing for these changes, the Mullaittivu District shows an increase between 1901–1910 of 11·9 per cent., which is the largest rate of increase ever recorded for the District. The population of the District was 17,336, an increase of 1,847 persons since the last Census.

The population of the Maritime pattus, which represents the indigenous Tamil population of the District, has remained stationary,

* " Manual of the North-Central Province," by R. W. Ievers, C.C.S., p. 111.

while the increase in Vavuniya South is over 25½ per cent. This division is largely affected by immigration from the neighbouring districts and by the railway works. During the decade the Kurunegala-Jaffna railway extension was completed, while the Madawachchi-Mannar line is in course of construction. Both these lines pass through this District.

Other temporary residents of the District are a large number of fishermen who come annually from Negombo and Pesalai in the Mannar District for the fishing along the coast. The annual earthwork on the village tank is done by large companies of Indian "Ottars," as they are called locally. These men are Oddés*—Telugu tank diggers and earthworkers found all over the Madras Presidency, and in other parts of India as well. They wander over the northern part of the Island and are engaged on tank work, for which they are paid by the villagers, who are responsible for performing a certain amount of earthwork annually on their tanks.

Though Mullaittivu and Vavuniya have formed one revenue division since 1883, their development has remained quite distinct. The Wanni is very much to-day as it was when described by Mr. Turnour in 1807: "The want of population strikes the observer travelling through the country the more forcibly from the large tracts of waste land everywhere met with, which have evidently at no very distant period been under cultivation." While Cordiner remarks of the inhabitants that "luxuries and conveniences are to them unknown, and their wants are much fewer than those of the poor inhabitants of less favoured climates."† But even in the Wanni new wants are being created. The Assistant Government Agent (Mr. A. W. Seymour) in his District Census Report says: "It is doubtful whether the average prosperity of the Wanni villager is greater in 1911 than it was in 1901. His wants have increased. He has grown accustomed to the use of kerosine oil in place of coconut oil, and now requires such luxuries as enamelled cups and plates, looking-glasses, Swedish matches, and cheap European piece goods. Cultivation (of paddy, tobacco, coconuts, and palmyrahs) is the only industry of this District, except the fisheries. Considerable areas have been brought under cultivation, but the increase of absentee owners has not materially improved the lot of the inhabitants of the Wanni. The Roman Catholic Mission has opened with great success a large block of 520 acres (out of 1,515 acres purchased) of coconuts at Chilawattai, near Mullaittivu, since 1895. The increase in the area cultivated with tobacco has been particularly noticeable in the last ten years."

The rate of mortality in the Vavuniya District is still high. Between 1891 and 1900 deaths exceeded births in Vavuniya South by 353; between 1901 and 1910 the excess of deaths in this division was 305.

Vavuniya North shows an increase of deaths over births between 1901 and 1910, the excess of deaths being 102, while between 1891 and 1900† the births were in a majority of 32.

The Maritime pattus show an improvement, deaths having exceeded births between 1891 and 1900‡ by 96; the excess of deaths in the last decade was only 34. As has been shown, the increase in the population of the Vavuniya District is due principally to the immigrants who are annually coming into the District, especially from the south.

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* *Vide* Chapter VIII., Races.
† Cordiner's "Description of Ceylon," Vol. I., p. 313.
‡ The figures for 1896 are not available.

The Assistant Government Agent reports that "there were two seasons of acute distress during the decade. The first began in 1905, and reached its climax in 1906. There were 890 deaths in 1907 to 482 births. Harvests again failed in the autumn of 1909. On both occasions relief was afforded by the grant of chenas and opening of relief works, but on the last occasion very few villagers actually turned out and worked. As regards the health of the District, malaria is perennial in the Wanni, but the dispensaries and visiting dispensaries have done good work in treating cases which have presented themselves. Quinine was supplied in 1908 to the headmen, who, however, have distributed very little, and have in no cases asked for a second supply. Apparently it is very difficult to persuade the Wanni villager that he can apply to the headmen for gratuitous aid of any kind. Efforts are now being made to make the headmen take the initiative in distributing the powders to fever-stricken families, even when no demand is made.

"Parangi is another scourge. Conspicuous success, however, has attended the efforts of the dispenser at Putukkudiyiruppu in the treatment of parangi cases. This dispensary was established in 1896. 195 cases of parangi were treated there in 1901, 42 in 1906, whilst in 1910 only 29."

The District is third for the Island in the death roll of children under one year. The average number of deaths of infants under one year to 1,000 registered births between 1901 and 1910 was 283, and in 1905 rose as high as 331.

Though the Tamils of the Wanni show little or no progress, the Sinhalese are increasing. There were 97 Low-country Sinhalese in this District in 1901 and 276 in 1911, while the Kandyan Sinhalese have increased from 1,031 to 1,572.

The difference between the two parts of the District is shown in the rate of increase in the only two towns—Mullaittivu has increased by 6·4 per cent., Vavuniya by 42·7 per cent.

Mullaittivu has been the headquarters of the Assistant Government Agent since 1898. The town was founded by the Dutch.. In 1803 it was attacked by the Kandyans in great force, and the small British garrison was forced to withdraw to Jaffna ; but the place was soon recovered by a detachment sent from Trincomalee.

The Vavuniya District will no doubt show a still larger increase at the next Census. It now occupies an important outpost for trade between the Northern and North-Central Provinces, while its climate and soil are generally good. The development of the outlying Wanni villages and the maritime divisions will be slower. There are not the same facilities for immigrants, while these parts of the District have suffered severely from drought and disease.

The restoration of Kanukkeni tank was completed in 1905. Over 1,000 acres are benefited by this tank, and 80 additional acres have been taken up since its completion, while the population of Kanukkeni has quadrupled. So that there are hopes that there may be an advance in this part of this District also, if improved irrigation and the fertile soil for coconuts attract settlers.

The population of the *Galle Municipality* at the Census was 39,960, an increase of 7·5 per cent. on the population of the last Census, or in numbers of 2,795.

The number of births in the town during the decade exceeded the number of deaths, exclusive of deaths in the hospital and jail, by nearly 1,700. There is little immigration into Galle.

During the period 1901–1910 Galle has lost the second place among the towns of Ceylon, which has been taken by Jaffna.

The Chairman of the Municipality reports: "Many of the residents of the town have made Colombo and up-country districts their residences since Galle ceased to be the port of call for mail steamers. The town is not likely to regain its former prosperity until the harbour is improved. The plumbago industry has greatly diminished during the last two years, but the trade in coconut and essential oils and coir yarn remains as large as ever."

Galle of to-day is a very different town from Galle the port of call for travellers homeward and outward bound.

"The place is like a railway station in its alternations of rattle and rest. One day it is all activity, as strangers with ruddy cheeks, from the land of the snow, and perhaps others at the same time with pale faces, from the land of the sun, throng its thoroughfares; and the next it is painfully quiet and deserted. The Moormen, and others like them, are all expectation when the steamer is in sight, with their gems, trinkets, and woodwork for sale, as truthful as were formerly the dwellers in Crete; and the Pettah with its police, lamp posts, and many-pillared verandahs, trying to look civilized, is soon an object of attention and interest to the passengers.

"Ferguson calculates that there are 6,000 persons in the fort and town," wrote Spence Hardy in 1864.*

The population of the town has increased six-fold, but "rattle" and "activity" are not conspicuous features of the place to-day.

It is no longer the "invaluable town of Galle," † as it is styled in the Dutch records, and it has no longer need for the fortifications described by Baldæus, who wrote in 1671: "Gale has a commodious bay, fit for anchorage; except that with a south-west wind the sea runs very hollow there. At the very entrance of the harbour lies a dangerous rock, near to which all ships must pass, and against which the Hercules, one of our ships, was stav'd to pieces. There is no coming into the bay unless you pass by the Water-Fort, which is well provided with cannon for the security of the harbour. The fortifications of the city itself consist only in three bastions, the rest being so inclos'd with the sea and rocks, that there is no approaching to it even with the smallest boats. On the top of a rock which juts out into the sea is a Lanthorn and an iron cannon, wherewith they give warning to the ships, and near it you see the Company's flag displayed. The city is well built of stone, very high, with goodly houses, a stately church, pleasant gardens, and most delicious springs; the mountains which surround it affording a pleasant prospect, over which you pass thro roads cut out of the rocks, call'd by them gravettes."‡

The town still preserves its old-time appearance, and retains perhaps more traces of the Dutch occupation than any other town, except Colombo, in Ceylon.

There is the fine old Dutch church with its Dutch tombstones, and the names of many of the principal streets denote their connection with Dutch times.

There is Leyn-Baan street (Lijnbaan—rope walk), Lighthouse street (its old name, still remembered by many of the inhabitants, was Zeeburg Straat), Great and Small Moderabaay streets (Modderbaai—

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* Spence Hardy's "Jubilee Memorials," pp. 205, 206.

† Instructions from Governor-General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon, 1656 to 1665 (translation by Sophia Pieters), p. 15.

‡ Baldæus' "Ceylon," p. 717.

mud bay; the spelling is still "baay," indicating its origin), Cotton Garden roads (the land between Chena Garden and the bazaars was utilized for the cultivation of cotton in the time of the Dutch).

Dutch names have also been preserved in the names of houses. One of the principal *walauwas* is known as Oropua Walauwa—the name Oropua being probably derived from Orfaa—orphan girl: the Dutch orphanage is believed to have occupied the site of this house.

Galle has always been a centre of the Burghers, but their numbers are steadily decreasing. There were 1,200 Burghers in Galle at the 1891 Census, 1,040 in 1901, and 885 in 1911. The Burghers have no longer a monopoly of the clerical posts in the kachcheri, and many families appear to have migrated to Colombo for employment.

The increase in population is practically confined to the Low-country Sinhalese—the natives of the town. The Moors show a slight increase.

Though Galle shows no large increase in population, it has maintained a steady prosperity.

Pridham, writing in 1849 of Galle, says: "The trade of Galle chiefly consists of exports ...... The export of salt fish to the continent of India was formerly large, but the trade has declined considerably ...... more coir rope, coconut oil, arrack, and choya root are sent from this Province than from all the other parts of the Island put together; and a considerable portion of the trade in coffee, cotton, rice, ivory, cinnamon, and tortoise shell is carried on here ...... Ships may obtain better supplies here than anywhere else in the Island, and fish, vegetables, and fruits are cheap and abundant."*

Some twenty lines—including the British India, Holt, Anchor, Natal, Shire, and Clan—call at Galle, and a large business is done in exporting coconut oil (the value of the exports of which in 1910 was nearly 2¼ million rupees), coir yarn, fibre, and rope—over one million rupees' worth was exported in 1910; while citronella oil to the value of three quarters of a million rupees, over Rs. 400,000 worth of plumbago, and Rs. 200,000 worth of copra, were exported in 1910. The principal import was grain, of which nearly five million rupees' worth was imported, while over one lakh of rupees' worth of coal and half a lakh of bone manure, and the same value of sugar, were imported in the year 1910.

The population of the *Galle District*—excluding the Municipality—at the Census was 251,041, including estates, being an increase of 13·6 per cent., while excluding estates the population amounted to 244,746, or an increase of 13¼ per cent. The actual increase in population was 30,065.

The number of births during the decade exceeded the number of deaths by 39,200; the excess of births over deaths in the previous decade was 23,769. The excess of births over deaths between 1901–1910 is 9,000 more than the actual increase in population during the decade. The explanation is that there is no District in Ceylon from which there is more migration to other parts of the Island.†

Galle is one of the only two Districts in Ceylon which shows an excess of females over males. Excluding the estate population, the females exceed the males by nearly 3,000, and including the estates by 1,500, due undoubtedly to the men going outside the District in search of employment.

The native of Galle has always been noted for his enterprise and spirit of adventure. A considerable number of Galle jewellers are

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* Pridham's "Ceylon," Vol. II., p. 601.

† *Vide* Chapter X., Birthplaces.

following their profession in the Straits and the Australian Colonies, on the steamer routes *viâ* Port Said, Malta, &c., and even as far as Uganda and Argentina.

The Sinhalese "ship's" barber frequently found on the P. & O. and Bibby Line steamers is almost always a native of Galle. Those enumerated at sea at this Census were all born in the Galle District.

The Government Agent (Mr. C. M. Lushington) in his District Census Report, writing in regard to the date of the Census, says : "The dates were suitable, except as regards the migration of the inhabitants. Large numbers of able-bodied men and boys migrate from the Galle District in search of labour. Most of these return to their villages for the Sinhalese New Year...... Kandy, Badulla, Ratnapura, &c., should show large numbers whose birthplace is in the Galle District. This migration is also shown in the preponderance of females over males, as in many villages only old men, females, and children are left behind, the adult males having migrated to the Central and Uva Provinces, where they find employment as carpenters, carters, felling contractors on estates, and in plumbago mining districts."

This exodus of men from the District is also shown in the collections of road tax. In 1910 no less than 2,654 men were found to have paid their tax elsewhere, or were accounted for as "died," erroneous entries, &c., though their names were still on the village rolls.

The District has undoubtedly passed through a period of considerable prosperity, and it is doubtful whether there is any District in Ceylon where there is a higher all-round standard of comfort than is shown in the villages of the Galle District.

The only exception to this is the Hinidum pattu, which showed an increase of only 4 per cent. in population, but, as the Government Agent reports, "the Hinidum pattu alone stands still owing to its inaccessibility. There is not a single cart road which connects this pattu with the rest of Ceylon. There is only water transport to Galle and other divisions, while within the pattu the pingo is the only means of transport. This is due to the hilly nature of the country and the large number of unbridged streams which intersect the country, making roadmaking almost impossible, except at great cost."

It is noteworthy that out of the 6,378 persons enumerated in this pattu there were only 14 who were not Low-country Sinhalese.

"All other parts of the country," the Government Agent continues, "show great progress. The forest and jungle is rapidly disappearing. Rubber is being planted throughout the interior, and within the last two or three years coconut planting along the coast, which was for some time neglected, has received an impetus owing to the high price of all coconut produce."

The largest increase in any one division is in the largest division, the Wellaboda pattu, which, with a population of 75,094, shows an increase of over 15½ per cent.

Bentota-Walallawiti korale and the Gangaboda pattu show increases of 14 and 15 per cent. respectively ; the increase in every division, except Hinidum, is over 10½ per cent.

The population of the Sanitary Board town of Ambalangoda—a place of considerable wealth and growing importance—is 2,706, and has increased by 300 during the decade. A comparatively large number of persons from Ambalangoda have made money in other Districts, returned to their native place, and bought estates there.

Dodanduwa is another thriving Sanitary Board town with a population of 4,477, an increase of 28 per cent. since 1901.

The estate population has increased by 23½ per cent., the increase being confined to Bentota-Walallawiti korale (244 per cent.) and Gangaboda pattu (27 per cent.). The estate population in the other pattus is very small, and has decreased in each case.

The increase for the District is due to the opening of rubber and coconut estates, which have not only brought labour into the District, but have given a considerable amount of employment to the villagers. Good rubber tappers are reported to be able to make a rupee a day, where they are paid according to the quantity of latex tapped.

The Government Agent reports in his Administration Report for 1910–11 :—

" The growth of rubber in this District has been remarkable. The Mudaliyar of the Gangaboda pattu reports that within the last seven years no less than 7,500 acres have been planted with rubber only, exclusive of rubber planted in tea. In the Bentota-Walallawiti korale the extent must be very nearly the same, for in one block to the north-east of Elpitiya 3,800 acres have been sold for rubber, and rubber has been planted elsewhere in the korale. There are now no less than ten registered companies which own rubber lands in the Galle District, most of which have now reached the tapping stage; and there are other large areas in the hands of private individuals or private companies.

" The high prices of all coconut produce have also given an impetus to these industries. The poorest and feeblest women and children can earn a livelihood by beating coir and twisting yarn.

" Driving along the sea coast road from Bentota to Matara one sees in almost every verandah or garden work in some form or other being carried on in connection with the coir industry : men collecting and carting the husks ; women beating the husk and picking the fibres ; old men, women, and children twisting the fibre into yarn ; and the men engaged again in bundling and carting the yarn or weaving the same into matting. Old and young alike can find employment in this work."*

Other industries of the District are lace-making, which is an occupation largely followed by women and young girls. In fact the number of women in the Galle District who maintain themselves is probably larger than anywhere else in the Island.

Gem-polishing and comb-cutting are thriving local industries, and in all parts of the District sorting and sifting of plumbago is carried on, though the plumbago industry has gone through a period of depression.

" There has been every outward sign of an improvement in the general welfare of the people," writes the Government Agent, " as indicated by the building of substantial brick and tile houses. Even the poorer classes, especially along the coast, have given up the mud houses with cadjan roofs for houses with tiled roofs, though the wattle-and-daub walls are sometimes retained. The furnishing of houses is more substantial than formerly."

In the opinion of Mr. Lushington, " The most remarkable feature, however, of this decade is the disappearance of the spirit of lawlessness which reigned supreme in the District from the time of the British occupation up to 1905.

" In that year no less than 1,371 cases of serious crime were reported to the police, of which 928 cases were found to be true cases. This

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* Administration Report for Galle District for 1905, p. D 12.

meant that spreading the crime over the whole population one person in 278, or taking taxpayers only (*i.e.*, males between 18 and 55), one taxpayer in every 59 committed serious crime in 1905.

"The figures for 'true cases' were reduced from 928 in 1905 to 547 in 1907, 493 in 1908, and 385 in 1909.

"Balapitiya was the most criminal district of the whole Island from 1898 to 1902, and in 1906 and 1907 dropped to the ninth place, and to the twelfth place in 1908.

"Galle rose from fourth in 1898 to first in 1902, and fell from fourth in 1906 to fifteenth in 1907 and seventeenth in 1908.

"In 1909 the Crown Counsel reported regarding the whole Province: 'Crime has, on the whole, continued to decrease substantially during the last two years. Homicide cases have decreased, the number of cases committed for trial being 18, half the number committed during 1908 and the lowest number since 1900.'

"This remarkable reduction of crime must have the greatest possible influence on the daily lives of the people, and the character of the whole population is being steadily reformed."

The *Matara District* shows a population of 227,308, being an increase in number of 23,583, or of 11½ per cent.

The number of births registered between 1901-1910 exceeds the registered deaths by 34,777, so that it would appear that while the increase in population has been normal, there has been considerable emigration from the District.*

Further, the number of males and females more closely approximates than in 1901, the difference in favour of the males being about half what it was at the 1901 Census, from which it would appear that more males find occupation outside the District.

The whole increase is in the Low-country Sinhalese, the natives of the District.

Matara was one of the Districts in 1901 which sent out more immigrants than it received, and the tendency is for the population all along the west coast of Ceylon to make their way into the towns and towards Colombo.

All the divisions show an increase in the general population.

The estate population of the District has decreased by 214, but it is probable that the decrease has been more than counterbalanced by the increase in the number of Sinhalese who work on the estates.

Where additional employment was not afforded by newly-opened rubber estates and plumbago pits, there has been a general movement into the towns and large villages in the District.

Weligama has increased in population by 1,087, or 14¼ per cent.; Dondra, famous for its annual fair and the site of a once famous temple destroyed by the Portuguese in 1587, by 13 per cent.; and Gandara by 28 per cent.

The largest increase in population in the District is in the town of Matara, which has increased by 16·5 per cent. "Matara, with its little star-fort of coral, remains as perfect at the present day," wrote Tennent in 1859, "as when it was a seat of the spice trade and a sanitary retreat for the garrison of Galle."

This description holds good to-day. There is no town in Ceylon which maintains so successfully a general well-being without great prosperity, trade but not commerce, a well-to-do if not a wealthy population. Matara has gone its own way smoothly and contentedly.

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* *Vide* Chapter X., Birthplaces.

It has been well esteemed by all the races by whom it has in turn been occupied.

It was long famous amongst the Sinhalese for the learning of its priests, and there is a Sinhalese saying, "*To be born at Kalutara and educated at Matara is the best fate any man can hope for.*"*

In the time of the Dutch Matara was regarded as one of their most important settlements, and a centre of their cinnamon trade; they endowed it with two forts and an old Dutch church.

Taken by the British in 1796 it was at one time deprived of its position as a collectorate and made subsidiary to Tangalla, but the extension of the railway to Matara more than compensated for its temporary loss of importance and the removal of its garrison in 1834. If for no other reason, its history during British days has not been inglorious, for it was at Matara in 1806 that Sir Henry Lawrence was born.

The general increase throughout the District has been very uniform. Morawak korale shows a larger increase (14·5 per cent.) than in the previous decade, which is ascribed to the opening of plumbago mines and citronella estates.

The lowest rate of increase is in the Kandaboda pattu (8·9), which the Assistant Government Agent ascribes to villagers leaving this division for other districts in search of employment, and to greater accuracy in enumeration having been obtained at this Census.

Weligam korale, the largest and most important division, shows an increase of 12·2 per cent.

The following extracts from a report on the history of this division by the Weligam korale Mudaliyar (Mr. J. A. Wickremaratne) may be quoted here as equally true of the greater part of the Matara District and the more prosperous divisions of the Low-country Provinces :—

"On a general survey of the country the changes in the past decade have been very inconsiderable. There has been no displacement of any magnitude in men or their affairs. You see the well-to-do families carrying on their callings as before, the working classes employed in the manner and in the places, and earning the wages, of 1901, and living in the same type of houses. The fisherman has not improved his equipment. He continues to beach his boat on others' land under customary privileges. His equipment has undergone no improvement. His average earnings and the manner of their division among his companions have undergone no change. The blacksmith has his forge under a cadjan shed. The dhoby follows the pristine methods of his forefathers. Paddy cultivation, the staple industry, is carried on with manual labour.

"The well-to-do class of people, those living on the produce of their lands or by trade, have however materially progressed in substance and taste, and the notable feature in the changes that have taken place in their habits and customs is in their domestic arrangements. This advancement in substance and taste is apparent from the many substantial and even handsome buildings they have built, either new buildings or the improvement of old ones; improved sanitary arrangements, and the manner in which the surroundings of the houses are maintained, with flower gardens and ornamental trees.

"The children have been the chief factor in this change. The children of these families, males and females, are sent for their

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* *Vide* footnote † in p. 52, *supra.*

education to boarding establishments in Galle and Matara, and even Colombo, from the elementary stage. This desire for education in boarding establishments in the towns has been resorted to mainly for the sake of securing an English education, and of initiation into the manners and customs of town life.

"The changes that have taken place among the class of people who live by their callings, fishermen, artisans, &c., are few. In fact, they are limited to a better type of house they have built, some improvement in dress, and chiefly to the great interest these people have taken in educating their children. I believe among the fishermen 20 per cent. have built substantial tiled houses; as of a class theirs are the largest earnings. Artisans have followed with about 12 per cent. being better housed. A banian or tunic for the body and an occasional pair of sandals are generally the advance they have made in dress. Their diet is the same that it has been for two decades.

"There has been no progress amongst the paddy cultivators. They continue to live a hand-to-mouth existence. There has been no improvement consequently in their dwellings or in their habits of life. In fact, their condition, I should say, has become even worse, in having to meet the enhanced cost of the necessaries of life and the increased demands on their wages, which have remained stationary.

"Prosperity is, of course, most apparent in the town and along the coast, in the large number of better type of buildings that have been constructed, in dress, in food and drink. But that does not mean that prosperity has been confined to this part of the country. Here inclination and the circumstances of closer and constant touch with the large towns by means of the railway, and the inducements to keep up appearances with the town, have induced the people to make a better show of their means, and to adopt the fashions of the towns in food and drink, while in the country such means are generally used to extend the family acres.

"The 'rise and fall' of the plumbago industry may be said to be one of the noteworthy features of the period. Early in the decade the very high prices of plumbago gave an impetus to the industry as unheard of as the prices themselves. And there was a very general desire to search for plumbago. The result was remarkable. It was found in places where the name of the mineral was perhaps not spoken. The industry made a few well-to-do men very rich, and gave the people high wages for a time. This abnormal rise in price had its evils too. The rapid fluctuations, oftener on the favourable side, led to large speculations, which, when the drop occurred, which was not very long after, resulted in disaster to those who entered on them.

"Machinery for pumping water was introduced for the first time in this period, and continued to be used, in spite of the drop in price, because of the very great saving in cost it effected.

"The impetus the Agricultural Society gave to agriculture generally is bearing fruit in more extended cultivation of vegetables, one of the most paying industries of the villager, in the introduction of transplanting, in the improved methods of manuring, and in the greater interest taken in every department of cultivation, of which there was only a very ordinary interest. And this interest is growing."

The population of the *Hambantota District* at the Census of 1911 was 110,508, representing an increase during the decade of 5,638, or 5·3 per cent., as compared with an increase of 15,552 persons, or 17·4 per cent., in 1901, which was 7 per cent. less than the increase in the previous decade.

The number of registered births exceeded the number of registered deaths in the Hambantota District between March 1, 1901, and March 10, 1911, by 5,789, which corresponds very closely with the actual increase in population, from which it would appear that there has been no movement of population into the District.* The births exceeded the deaths between 1891 and 1900 by 4,653, so that the increase in numbers between 1891 and 1901 must have been largely due to immigration into the District. That such was the case appears probable from the figures for the number of persons from other Districts enumerated in the Hambantota District in 1901, viz., 10,079, which, together with the excess of births over deaths, very nearly makes up the actual increase in population between 1891 and 1901.

The increase in the excess of registered births over registered deaths points also to an improvement in the health of this District.

There was an increase of 14 per cent. in the Magam pattu and over 11 per cent. in the East Giruwa pattu, while the increase in the West Giruwa pattu was only 3½ per cent.

The Assistant Government Agent (Mr. L. S. Woolf) states that the small rate of increase shown by the District was not expected by him, "and is difficult altogether to explain." He is satisfied that the Census of the District "showed a high degree of accuracy."

In his opinion the small increase "is, of course, partially due to the unhealthiness of a considerable portion of the District. It is also due to the curtailment of chena clearing, which leads to emigration. In the nine Vidana Arachchis' divisions, which may be called 'chena divisions,' there has been actually a decrease in population of 2·4 per cent.; and in five divisions, which may be classified as 'partially chena' divisions, the increase in population was only 3·7 per cent. The actual figures for residents in these divisions would really be far less favourable, as there were many persons in those divisions on the night of the Census who had come from other divisions to reap.

"The enormous difference which irrigation makes in this District is shown by the fact that in the five divisions which are affected by the Walawe and Tissa irrigation schemes the increase of population was 32 per cent. This large increase, however, accounts for the small increases of population in West Giruwa pattu, because large numbers of persons from that pattu have settled under the Tissa and Walawe schemes. Thus, the population of the Ranna south division has decreased by 14 per cent. because of emigration to Mamadola in the Kanuketiya lower division, where there is an increase of 29 per cent.

"The decade has been, on the whole, one of prosperity and advance. The promise of the Tissa irrigation scheme has been fulfilled, and the Walawe scheme can no longer be called a failure. The cultivation of citronella grass in West Giruwa pattu has made great strides, and affords occupation to large numbers of villagers every year. Much new land has been planted with coconuts, more especially in the neighbourhood of Wiraketiya. The work of the Land Settlement Department, which began in 1902, has done much to forward this object, by settling the title to much land and by bringing forward Crown land for sale.

"There is, however, another side to the picture which must not be forgotten. The chena villages of Magam pattu, East Giruwa pattu, and the east of West Giruwa pattu show no progress. Fever stricken, fatalists by nature, unable and unwilling to procure any occupation

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* *Vide* Chapter X., Birthplaces.

other than that which has earned the opprobrium of half a century of officials, their comparative prosperity depends entirely upon the north-east rains and the policy of Government. As that policy has become stricter their condition has become more and more difficult, and fever and emigration has caused the disappearance of some and the reduction of many of these villages."

After the Census of 1901 the Assistant Government Agent (Mr. B. Horsburgh) reported that "the small increase in the East Giruwa pattu (7·2 per cent.) is not easy to understand. The Walawe works are situated in that division, and cultivation under them has been extending. The other parts of the East Giruwa pattu towards the interior are very backward, the people being almost entirely dependent on chena cultivation, and having, as a rule, let their tanks lapse into an unworkable condition. The systematic work now begun in village tanks and the restriction of chena cultivation will, it is hoped, show some fruit in the results of the next Census." It is satisfactory to record an increased rate of 11·1 per cent. in this division. The Walawe-ganga scheme right bank extension was completed during the decade. The extent of irrigable land under this scheme is estimated at 12,400 acres. The villages immediately benefited by the Walawe works have increased in population from 2,241 in 1901 to 3,054 in 1911, or 36 per cent. The other great irrigation work in the District is the Tissa irrigation scheme, and a similar increase in population in the villages under the scheme is to be noted.

Tissa is thus described in the diary of Mr. T. Steele, who was Assistant Government Agent of Hambantota in 1871 :—

"It is at and in the neighbourhood of Tihawa, or 'Tissa-maharama,' about twenty miles from Hambantota, that the grandest memorials of the olden times are to be seen. Though the country between Tihawa and the sea is now a desolate wilderness, there can be no doubt tradition speaks truly when it alleges the whole was at one time densely peopled and highly cultivated, the magnificent reservoir of Tihawa supplying the whole tract. The tank was itself fed by a channel four miles in length, conveying water from the amuna, or anicut of masonry, thrown across the Magam river at Mayilagastota. The soil is a rich black loam, certain, were water again forthcoming, to be as productive as it was of old. I rejoice to think that there is now (1871) a near prospect of a partial restoration of this great irrigation work, destined to 'scatter plenty over a smiling land,' and to transform, by a magic of the most beneficent sort, a trackless jungle into the granary and garden of the south of Ceylon.

"Everywhere along the track leading from Kirinda to Tissamaharama, if the ground be lightly scratched, ashes will be found—traces as suggestive of ancient human habitations as are the kitchen middens that have of late years caused so much stir in Europe. Here and there, in what is now a thorny brake, are places where, if old legends may be trusted, kings and queens went, twenty centuries ago, apleasuring in golden chariots drawn by gaily caparisoned horses; and thickets overgrown with weeds and underwood, the haunts of the elephant, bear, and leopard, occupy the site of royal pavilions, where of old was held high festival with revelry and song."

The restoration of Tissa was completed in 1876.

In 1901 the population of the villages immediately benefited by the Tissa scheme was 2,518, which has now increased with the population of new villages, which the success of the scheme has brought into existence, to 3,645, or an increase of 44 per cent.

Hambantota is famous for its salt industry, which gives employment, while the work of collection is going on, to practically any one in the District willing to work. All the salt obtained is what is called "naturally-formed" salt, and is produced by evaporation of the salt or brackish water collected in the *lewayas* or shallow lagoons along the coast.

The collection in 1910 was a record one both in the quantity collected (224,336 cwt.) and the revenue obtained (Rs. 501,973). During the period 1901–1910 over one and a quarter million hundredweight of salt was collected.

The population of the Hambantota District seems to have concentrated: considerable movements of population have taken place; the outlying portions have suffered; those who have depended upon chenas have been forced to go further afield; while the outbreak of rinderpest in 1909, which devastated the District, has added to their misfortunes. The period has been one of the survival of the fittest, and the results of the next Census should show increased rates of population in the well-irrigated and agriculturally prosperous parts of the District, while it remains to be seen whether population will be attracted to the outlying and depopulated areas.

The population of the *Batticaloa District* was 153,943, an increase in numbers since the last Census of 8,861, or 6·1 per cent., which was one-third of the increase in the previous decade, 18·3 per cent. The Government Agent, reporting on the 1901 Census figures in his Administration Report for 1901, stated that in his opinion "the increase in the population of some 25,000 inhabitants during the decade shown by the Census (1891–1901) was at the normal rate of increases shown by the registrars' annual returns. There has been a substantial increase in Jaffna and Moorish traders in Batticaloa town, and the irrigation works in progress during the last few years and the opening of coconut estates in the northern part of the Batticaloa District account for the increase of Indian cooly labour in the District."

The registrars' returns for the years 1901–1910 inclusive show an excess of 15,000 births over deaths; the excess of births over deaths between 1891–1900 was 20,000.

It is noteworthy that the number of births for every year from 1901–1910 inclusive was between 7,000 and 6,000 per annum, and in four years there were differences of only 2, 5, and 19 between the figures. The deaths varied between 7,500 in 1905 and 4,000 in 1908.

The decrease in the normal rate of increase, combined with the bad years which the District went through in the decade, fully accounts for the rate of progress not having been maintained.

"The decade," writes the Government Agent (Mr. Murty) in his District Report, "can hardly be called a prosperous one, owing to the losses sustained by the people on account of drought, the cyclone of 1907, and the severe rinderpest epidemic of 1909, when about 50,000 cattle, mostly buffaloes, perished. After the cyclone, relief works were started by Government for many starving villagers; and money grants from the Cyclone Relief Fund were made to the people to enable them to rebuild their houses. About 300,000 coconut trees, which had been blown down, were buried or burnt at Government expense, to avert the danger of an epidemic of plant pest disease throughout the extensive plantations in the District; and coconut plants were issued to the people to enable them to re-plant their gardens.

"Owing to the destruction of thousands of coconut trees in the cyclone, the price of coconuts rose as high as Rs. 80 per thousand in 1910, as compared with about Rs. 30 per thousand in 1901.

"The prices of food stuffs also rose high, especially that of paddy, the staple product of the District, which ranged from Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 per amunam (7½ bushels), according to the season of the year. In anticipation of the general scarcity and dearness of food, my predecessor, Mr. Freeman, gave liberal grants of land for chena cultivation, an example which I have followed, in view of the heavy losses of the people from rinderpest."

Mr. Freeman, writing of this District in 1908, speaks of "the combination of chenas, lepers, and relief works for the unemployed as constituting a tangled trinity," and adds that "a good many people have left the District since the cyclone." This emigration is further evidenced by the number of females in proportion to males having increased. There is little doubt that, besides the numerous residents of the District who have passed over to Uva, emigration into the District practically stopped during the years of cyclonic ravages and rinderpest outbreaks.*

The number of Sinhalese in the District—excluding Bintenna, which is practically a Sinhalese district—has decreased from 4,273 to 3,715.

The Government Agent considers that the decrease in the Sinhalese population may be due to a large number of Kandyans having gone to Uva at the time of the Census. "These people live on the borders of the two Provinces, and frequently move from one Province to the other to places where they can get chenas. When I was inquiring into alleged distress amongst the Kandyans of the Akkarai pattu vanam last year, I found that, while they refused to go ten miles to work on Government roads and tanks in this District, they thought nothing of walking twenty to thirty miles to work on chenas in Uva."

The largest decrease in population was in the Bintenna pattu, which has decreased by 31·7 per cent. Mr. Freeman described Bintenna in 1908 as "an unsatisfactory region; a wretched population of about 3,000 in the largest pattu of the Province has, with the exception of three or four small patches of paddy land, nothing to live on except chenas and jungle produce; they have not the advantage of the hundreds along the coast who can get a sort of living by begging from their neighbours. Necessarily, the Bintenna folk are miserable in appearance; nearly all of them are sick. There are many abandoned tanks, but the people have neither the physique nor the will to restore them. There are no coconuts to speak of in Bintenna; the few trees are either infertile or barren. Rather than let the population drift away from Bintenna to the chena country of Uva, I would concentrate them on the more fertile spots about Kallodai, Maha-oya, Pallumalai, and Tempitiya, on or near the Badulla road, and endeavour to teach them to do tank work." It would appear that the population is already on the move, for where there was a population of 4,301 in 1901 there are only 2,937 persons now. The population of Uva Bintenna shows an increase.

The only other division to show a decrease is Eruvil and Porativu (7 per cent.), which suffered severely from the cyclone. There is a satisfactory increase of 16·3 per cent. in the remote Panawa pattu.

* *Vide* Chapter X., Birthplaces. The number of persons whose birthplace was in the Batticaloa District enumerated in the adjoining Districts was 1,400 more than in 1901, while the number of "foreigners," or persons born in other Districts, enumerated in the District was 1,800 less.

which is described in Casie Chitty's "Gazetteer" as "containing only 14 villages (of which the greater part scarcely deserves to be so called), and the whole number of the inhabitants does not average more than 700." In the seventy-seven years since the above was written the number of villages has only increased by 1, but the population has increased to 4,000.

Chammanturai, which at the last Census was the only division to show a decrease (·2 per cent.), at this Census shows an increase of over 14 per cent. Eravur and Koralai pattus show an increase of nearly 15½ per cent.

The Rugam tank scheme, which is in Eravur pattu, was extended by the construction of four anicuts, which were completed in 1905. The area under cultivation is 6,181 acres, and the population of the villages benefited by the scheme has increased by 1,218, or over 10 per cent.

"It is gratifying to report," states the Vanniya (Mr. A. K. Kariapper), "that a small village has sprung up by the side of the Rugam tank since the last Census. I have very rightly named this settlement Puthoor (new village). There are in this new village 26 occupied houses with a population of 75. There is further a prospect of three more villages under this work being settled in the near future."

As in the Hambantota District, there is considerable development in the more prosperous portions of the District, which has always been famous for the extent of its paddy cultivation.

Barros, a Portuguese historian of the sixteenth century, goes so far as to derive the name Batticaloa from rice, "which they call *bat*," and "*caloa* that is kingdom"—"the kingdom of rice," a name given to the district "that lies on the side of the Island that faces the East," on account of "the much rice for which it is famous."*

"Most people in Ceylon have heard of the great irrigation works of the Batticaloa District," writes the Government Agent in his Administration Report for 1903, "and of the vast extents of paddy land irrigated by those works, but it required a personal visit to the District to enable one to realize what figures fail to convey to the mind. A drive along the South Coast road from Kalmunai to Karunkoddittivu in Akkarai pattu, a distance of fourteen miles, and thence along the road to Sakamam tank, comes to one as a 'revelation.' On the east side of the road are densely populated villages situated in coconut gardens, with here and there a large estate. On the west side of the road, almost as far as the eye can reach, is a vast stretch of paddy land extending without a break, not merely for the fourteen miles mentioned, but north and south of that distance. Nor is that the only stretch of paddy land. All along the western shore of the Batticaloa lake are vast tracts of paddy; along the north-western side of the Badulla road are the tracts irrigated by Rugam tank and its connected works, extending practically to the Naddur lake.

"With regard to the rice production of this District, my inquiries have shown that 35 bushels per acre is a fair average crop, and that the yield is frequently as much as 55, 60, and 65 bushels per acre for irrigated land."

Further progress has been made in the decade in the construction and completion of large irrigation works, such as the Vakaneri and Unnaichchai tanks and channels, which are believed to be capable of irrigating about 33,000 acres of land.

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* Batticaloa is probably nothing more than a mispronunciation and misspelling of the Sinhalese name for the town—Madakalapuwa, which means the mud lagoon.

The Vakaneri tank new scheme, including part restoration, was completed during the decade ; the extent of irrigable land under this work is estimated at 13,360 acres. 515 acres were taken up between 1901–1910. Another work practically completed since the last Census is the Sakamam-Yammiyadi enlargement scheme, under which 400 acres were taken up between 1901 and 1910, while the population of the villages benefited by the scheme increased by 1,400, or 9 per cent.

The area under paddy cultivation is now roughly estimated at 70,000 acres, and under coconuts at 32,000 acres.

The population of the *Trincomalee District* at the 1911 Census was 29,755, an increase in numbers of 1,314, or 4·6 per cent., as compared with increases of 16 per cent. between 1881–1891 and 10·5 per cent. between 1891–1901. There was a decrease of 14·3 per cent. in the population of Trincomalee town—the largest division in the District.

The Assistant Government Agent (Mr. F. Bartlett) reports : " The increase in the population of the District is normal ; the decrease in the town is due to its abandonment as a naval and military station, and the consequent departure of a large number of people in search of employment elsewhere." The history of the District has been the history of the town, and the most important event of the decade was the closing of the naval yard and the abandonment of Trincomalee as a military station in 1905. About 700 men were in consequence thrown out of employment.

The decline in the town population commenced in the previous decade, which showed a decrease of 6·9 per cent., but this decrease was then ascribed to a falling off in the number of Jaffna immigrants, and to the fact that many of the townspeople had taken up work in other Districts ; a large number of domestic servants come from Trincomalee town. But the decrease in 1911 represents for the most part forced emigration of the local population in search of work elsewhere.

Trincomalee, from its importance as a naval station and its harbour, which has been described as " keeping all Asia in awe," was at one time of such importance that Cordiner, writing in 1800, remarks that " thoughts have been entertained of rendering Trincomalee the seat of Government in preference to the fruitful district of Colombo,"* while Tennent states that " projects were in contemplation to render it the grand emporium of Oriental commerce, the Gibraltar of India, and the arsenal of the East."†

The population at the Census of 1824 was 7,560 ; its population in 1911 was 8,837. At the last Census 59 Europeans were enumerated in the town, exclusive of military ; at this Census 22. The military population in 1901 was 592 ; in 1911 it was nil.

Trincomalee is the only town in Ceylon to show a decrease at this Census. The decrease is fully explained by the peculiar position which it occupied, and it may be safely predicted that unless Trincomalee becomes once more a naval station, it will cease to be included among the towns of importance in Ceylon, and that its buildings will alone denote its former prosperity.

In 1909 the Assistant Government Agent in his Administration Report writes : " I regret to have to record that the townsfolk are not taking to agriculture, as I had hoped they would in course of time. They are very slow to realize that there is no longer a place for them at the desks and in the stores and workshops of the naval and military

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* Cordiner's " Description of Ceylon," Vol. I., p. 268.
† Emerson Tennent's " Ceylon," Vol. II., p. 486.

establishments, that no other substitute can be found for a vanished order of things, and that their livelihood lies in the land. In fact, Trincomalee is gradually settling down to the social and economic conditions of Mullaittivu or Vavuniya, having lost practically everything that hitherto distinguished it from them. But if the inhabitants can persuade themselves to accept the new conditions, land is cheap and plentiful, and a decent living is open to all who will work for it. Too many, I fear, cling to the hope that the naval yard will be opened once more and the troops re-occupy the town. Meanwhile this hope affords but a poor subsistence, and those who entertain it and do not exert themselves in other directions are gradually sinking into poverty.'

The mortality at Trincomalee for some time was very high, and Cordiner describes it in 1807 as "still the least healthful of the stations which we now occupy in Ceylon; it continues subject to seasons of extraordinary sickness and mortality."* There are numerous monuments to the troops who died of fever in the town cemetery. The health of the District has considerably improved.

Between 1891 and 1900 the births exceeded the deaths by only 331; between 1901 and 1910 the excess of births was 2,442, which was larger than the actual increase in the population of the District, showing that the low rate of increase is largely due to emigration.

The District shows considerable increases—the population of Kaddukulam pattu has increased by 18½ per cent., which the Assistant Government Agent ascribes "to the inclusion of a large number of fishermen from Negombo and coolies from Jaffna resident temporarily in the pattu." This division showed a decrease of 2·4 per cent. between 1891 and 1901, but is now the most prosperous part of the District, though it has the low rate of density of 11 persons per square mile.

The Sinhalese villagers of Kaddukulam pattu appear to be decreasing in number, or to become merged in the Tamil population. There were 824 Sinhalese in the Kaddukulam pattu in 1891 and 760 in 1911. Koddiyar pattu shows an increase in population of 15·2 per cent., which the Assistant Government Agent regards as normal. Tambalagam pattu, including the estate population, shows an increase of 13·3 per cent.

The position of the villagers of the District may be regarded as satisfactory. Except amongst the Sinhalese, there are no signs of decrease in population in the villages, while all cultivations have prospered. There is also promise of further outlets for the enterprise of the District.

The cultivation of rubber has been introduced by Messrs. Molesworth Brothers, who are also making attempts to grow tobacco suitable for the European market. The extensive irrigation works in connection with Allai tank will render a large area of additional land available for paddy cultivation. A motor mail service was established between Trincomalee and Anuradhapura in 1910.

The population of the *Kurunegala District* at the 1911 Census was 306,807, being an increase on the 1901 population of 57,378, a total increase of 23 per cent. Exclusive of the estate population, the increase was 21·9 per cent., and the total 297,018. The estate population has increased from 5,845 to 9,789, or by 67 per cent.

The increase on the total population between 1881 and 1891 was 7 per cent., and between 1891 and 1901, 8·4 per cent.

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* Cordiner's "Description of Ceylon," Vol. I., p. 275.

The increase in the population of this District is remarkable, and the development during the decade is perhaps comparatively greater than in any other District of the Island. Between 1891 and 1901 the increase was small and disappointing, considering that the railway connecting Kurunegala with the Colombo and Kandy main line had been opened in 1894. It had been anticipated that there would have been a marked increase in 1901, and though the large expenditure incurred in developing the means of communication and improving the irrigation works of the District did not at once produce the results expected, it has contributed directly to this marked increase during the past ten years.

The District has borne a bad reputation for ill-health, notably for the prevalence of malaria. Between 1891 and 1900 on a population of a quarter of a million the deaths actually exceeded the births by 3,000, and in only two Chief Headmen's divisions were the births in excess of the deaths. Between 1901 and 1910 the births exceeded the deaths by 23,000, and in every Chief Headman's division there was an excess of births over deaths. These figures point to a very real improvement in the health of the native population of the District.

The Kandyan population forms 75 per cent. of the population of the District, and shows an increase of 15 per cent. The balance of the increase is caused by immigration into the District.

Low-country Sinhalese have increased by 79 per cent., but only number 47,000 in all; while the Tamil population has increased by 31 per cent., and totals 13,000. Though there has been a large influx of Low-country men and Tamils, their numbers are still comparatively small, while the death-rate rather than the birth-rate is likely to be swollen by immigration into the District.

The completion of the work of tank restoration and the establishment of dispensaries have done much to produce this improved condition of affairs. The Government Agent (Mr. W. E. Thorpe) reports that "nearly every village now has its restored tank, and in almost every case a dispensary and its quinine are within reach. Wholesale distribution of quinine through the headmen has been adopted recently, with, it is hoped, salutary effects. Sanitary principles are being taught in the schools, and Gansabhawa rules regarding sanitation, clearing of jungles, &c., are being enforced."

This District is largely dependent on irrigation works, and is benefited by some of the most important works in Ceylon, notably the Deduru-oya works. The population of the villages immediately benefited by this scheme has increased from 7,250 to 8,400 during the decade.

The period has, however, not been so much one of settled and improved cultivation of paddy land by the villager, as of expansion both from within and without caused by the opening up of the District by rail and road, together with the planting of thousands of acres of land with coconuts and rubber.

The extent of land under coconut cultivation in 1910 was estimated to be 219,000 acres, as compared with 163,000 acres in 1901, or an increase of over one-third; 5,000 acres have been opened under rubber cultivation. In addition to coconuts and rubber, tobacco has proved a very successful crop, while cotton has also been tried on a larger scale than elsewhere.

The opening up of land for coconut and rubber cultivation has everywhere given employment to the villager, who has in many cases abandoned his small holding, as has happened in other parts of Ceylon,

for the daily wage he can obtain by working on an estate, the result being that money has freely circulated.

There are few Districts which depend more for their prosperity upon the rainfall than the Kurunegala District. A season with good rainfall is generally followed by a lowered death-rate. The 75- to 100-inch area is the area of development and progress. The deficient rainfall in the north of the District means poorer returns from the cultivations, less immigration, and consequently a backward and less prosperous population.

In 1904 the Northern railway was opened as far as Anuradhapura, running through the Kurunegala District for 50 miles from Kurunegala town. New roads have been constructed, many as feeders to the railway. Some 44 miles of road leading to the stations on the Northern line have been opened during the decade, notably the roads between Wilakatupota and Ganewatta and Nikaweratiya and Maho, which have helped to bring traffic to the railway, not only from the Kurunegala District but also from the Anuradhapura and Puttalam Districts.

The largest increase in any division is in the Katugampola hatpattu, which has increased by nearly 35½ per cent., while its estate population has increased by 125 per cent. The rate of increase is nearly three times the rate of increase at the last Census. This division is one of the centres of the coconut cultivation.

The Ratemahatmaya of this division (Mr. L. Nugawela) reports that " the changes which have taken place in the habits and customs of the inhabitants of this division are many and marked. Straw-thatched houses, which were common in the District, are now seldom to be seen, for they are now covered with cadjans, and tiled buildings are gradually taking the place of the thatched ones. There are visible signs of the villagers being in better condition than in the past; they have better means of earning, and have taken to coconut cultivation. As regards occupation, the villager finds it more to his advantage to earn a living by working on estates, by the drying of copra, and other work." The Low-country Sinhalese have doubled in numbers in this division during the decade, and represent half the total number of Low-country Sinhalese in the Kurunegala District.

The next largest increase is in the Dambadeni hatpattu, which has increased by 29½ per cent. Coconuts are again the principal cause of the increase in this division, which is four times the increase between 1891–1901. The Low-country Sinhalese have doubled in numbers in this division also.

Kurunegala Local Board town comes next, with an increase of 26 per cent. This is not such a large increase as at the last Census (35 per cent.), which was due to the railway having reached the town during the decade. The increase is due to movement into the town from the District and Low-country. The town bears a bad reputation for its death-rate. The number of deaths in the town, exclusive of deaths in the hospital and jail, exceeded the births by 300 during the ten years 1891–1900. An anti-malarial campaign is now being conducted in the Kurunegala town. This is the only division of the District in which the Low-country men outnumber the Kandyans.

Kurunegala was once the capital of the Island, and the residence of its kings from 1319 to 1347.

Weudawili hatpattu has increased in population by over 20½ per cent., and its estate population—the largest for any division—by 92 per cent. The Government Agent reports that " the Ratemahatmaya

prophesies that fifty years hence the greater portion of the population will be estate coolies, Low-country Sinhalese, Chetties, and Moors."

The Superintendent of Census in his report for 1901 states that he fears that " little improvement can be expected in the three divisions of Hiriyala hatpattu, Wanni hatpattu, and Dewamedi hatpattu until the Northern railway is completed, and capital and labour are attracted to the fertile tracts now lying waste." The railway has now been completed, and marked improvements have to be recorded.

The Hiriyala hatpattu showed an increase of 6·4 per cent. at the 1901 Census, and an increase of 14 per cent. at this Census.

The Wanni hatpattu only increased between 1891–1901 by ·3 per cent. ; the increase between 1901–1911 was nearly 8½ per cent.

The Dewamedi hatpattu, which showed a decrease in population in 1901 of 1·1 per cent., has increased by 13·4 per cent.

All these three divisions show excesses of 2,000, 1,500, and 3,000 respectively in births over deaths between 1901–1910, as compared with decreases in each case of 400, 1,500, and 80 between 1891–1900.

The female population in the Wanni hatpattu has increased by 8 per cent., and the number of females in the Dewamedi hatpattu by over 12 per cent., as compared with decreases of 1½ and 3½ respectively at the Census of 1901.

The increases in these three divisions are ascribed by the Government Agent to the opening up of new lands, the extension of the Northern railway, and the " boom " in coconuts, all of which brought immigrants into the District.

The outlook for the Kurunegala District is wholly prosperous. The more remote parts of the District have been shown to have increased in population, as well as those directly opened up by the railway.

The rush into, as well as on to, land created a land problem during this period, and special steps had to be taken by Government to prevent encroachments on Crown lands, as well as to ensure a speedy settlement of lands purchased on doubtful or insecure titles. In addition to the 29,000 acres of Crown land sold, 6,000 acres have been settled on private individuals and 10,000 acres have been declared Crown by the Land Settlement Department. These figures denote an enormous increase in the cultivated area of the District, as well as the introduction of capital and labour.

The *Districts of Puttalam and Chilaw* were amalgamated from January 1, 1909. The Assistant Government Agent of Puttalam was placed in charge of the Chilaw District, and the Chilaw kachcheri staff and records were transferred to Puttalam. The District Judge of Chilaw is Chairman of the Local Board of Chilaw, and holds sessions at Puttalam once a month as District Judge of Puttalam. The jurisdiction of the Police Courts of Puttalam and Chilaw was unchanged. Both Districts have separate District Road Committees, separate District School Committees, and separate Boards of Health. For purposes of comparison the figures for the two Districts will be treated separately.

The *District of Puttalam* takes its name from the principal town of Puttalam, which is derived, according to Casie Chitty,* from the Tamil words *pudu*, new, and *alam*, salt pans, salt being the chief manufacture, and its collection the main industry of the District. Puttalam is also identified with the Battala visited by Ibn Batuta in

* "Ceylon Gazetteer," by Casie Chitty, p. 196.

the fourteenth century,* and is mentioned by Knox under the name of Portaloon.†

The landing place of Vijaya is placed by many authorities in the Puttalam District, and the city of Tammana Nuwara has been identified with ruins found in this District.‡

The population of the Puttalam District, exclusive of estates and the pilgrims at St. Anna's, was 31,453, and inclusive of estates 33,198—a total increase of 3,419, or 11·4 per cent., which is practically the same rate of increase as at the last Census.§

The increase is principally due to immigration into the District from the south—settlers chiefly attracted by the rich coconut land.

The number of deaths in this District during the period 1901–1910 actually exceeded the births by 1,297. In the previous decade the excess of deaths was 1,815, so that there appears to be some slight improvement. The District, however, bears a bad reputation for malarial fever. Parangi also prevails to a large extent.

The infantile mortality is very high—the second highest in the Island; the average annual number of deaths of children under one year and their proportion to 1,000 births in the District between 1901–1910 were 304 and 297 respectively.

The death-rate represents nearly one-third of all children born in the District; the average proportion of deaths under one year to 1,000 births for Ceylon is 180. Out of 4,638 deaths of children under ten years of age between 1901 and 1910, 3,041 were deaths of infants under one year.

The Principal Civil Medical Officer reports that the Moors—who form 29 per cent. of the population of this District—hardly ever seek qualified medical assistance in maternity cases. A very large percentage of deaths occur among newly-born Moor children; the mothers also often die owing to neglected confinements. Infantile mortality and malarial fever and its sequelæ are primarily responsible for the heavy death-rate of this District.

The division to show the largest increase in population is the Four Gravets, which includes the Local Board town of Puttalam, which shows an increase of 17·1 per cent. This is a great improvement on the rates for the two previous decades—between 1881 and 1891 the division decreased by 1 per cent., and only increased by 2·8 per cent. between 1891 and 1901. The deaths, however, within the Local Board area have exceeded the births during the decade by 679, while between 1891–1900 there were 458 more deaths than births.

The Assistant Government Agent (Mr. E. B. Alexander) considers that "the general health of the townspeople has improved owing to the measures adopted by the Board in filling up mosquito breeding swamps" and the extension of the water supply.

Writing at the end of the eighteenth century, Haafner, in his "Travels in the Island of Ceylon," || says: "Poetlam is a large and

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* "The pearl fishers .... go post to a place called Bettelar and (then) go 60 miles into the gulf."—Marco Polo, Book III., c. 16 (temp. 1298). "The natives went to their king and told him my reply; he sent for me and I proceeded to his presence in the town of Battala, which was his capital, a pretty little place surrounded by a timber wall and towers."—Ibn Batuta, IV., 166.

† Knox's "Historical Relation," pp. 3 and 10.

‡ *Vide* Journals of Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), Vol. VII., p. 64, and Vol. VIII., p. 10, for arguments *pro* (H. Nevill, C.C.S.) and *con* (H. Parker).

§ Of the pilgrims at St. Anna's, 73 were natives of Puttalam District. Including those in the population of the District, the increase would be 11·7 per cent.

|| Haafner's "Travels in the Island," pp. 65, 66.

very populous village, but the environs are far from being agreeable. There is a small fort with four bastions still in tolerably good repair, but quite forsaken and miserable."

The Puttalam pattu division shows an increase of 12 per cent., and including the estate population of 23 per cent. This increase is accompanied by an improvement in the health of the District. Births exceeded deaths by 136 for the period 1901-1910, while there was an excess of 115 deaths in the previous ten years.

The increase in population at this Census is, however, due to the development of new estates. This division has been largely opened up, and has been more affected by the coconut "boom" than any other part of the District. The Assistant Government Agent in his District Census Report says: "The most striking feature of the decade has been the boom in the prices of all products of the coconut. European capital is being invested in coconuts, and will probably be invested on a large scale in the next few years. The boom has been followed by a wave of material prosperity, which has enriched all owners of land and brought employment to all classes of artisans. The extension of large estates is gradually squeezing some of the villagers out of their holdings, where they have become indebted, and they are being reduced to the position of vagrant labourers without any settled homes; but on the whole the increase in wealth has been fairly and generally divided."

The acreage under coconuts in the Puttalam District has increased from 47,000 acres to 82,000 acres.

The Kalpitiya division, which showed an increase of 22½ per cent. at the last Census, at this Census only shows an increase of 4½ per cent., or, including estate population, of over 8 per cent. The difference is, however, not so great as it would appear, for the figures for the 1881 Census for this division, which then showed a large decrease, were undoubtedly incorrect, or due to a temporary migration of the inhabitants of this division.* The Kalpitiya division shows an excess of deaths over births of 900, which is even larger than the excess of deaths in the previous decade. The small increase in population is partly due to the heavy death-rate, and also to the difficulties in the way of developing this part of the District.

Casie Chitty,† writing in 1831, says: "It is supposed that the name Pomparippoo or Pomparappee (the largest pattu in this division), signifying the 'golden plains,' was bestowed on this Province on account of its excellent soil; but owing to a deficiency of population the operations of the plough are now very circumscribed, and the annual produce of paddy seldom averages more than 3,000 or 4,000 parrahs." Eighty years later the same description holds good.

The principal place in the division, and of historical interest, is Calpentyn, or Kalpitiya. The ruins of the fort built by the Dutch in 1646 denote its ancient importance. It is mentioned by Knox as one of the principal fortified places of the Island,‡ and was successively captured by the Portuguese in 1544, the Dutch in 1640, and the British in 1795.

At one time there was a considerable trade between Calpentyn and Madras and other ports on the Coromandel coast. Its population in 1831 was 2,498, or nearly double the number of its inhabitants to-day.

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* *Vide* Census Report for 1901, Vol. I., p. 67.

† Casie Chitty's "Gazetteer," p. 90.

‡ Knox's "Historical Relation," p. 2: "on this side also is Negumba and Colpentine. All those already mentioned are strong fortified places."

Calpentyn is never likely to be included again amongst the principal harbours of Ceylon, but it is still surrounded by flourishing coconut topes.

The Demala hatpattu shows a decrease in population of slightly over 1½ per cent., as compared with increases of 2 per cent. at the Census of 1901 and 3 per cent. at the 1891 Census.

The Assistant Government Agent ascribes the decrease chiefly to "the distress which prevailed during three years of drought from 1904 to 1907. The cultivation of chenas has also been discouraged, and the rule enforced that no chena of any age is to be cultivated anywhere without a permit. Elephants have been extremely troublesome, and have destroyed small plantations and hampered the cultivation of paddy or dry grains. When the Kandyan villager finds that the conditions of life are too strenuous for him, and that he can get the food which he wants and can lead the life to which he has been accustomed more easily elsewhere, he migrates to other Kandyan districts. This is what appears to have happened in the Demala hatpattu."

Mr. Macready, Assistant Government Agent, writing in 1868, says of this pattu : "It is seldom that a family will be found in this pattu where the number exceeds two or three. Want of wholesome food and sufficient quantity of it, with their almost universal dependence on kurakkan for subsistence, a diet unhealthy and debilitating when long persisted in, the scarcity of wells to supply fresh and untainted water in the annual seasons of drought, the total absence of ventilation in their dwellings, and their dirty clothing and dirtier habits, are some of the causes which unite to render them unusually susceptible of disease. The number of deaths here in extreme childhood is remarkable. I put several questions as to the extent of family losses. The Korala of the division (Periyaville) had eight children in all. All but one died in childhood. The Liyanarala had six, all of whom died young. This, I think, is often the rule among the families of the unhappy pattu. Almost every one I inquired of had lost at least half their children by death."

The infantile mortality between 1901 and 1910 averaged 293 deaths per 1,000 births. It was as high as 353 per 1,000 in 1902, and sunk to 251 per 1,000 in 1910.

It is noteworthy that during the decade the births actually exceeded the deaths in this division by 157, as compared with an excess of deaths over births of 643 between 1891 and 1900.

Good work has been done by the dispensaries at Anamaduwa and Andigama in this division.

The Assistant Government Agent further reports that "the work of restoring the numerous village tanks that existed in former times has been carried on steadily during the decade, while the nature of the typical Demala hatpattu village permits of the enforcement of several salutary sanitary regulations, such as the periodical clearing of the *tisbamba* (the reserve maintained around each village), which cannot fail to have a good effect on the health of the inhabitants."

The decrease appears to be due chiefly to migration from this part of the District, and is likely to continue, unless there is considerable improvement in the conditions of the division.

The Maha Uswewa tank, the principal tank in the Puttalam District, is situated in this division. The extent cultivated under this tank has increased by 265 acres during the decade. There are still over 600 acres of irrigable Crown land under this tank which have not yet been taken up.

Since 1901, 120 tanks in the Puttalam District have been restored or improved, and there appears to have been a general all-round improvement in the crops of all products. The price of land has risen by nearly 58½ per cent., and the estate population has increased by over 261 per cent., due to the extension of coconut cultivation.

The salt manufacture is still the chief industry in Puttalam, and affords employment to the Moorish population and to coolies imported from India. But it is intermittent and uncertain. It depends largely upon the market for salt, the collections at other places in the Island, and the operations of the buyers. In 1905, 1906, and 1910 over 430,000 cwt. were manufactured, while in 1909 the manufacture only amounted to 9,000 cwt. There were large sales from other places, and the Puttalam stores were congested. Between 1901-1910 over 3 million cwt. of salt were manufactured, and the revenue obtained by sale of the salt was over 8 million rupees.

The outlook for the District is very promising. The railway as far as Chilaw has been sanctioned, and will no doubt in time be extended to Puttalam. At present a motor bus service between Negombo and Puttalam, started in 1909, is a welcome improvement in transport, which is the main requirement for the development of a District which only requires to be opened up to be amongst the wealthiest in Ceylon.

In addition to the 33,198 persons enumerated in the Puttalam District, 6,467 pilgrims, of whom 3,696 were males and 2,771 females, were enumerated at the great Roman Catholic pilgrimage of St. Anna's at Talavillu. Of these pilgrims, 73 were natives of Puttalam District. Of the rest, no less than 4,014 came from the Colombo District and 659 from Colombo town. There were over 1,000 pilgrims from the adjoining District of Chilaw and 100 from Chilaw town. The only other towns or Districts largely represented at St. Anna's were Jaffna town, which sent 234 pilgrims, and Kalutara District and Negombo town, each with 100 pilgrims.

There were pilgrims from Madras, Trichinopoly, Madura, Mysore, Pondicherry, and other South Indian towns; while of the six priests who ministered to this large assemblage four were Frenchmen, one an Italian, and one a native priest.

Of the 6,467 pilgrims, 6,248 were Roman Catholics. There were over 100 Hindus present, 60 Buddhists, and a score of Muhammadans.

Over 5,000 pilgrims were Sinhalese, only 15 of whom were Kandyans. There were 1,000 Tamils.

"The festival is now regarded as a very sacred occurrence by the Catholics of Ceylon, and even of Southern India. But they are not the only people who form the vast crowd that each year, during the month of July, convert the quiet little village of Talavillu into a large bustling town, improvized with huts made of boughs and cadjans. Muhammadans, Gentoos, individuals of all shades of religious opinion, flock thither as to a large fair."*

The March pilgrimage is a very small affair compared with the festival held at the end of July, which is attended by between 30,000 and 40,000 people.

Mr. Macready, in his Administration Report for 1867, gives an account of the origin of the pilgrimage: "In the seventeenth century a Portuguese man in poor circumstances travelled from Mannar to Colombo to try and find a livelihood there, but failing to do so was

* Administration Report for Puttalam District, 1898.

Coconut cultivation has increased extensively ; the average under coconuts in 1910 was 96,600 acres, as compared with 86,400 acres in 1900. Practically the whole of the District south of Chilaw town is now fully planted with coconuts, and very little Crown land remains. The number of coconut gardens is large, and the owners are, with the exception of a few large estates, all natives of the District.

Ninety-seven tanks in the Chilaw District have been restored and improved, and paddy cultivation still forms the principal support of many of the interior villagers.

The price of land in the Chilaw District has increased by 80 per cent.

The Chilaw villager is probably better off than the villager in any other part of the Island, except in some parts of the Western and Southern Provinces..

The Assistant Government Agent (Mr. E. B. Alexander) in his District Census Report specially refers to the general signs of prosperity in the Chilaw District :—

" Money is plentiful, and the people are beginning to learn its value. South of Chilaw town most villages have their own small banks. Life insurance is becoming a very general practice among those who can afford it. The standard of comfort is steadily rising. Brick structures with cement floors and tiled roofs are replacing the old native houses of mud and wattle with clay floors and cadjan roofs. The houses of the better class of villagers are comfortably furnished with tables, chairs, sofas, fine almirahs, large chests, mirrors, and clocks. Aerated waters are much appreciated. An aerated water manufactory has been started at Wennappuwa. All the boutiques are stocked with them. Several new butchers' licenses have been granted recently, and the people are evidently acquiring a taste for meat. Tinned milk and tinned provisions of various kinds are to be found in the boutiques. The smoking of pipes is becoming common, even the fisherwomen may be seen smoking them. Strong pipe tobacco and cheap cigarettes can be purchased in the boutiques, as well as the customary Jaffna cheroot. All classes of the community use kerosine oil lamps for lighting purposes ; and even the boatmen and the poorer villagers now use enamelled tin plates, instead of eating their food on plantain leaves, as they were accustomed to previously."

It is this District—to-day so prosperous—which is thus described by Haafner in his " Travels in the Island of Ceylon " at the end of the eighteenth century: " Our path now lay along a kind of dyke from which we could discover the sea on our right and on our left the immeasurable and savage forest of Madampe. In several places we observed traces of tigers and serpents. This canal was the only separation between us and the savage and far-extended wilderness of Madampe, in which we heard the unceasing roar of ravenous beasts."*

The extension of the railway from Negombo to Chilaw, which was sanctioned in March, 1911, will further increase the prosperity of the District. It is expected to be completed within the next three years.

The health of the District has been on the whole good. The excess of births over deaths was 11,600, as compared with an excess of births of 6,700 in the previous decade.

The largest increase, exclusive of estate population, is in Pitigal korale Central, the population of which has increased by nearly 22½ per cent. Inclusive of the estate population, which has decreased in

* Haafner's " Travels in the Island of Ceylon," p. 70.

this korale, the increase is 18 per cent., as compared with an increase of 15½ per cent. at the last Census.

Including the estate population, the largest increase is in Pitigal korale North, which shows a total increase of 20 per cent. A satisfactory feature of this increase is that the births in this korale exceeded the deaths by 439, while in the previous decade there was a slight excess of deaths over births.

This increase is due to movements into this korale from other parts of the District. In spite of the increase in estate population, the number of Tamils in this division has remained stationary. It is less developed than any other part of the Chilaw District, and has consequently afforded more scope for extension. It is a larger division than Pitigal korale South and Central combined, but whereas these korales show respectively 800 and 400 persons to the square mile, in Pitigal korale North there are only 100 to the square mile, which is, however, an increase of 18 persons to the square mile since 1901.

Pitigal korale South has increased by over 15¼ per cent. This is the most thickly populated and highly developed division in the District. The density of population has increased from 695 to 805 persons per square mile.

In spite of the removal of the kachcheri to Puttalam, the Local Board town of Chilaw has increased by 20·7 per cent., as compared with an increase of 11½ per cent. at the last Census.

The increase is ascribed principally to the general prosperity of the District, the extension of coconut cultivation, which has brought a larger number of residents to the town, and tobacco cultivation, which provides employment for a larger number of persons.

No mention of Chilaw is made in the early Sinhalese records; the only historical reference prior to its capture by the Dutch in 1756 is to an engagement in which the Moors who had endeavoured to form a settlement at this point were driven back by the " King of Madampe " and his brother.

Chilaw is described by Haafner* as " a large village, very pleasantly situated in a grove of cocoa trees. The river, from which the place takes its name, and on whose banks it is situated, separates it from the shore of the sea, from which it is about a mile distant. There is here an old fort, small, and of a square form ; it was built by the Portuguese, the first conquerors of India, and has since been repaired and improved. In time of peace the garrison consists of from thirty to fifty men, chiefly Topazes and Lascars, but on account of the war with the English it has been reinforced with two hundred Europeans and Malays, which, from the strong situation of the place, was a force more than sufficient to defend it against an enemy twenty times more numerous. As it is surrounded on almost every side by frightful wildernesses, and can only be approached in boats by the river, which is broad and rapid, it runs no danger whatever of being taken by surprise, if the usual watch is kept ; and, besides, the guns of the fort command the banks of the river, and can prevent its being approached."

In 1796 Chilaw was surrendered to the British during the hostilities with the king of Kandy ; in 1803 the fort was besieged by the Kandyans and relieved by English troops from Negombo.

Lord Valentia in his Travels† gives an interesting account of this siege : " The fort of Chilaw is the most trifling thing I ever beheld

* Haafner's " Travels in the Island of Ceylon," pp. 68 and 69.
† Lord Valentia's " Travels," Vol. I., pp. 327, 328.

under that name. It consists of a ditch, in some parts three feet deep, with a rampart of earth that slopes equally both ways, and is about ten feet high, on the top of which is a row of hedge stakes driven in close to each other. In the front of this, on the edge of the ditch, is a range of trees with their branches placed outwards. This is a late addition; yet without this it stood a siege against the Second Adigar and three thousand Cingalese. They carried on their approaches very regularly, and at length brought their batteries so near the fort that they conversed with the garrison. Mr. Campbell, who commanded, though a Civil Servant, had with him but sixty Sepoys and Malays; yet the enemy, who could see everything, never attempted to storm the place. He had no shot, and only a barrel and a half of powder. He was obliged to use pice,* of which he had six thousand rix-dollars in the place, and to manage his fire sparingly, as he did not know when he might be relieved. He had no great occasion to fear in other respects, for not a man was killed on his side. His havildar told him there was no use in loading with ball: 'Put in powder enough,' said he, 'and the noise will be sufficient to keep them off.' Repeated offers of reward were made to the garrison if they would give him up, but without effect. At length Captain Blackwall with forty men came to his assistance by water from Negumbo, and the Candian army retreated with the utmost expedition. They conceived themselves so completely masters of the country that they did no mischief to the village, nor did they carry off any salt, of which they were in the greatest want, and of which this is one of the chief deposits."

The name Chilaw is apparently from the Tamil name given to the town—Chalapam (சலாபம்), which signifies a pearl fishery, so called from a pearl fishery held off its coasts. By the Sinhalese the town is called Halawata or Halawe.†

The most remarkable feature in the increase in population in this District is that it has been practically confined to the Low-country Sinhalese, who have increased by 19½ per cent., from 60,700 to 72,700, while in spite of the development of estates, the opening of desiccating and fibre mills, and the approach of the railway, the numbers of the Tamil population have remained stationary. There are 3,500 Moors in the District, as compared with 2,800 at the last Census.

Increases in other Districts, as has been already pointed out, have been due to a very considerable extent to migration into the District, to Low-country invasions of Kandyan Provinces, to increases in Tamil and Moor labour, to the importation of labour owing to new openings for capital, to "rubber booms," "coconut booms," and to irrigation works.

In this District, where the period of prosperity has been as great as, if not greater than, elsewhere, the development has been almost entirely from within. The adjoining Low-country District of Negombo has increased in population in almost the same ratio, while the Kandyan Districts of the Kurunegala District show equally large increases in population, and none of these Districts have been bled by the expansion of the adjoining District of Chilaw.

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* A small copper coin.

† There is some dispute as to the meaning of this name. It is said to signify that in ancient times it was colonized by Chalias, who built "salawas" or halls for carrying on weaving, hence the name Salawagama—a village of halls, later corrupted into Halawatta—garden of the Chalias. Others derive the name from the Sinhalese verb "halawa," to shake off, and state that when king Kavan Tissa sent a number of persons to convoy honey from Negombo (Migomuwa) to Anuradhapura, it was at this spot, Chilaw, that the bees were shaken off the combs.

This fact is the more remarkable from the history of the Chilaw District, which shows that its original population was settled in this District. Its origin appears to be rather Tamil than Sinhalese. Tamil is as much the language of the Low-country Sinhalese of the sea coast line from Negombo to Puttalam as is Sinhalese. How far the union of the two races—Sinhalese and Tamil—may have contributed to the successful development of this District and the general well-being of its inhabitants is a matter for the consideration of the student of ethnology and the historian.

The population of the *North-Central Province* at this Census was 86,276, being an increase of practically 9 per cent. on the population at the last decade. This is probably the largest actual increase which has taken place at any Census in the population of this district, for though the increase between 1881–1891 was 13·9, it is believed that the figures of the 1881 Census were not accurate.*

The Province has an area of 4,068 square miles, and has been increased in size since the last Census by the addition of a portion of the Bintenna division of the Batticaloa District to the Tamankaduwa palata.

In area the North-Central Province is the largest Province in Ceylon, but its population is less than that of any other Province or District in Ceylon, excluding the Districts of Mannar, Mullaittivu, and Trincomalee. The average number of persons to the square mile is only 21, while the average number of houses in the same area is 5.

The actual increase in population during the decade is 7,000. The number of deaths between 1901–1910 exceeded the number of births by 88, so that the increase can be ascribed almost entirely to immigration into the district.

Excluding the Veddas, who show a large increase,† the resident population of the district—the Kandyan Sinhalese—have increased by only 4¾ per cent., while the Low-country Sinhalese have increased by 43½ per cent., the Tamils by 15¾ per cent., and the Moors by 12 per cent.

A very different distribution of the population from 1873, when Sir J. F. Dickson estimated that the Kandyan Sinhalese amounted to 59,000 out of a total population of 70,000, while " Kaffirs, Bengalees, and Low-country Sinhalese " he put at 20; there are now 2,800 Low-countrymen in the North-Central Province.

The Government Agent (Mr. C. S. Vaughan) in his District Census Report states that " owing to the construction of the railway and the improvement of road communications, settlers, both Sinhalese and Tamil, from the Low-country are beginning to establish themselves in the North-Central Province. This is especially the case in the small bazaars bordering the high roads. The Kandyan village of the North-Central Province is gradually losing its character of a primitive Aryan community."

As Mr. L. W. Booth remarks in his Administration Report for 1901 in reference to the Census figures for 1901, " though the increase in the population has been disappointing, it is a matter of common remark by those who knew the Province ten or fifteen years ago, and now re-visit it, that the improvement in the condition of the villagers in the interval has been most marked. I am frequently told, too, by those whose acquaintance with the Province is recent, of their surprise at the good physique of the people, their preconceived notions having led them to expect to see a half-starved, disease-stricken population.

* *Vide* Report on Census of 1901, Vol. I., p. 68.
† *Vide* Chapter VIII., Races.

"The advance of the Province, not only during the last ten years, but ever since its creation, has no doubt been more in the direction of moral and material progress than in that of increase of population. It is not possible to put progress of this kind into the concrete form of dry figures, or to give statistics of the degree to which disease and human misery have been alleviated or averted; nor can the sums saved to Government on account of medical charges, relief works, and so on, be set down."

The largest increases in the district have been in the population of Anuradhapura town and Tamankaduwa.

"Making full allowance for the exaggeration or partiality of the monkish historians, recent investigations and comparison with records of other nations leave no reasonable room for doubt that the history of Ceylon centres round the two ancient cities of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa (the centre of the Tamankaduwa division) for a space of sixteen hundred years."*

The increase in the population of Tamankaduwa is noteworthy. Between 1891–1901 the population of this division decreased by 3·7 per cent., and between 1901–1911 it has increased by 15·1 per cent.

The actual increase in population is only about 900, but the births show an excess over the deaths during the period, and there has been immigration into the district, both encouraging signs in this unhealthy and backward district.

There is a Sinhalese saying that in ancient days "*A fowl could pass from the roof of a house in Polonnaruwa to the roof of a house in Anuradhapura without descending to the ground*,"† so thickly was Tamankaduwa peopled in those days. This district was also called the "Granary of Ceylon," so large were the supplies of grain obtained from the wide tracts under cultivation.

Sir Henry Ward, in a memorandum on his tour through Tamankaduwa in 1856, wrote of the district: "The low-land bears the marks of ancient cultivation, and is marked by a succession of villoos, or tanks, used formerly, no doubt, for the purposes of irrigation, when Tamankaduwa was a garden and Polonnaruwa the capital of Ceylon. What has led to the entire abandonment of so fertile a district it is impossible to tell, for there are old men now living who say that in the time of their grandfathers there were 2,000 watch-huts in Tamankaduwa, and I can quite believe it from the general appearance of the country and the recent signs of former fertility.‡ Now the villages are few and far between. The Sinhalese element seems to be gradually dying out, under the influence of constant intermarriages, smallpox, and fever, with little or no medical aid."

Tank restoration has probably had a great deal to do with the improved condition of this part of the country. The restoration of the great tank at Minneriya has brought in settlers, and there is an increasing tendency for the villagers from the Bintenna (Batticaloa) side to move into Tamankaduwa.

Minneriya has increased in population from 262 in 1901 to 330 in 1911, in spite of its reputation as an unhealthy station, and the

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* "Manual of the North-Central Province," by R. W. Ievers, C.C.S., p. 22.

† පොලොන්නරුවෙන් වහලට නැඟුනු කකුළා අනුරාධපුරෙන් බිමට බසී.

‡ But Pybus, in his Account of his Mission to the King of Kandy in 1762, says: "The country we are now in is called Tammanganny (Tamankaduwa), and has sixty villages belonging to it. I have seen as yet little but woods. The inhabitants are few, poor, and miserable." The glory of Tamankaduwa was probably long before the period of Sir Henry Ward's informant's grandfather.

population under Minneriya tank has increased by 26½ per cent. during the decade.

"Minere is situated on low marshy ground, in paddy fields, about half a mile from the lake, and on the banks of a stream that flows out of it. Of the few inhabitants whom we saw, not one had escaped fever, which is the prevailing disease of the country. They all, I perceived, wore something wrapped up and tied to the arm. On inquiry what it meant, they said, 'It was a charm to defend them against sickness and wild beasts.' This place was occupied by a detachment of our troops in 1803, and since, during the late rebellion.* In both instances it proved excessively unhealthy; and, indeed, in the former, fatal to the majority of those stationed here."†

In fact, so unhealthy was Tamankaduwa that it was found inadvisable to keep a separate Commandant in charge of the district, and it was amalgamated from 1818 with the Collectorate of Trincomalee.

The town of Anuradhapura‡ has increased by 32½ per cent., and its population (5,361) is now double what it was in 1891. The increase is entirely due to immigration to the town from other parts of the Island. There are more than twice as many Tamils in Anuradhapura as there are Kandyan Sinhalese, and there are more Low-countrymen than Kandyans among the Sinhalese population.

The number of deaths in the town—exclusive of deaths in the hospital and jail—between 1901 and 1910 was 690 in excess of the number of births—it has always had a bad reputation for unhealthiness.

Anuradhapura was only decided upon as the seat of the Assistant Agency, which was created in 1833, "on the grounds of its being more central for business, and as being nearer to Jaffna and the pearl fishery than the ancient fortress of Ritigala," which was recommended by Mr. Turnour. One of the arguments against the choice of Anuradhapura was the absence of any resident population.§ In 1850 it was contemplated to abandon it as a station altogether.

It is of this city that Emerson Tennent|| quotes a description from a native writer of the seventh century: "Temples and palaces, whose golden pinnacles glitter in the sky, the streets spanned by arches bearing flags, the sideways strewn with black sand and the middle sprinkled with white, and on either side vessels containing flowers, and niches with statues holding lamps. There are multitudes of men armed with swords, and bows and arrows. Elephants, horses, carts, and myriads of people pass and repass, jugglers, dancers, and musicians of all nations, with chank shells and other instruments ornamented with gold. The distance from the principal gate to the south gate is four gows, and the same from the north to the south gate. The principal streets are Moon street, Great King street, Hinguruwak and Mahawelli streets, the first containing eleven thousand houses, many of them two stories in height. The smaller streets are innumerable.

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* 1815–1818.

† Davy's "Interior of Ceylon," p. 384.

‡ The derivation of Anuradhapura from "anoo" ninety, "rajah" king, "pura" city—the city of the ninety kings—appears to be purely fanciful. In the *Mahawansa* it is stated that the city was called after Anurádha, one of the followers of Vijayo. In Chapter X. it is stated that Pandukabhaya fixed upon Anurádha as his capital, "on account of its having been the settlement of Anurádha, and because it was founded under the constellation Anurádha, and upon the recommendation of a soothsayer, who was expert in the sciences of sites."

§ *Vide* "Manual of the North-Central Province," by R. W. Ievers, C.C.S., pp. 65 and 396.

|| Emerson Tennent's "History of Ceylon," Vol. I., pp. 494, 495.

The palace has large ranges of buildings, some of them two and three stories high, and its subterranean apartments are of great extent."

The native descriptions of Anuradhapura in the seventh century are corroborated by the testimony of the foreign travellers who visited it. Fa Hian, who visited Ceylon in the fourth century, says: "The city is the residence of many magistrates, grandees, and foreign merchants; the mansions beautiful, the public buildings richly adorned, the streets and highways straight and level, and houses for preaching built at every thoroughfare."*

To-day it bears many traces of its former grandeur in its famous dagobas and ruined shrines, its temples, the thousands of pillars and carved monuments which strew the jungle now surrounding a city whose walls were once sixty-four miles in circumference.

"They report Ninety Kings have since reigned there successively, where by the ruins that still remain, it appears they spared not for pains and labour to build Temples and high Monuments to the honour of this God, as if they had been born only to hew Rocks and great Stones and lay them up in heaps. These Kings are now happy Spirits, having merited it by these their labours ...... Here and there by the side of this River is a world of hewn Stone Pillars and other heaps of hewn Stones, which I suppose formerly were Buildings."†

Yet Anuradhapura cannot be described merely as a city of the dead. Its population, as has been shown, is increasing, there is a steady flow of emigration into the town, its market and liquor rents have largely increased in value, and land is being taken up on lease.

The railway, which was opened in 1904, brings crowds of visitors from all parts of the world. There is a regular passenger season, when the hotel, which was opened in 1908, is filled with visitors from all parts of the world, while at the pilgrimage seasons, more especially on the full moons of May, June, and July, thousands of Buddhist pilgrims from all parts of the Island crowd into the "holy city."

At the time the Census was taken there was no large influx of pilgrims or other visitors, so that the population as enumerated may be taken to represent the usual resident population of the town.

Polonnaruwa is never likely to regain its former splendour. Its monuments, perhaps the most remarkable in Ceylon, will long remain amidst their jungle surroundings, while the only residents of the former capital of Ceylon are the staff and coolies of the Archæological Department, which, under the supervision of the Archæological Commissioner (Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S.), has done so much to disclose the splendours of this famous city. A resthouse was opened in 1910, which has increased the number of visitors to these ruins.

The Hurulu palata shows an increase of 8 per cent., the Kalagam palata an increase of 6¾ per cent., and Nuwaragam palata an increase of 6½ per cent.

The increases in population correspond with the facilities for irrigation within the reach of the population. The villages benefited by the Kalawewa water supply have increased in population by over 800, or 18 per cent., while a large proportion of the increase in the population of Anuradhapura town can be ascribed to this water system.

The food supply of the people is, on the whole, good. They mostly live on the produce of their own paddy fields, gardens, and chenas,

* "Foe-Koue-ki," Chapter XXXVIII., p. 334.

† Knox's "Historical Relation." pp. 129 and 265.

and buy only small supplies of salt, dry fish, and curry stuffs. The chenas yield Indian corn, kurakkan, vegetables, &c., and gingelly is always found to be a profitable crop. Fruit is not plentiful, but fish can nearly always be had from the tanks. The Government Agent mentions in his Administration Report for 1905 that he had heard of a village which sold the right of taking fish on the tank getting low for Rs. 140, to be divided amongst the shareholders. When the tanks are low the whole village turns out and squats round and about the tank catching the fish in baskets, or striking them down with sticks and pieces of iron as they rise to the surface. Part of the catch is dried on the spot, and the rest taken home to be cured and kept for subsequent use.

In Anuradhapura the cost of living has considerably increased, and wages and rents are rapidly rising to double what they were ten years ago.

The general condition of the Province is well summed up by Mr. L. W. Booth, who administered the Province from 1900 to 1904, in his Administration Report for 1903, which may be quoted here, as it is as true to-day as when it was written :—

" The general condition of the Province may be described as moderately prosperous now, with every prospect of much greater prosperity in the not very distant future. At present, with the exception of the town of Anuradhapura and a few bazaars here and there along the principal roads, which are inhabited by a mixed population of Tamils, Low-country Sinhalese, and Moors, engaged chiefly in trade, the Province is inhabited by an agricultural population collected together in small communities, called 'villages,' each under its own tank, and each separated from the other by a more or less extensive tract of forest and jungle. These communities are at once primitive and exclusive ; the customs and ideas of hundreds of years ago still prevail, the 'village' is the villager's world, and all intrusion from outside is regarded with the utmost jealousy. There are about 1,100 of these villages in the Province,* with an average population of about 75 in each. Owing to the care which Government has bestowed upon the Province since its creation some thirty years ago, and more especially to the restoration of the village tanks, which has afforded a fairly constant and abundant supply of water both for cultivation and domestic use, the ravages of disease have been arrested, the people have been rescued from starvation, and they are now well nourished and thriving. It is true that the climate is still unhealthy, that the death-rate is high, and that fever and parangi in their various forms still prevail ; but these diseases are no longer so severe as once they were, and the people have more stamina to resist them.† There is no destitution, and even the pinch of want is rarely felt. In most villages there are considerable surplus stocks of food stuffs. The people possess large numbers of cattle, of which, however, they make but little use. A certain number of the buffaloes are trained for ploughing, and a small proportion of the black cattle are sold to traders for the Colombo and up-country markets, but, generally speaking, the cattle roam about untended and uncared for. Practically no use is made of the milk, which might be a valuable source of food supply.

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* The number of villages in the North-Central Province at the Census was 1,085.

† In 1910 the births exceeded the deaths by over 1,000, which is the largest excess of births in any one year during the last twenty years.

"It is obvious that the future large development of the Province cannot be expected from this primitive and conservative population. They have all they require to satisfy their simple wants, they are perfectly contented and happy with their lot, and it is well that they should remain so. Besides, even were they energetic and progressive, their numbers are too few; they have, at the most liberal computation, not more than 75,000 acres under permanent cultivation among them, and there are upwards of 2,000,000 acres of forest and jungle still to be reclaimed. It is rather to the enterprising Tamil and to the intelligent Low-country Sinhalese, from the congested districts of the north and south respectively, as well as to capitalists, both native and European, that we must look in the main for the opening up of the country. With rich soil to tempt them, and so many fields of enterprise to be explored, there is every ground for hope that men of the right stamp will begin to be attracted as soon as the Northern railway has made the country accessible, and the restoration of the magnificent ancient irrigation works, with which the country is intersected in all directions, has made appreciable progress. One or two of these, such as Kalawewa and Minneriya, have already been restored; others, such as Nachchaduwa and Mahagalkadawala, are under restoration, and several others have been or are being surveyed. No sudden transformation is to be expected, but progress can hardly fail to be sure and steady. Already the population and trade of the town of Anuradhapura have largely increased, while the numerous inquiries regarding lands available for sale or lease which are received from outside the Province prove that its possibilities are attracting attention in many quarters."

The *Province of Uva* shows an increase of 16·4 per cent. during the decade. Including the estate population its total population is 216,692. Exclusive of estates the population has increased by 7·7 per cent., which is a low rate of increase compared with many other districts, but is in excess of the increases for the last two decades; the increase between 1891 and 1901 was 6·1 per cent., and there was a decrease between 1881–1891. The estate population has increased by 39 per cent. In round figures, the general population increased by 10,000, and the estate population by 20,000.

The increase of population in the Province of Uva is very slow Between 1891 and 1900 the births exceeded the deaths by 8,276, between 1901 and 1910 the excess of births was only 6,824, while in three years (1901, 1906, 1907) the deaths actually exceeded the births. In 1901 there was cholera in Bintenna and near Welimada. In 1906 cholera broke out on estates in Monaragala, and ultimately spread to the whole Province. 547 cases and 353 deaths were reported. In 1907 there were a few cases of cholera. In 1904 there was a considerable shortage of crops in Wiyaluwa, Wellassa, Bintenna, and Buttala, and much distress resulted. Advances of rice, kurakkan, and salt were made by Government, to be repaid by labour on selected relief works. A year of famine is generally followed by years of sickness.

In considering the history of this Province, it must be borne in mind, as Mr. White points out in his "Manual of Uva," "the term Uva, or Province of Uva, as now applied to the divisions which have been grouped together under that name, is misleading, unless the fact is grasped that Uva proper or Upper Uva, which most people think of, and rightly so, as a well-watered and healthy highland country, is quite distinct from the low-lying "terai" composed of Bintenna,

Wellassa, part of Buttala, and part of Kandapalla and Wellawaya, and that the drought, sickness, and high death-rates of these lower divisions are by no means matters of recent date, but on the contrary have probably prevailed from the very earliest times, and were only temporarily alleviated by spasmodic efforts on the part of the early Sinhalese rulers."*

Between 1891 and 1900 the excess of deaths over births was 386 in the divisions of Bintenna, Wellassa, Buttala, and Wellawaya; while the figures for the divisions of Wiyaluwa, Udukinda, and Yatikinda show an excess of 9,359 in births over deaths. Between 1901 and 1910 we find the same excess of deaths over births in the low-lying divisions—there were 2,154 more deaths than births, and an excess of births in Upper Uva, where there were 10,500 more births than deaths in the same period.

The largest increase in the general population of any division was in Udukinda (11·3 per cent.), the next largest increase in Yatikinda (11·2), and the third largest in Wiyaluwa (10·9), viz., the districts comprising Upper Uva, of which Tennent wrote: "There can be little doubt that with the extension of roads and enlarged means of communication with the capitals and the coast, this district, as it is already one of the richest districts in this Island, is destined at no distant date to be one of the most prosperous and frequented."†

Wellassa has increased by 8 per cent., and by 226·2 on a small estate population, in spite of its unhealthy reputation. "Though the district of Welassey is not very low, its climate is like that of the plains, subject to long droughts and to periodical sickness. The most unhealthy months are July, August, and September, when the wind is generally from the north-west and the country parched with drought. Last year the most unhealthy season ever known was experienced. Of 250 Europeans in the district between the 11th July and the 20th October, 1818, only two escaped disease, and of those attacked by the endemic fever about 200 died, including five officers."‡

Between 1901 and 1910 the deaths exceeded the births by 291 in this division. The increase in population is probably due to migration from the Buttala district, and the openings for labour afforded by the clearing of land for rubber.

The Government Agent of Uva, in his Administration Report for 1907, states that "on the Bibile Rubber Company's clearing in Wellassa 25,692 days' labour of Sinhalese villagers was employed, and Rs. 12,846, besides Rs. 7,625 for contract work, or a total of Rs. 20,471, was paid."

The same Government Agent (Mr. H. White), writing in 1906, says: "I look upon the fact that a large area of Crown land has been sold and a large area leased (for experimental cultivation of rubber) in the lower divisions of the Province with unmixed satisfaction.

"The Province as a whole could not develop while the European cultivator occupied the tops of the hills and the chena cultivator devastated the low-country. The European planter, as he opens up the low-country, will demand and will get roads and bridges and hospitals, and will spend large sums in the employment of local labour, whereby the villagers of Lower Uva will reap some tangible benefit. Upper and Lower Uva will merge into one, with identical, instead of, as in the past, divergent interests."

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* "Manual of Uva," by H. White, C.C.S., p. 66.
† Emerson Tennent: "Ceylon," Vol. II., p. 226.
‡ Davy's "Interior of Ceylon," p. 417.

The division of Wellawaya has also benefited by the opening up of land for rubber cultivation. "On the Hingurakaduwa rubber clearing in Wellawaya 25,000 days' labour of Sinhalese villagers was employed during 1907 and Rs. 15,517 paid in wages, many of the people coming from distant villages."* Over 1,000 acres in Wellawaya were granted on leases for experimental cultivation by Government in 1906.

Wellawaya showed a decrease of ·8 per cent. at the Census of 1901, and an increase of ·9 per cent. at this Census, while its estate population has increased by 80¾ per cent., though the number of deaths exceeded the number of births during the decade by 280.

In contrast to the Bintenna pattu of the Batticaloa District† the Bintenna division of Uva shows an increase of 6·7 per cent., which, though not so large as the increase shown in the previous decade (16 per cent.), may be regarded as satisfactory in a District to which Knox's description still applies: "The country of Bintan, which Land I have never been at but have taken a view of from the top of a Mountain ; it seems to be smooth Land, and not much hilly, the great River runs through the midst of it.‡ It is all over covered with mighty Woods and abundance of Deer. But much subject to dry weather and sickness."§

"In the days of the Kandyan sovereigns there were three places to which the prisoners were transported, one near Badulla, for light offenders of rank ; one in the Seven Korales, for criminals of a deeper dye ; and a third, in the Bintenna district, immediately below Lagalla. Transportation to this locality was equivalent to death, as it was then so pestilential that none who went there were known to return."||

The deaths exceeded the births in this division by 176 during the decade.

The lease of a large extent of land for the cultivation of rubber to the Bibile Rubber Company and other clearings in rubber afforded occupation to a large number of persons in this District, and no doubt attracted settlers from the Batticaloa side.

This division depends largely upon the extension of irrigation works. The Horabora tank, which Tennent describes as a "stupendous work,"¶ is situated in Bintenna. This tank was restored in 1870, but the inhabitants are less renowned as cultivators than as hunters.

"In point of antiquity," says Tennent, "Bintenna transcends even the historic renown of Anuradhapura."**

In the District was situated the famous city of Mahiyangana (the modern Alutnuwara), one of the most, if not the most, famous shrine

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* Administration Report, Uva, 1907.

† *Vide* p. 90, *supra*.

‡ The Mahaweli-ganga.

§ Knox's "Historical Relation," p. 8.

|| "Old Ceylon," by John Capper, p. 195.

¶ Mr. John Bailey, Assistant Government Agent, Badulla, writes in 1857 : "This magnificent tank is situated four miles north-east of Alootnuwara. It must have been once of prodigious size, for in its rear, upwards of two miles from its present high water mark, there is a huge embankment called the Orubenda Kande, *i.e.*, 'the bank to which boats were fastened,' apparently intended to control the backwaters of the tank and prevent the inundation of the neighbouring flat country. Nature had done so much to form the tank that a very short embankment, not quite 500 feet long, connecting the extremity of two rocky spurs, was sufficient to confine a body of water large beyond all calculation which we can form from its present condition. But even now the tank presents an area of at least 600 acres of water in the driest season, and a very much larger one in wet weather, when its numerous feeders pour their streams into it." At present about 366 acres are under cultivation under Horaborawewa.

** Tennent's "Ceylon," Vol. II., p. 420.

in Ceylon. The city is continually referred to in the *Mahawansa.* Its dagoba was reputed to have been built while Buddha was yet alive, and the *Mahawansa* gives a graphic account of its foundation, "on the delightful bank of a river on a spot three yojanas in length and one in breadth in the agreeable Mahanaga garden in the assembling place of the Yakkas."*

The temple is described in the "Cosmographic of the World," published in 1666, as "in compass 130 paces, of great height, and all white except the top, which hath the spires so gilded that when the sun shines men are not able to look upon them."

Valentyn describes the city as "one of the most handsomest cities of the whole Island, where everything that one can think of is to be found ...... Here also the old Emperors of Ceylon used to hold court ...... There are many wide streets, handsome buildings, and notable pagodas or heathen temples ...... There is also a beautiful large palace of the Emperors and many other fine buildings. The best galleys and tsjampans to the Emperors are made here. Here are many shops but no markets, but stone monasteries and a great many bamboo houses, which are situated along the river, for about a mile in extent."†

This "great city" of the past now has a population of 439, which is an increase on its population at the last Census (362).

The only division of the Badulla District to show a decrease in population was Buttala, which has decreased by 5½ per cent., though its estate population has trebled. The Government Agent (Mr. C. R. Cumberland) ascribes the decrease in the population of this division to migration into the Wellassa and Wellawaya divisions, and to the heavy death-rate from cholera in 1906. Six villages in Buttala were transferred to Wellassa, but allowance has been made for this in calculating the rate of decrease.

The deaths exceeded the births in this division between 1901 and 1910 by 1,407, which would represent a decrease in the 1901 population of nearly 9 per cent. All races have increased in numbers except the Kandyan Sinhalese, the natives of the division.

It is, however, satisfactory to note that there has been continued progress under the Okkampitiya Yoda-ela scheme, the most important irrigation work undertaken in Uva during the past twenty years, and directly benefiting this District. Okkampitiya has increased in population from 483 to 597. About 730 acres are cultivated under this scheme, and there are at present some 200 families who have settled under the work, and who are supported by it. The Okkampitiya and Dambagala roads have been considerably improved.

The population of the town of Badulla increased by 9½ per cent., and is now 6,488.

Davy, writing in 1821, does not give a flattering description of the town of Badulla: "It is an inconsiderable place .... The buildings are few and confined chiefly to officers' quarters of a very humble description, a barrack for European troops,‡ a good hospital, a native cantonment, and a small bazaar. As a station little can be said in favour of Badulla, and were it not for its rich valley, it would probably be deserted. It is said hardly to admit of defence, and being so centrically situated amongst the mountains, communication with it is difficult, and the transport of supplies to it tedious and expensive."§

* "Mahawansa" (Chaptor I., p. 2, translation by L. C. Wijesinha, Mudaliyar).
† Valentyn, "Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien," Chaptor II., p. 40.
‡ The troops were withdrawn in 1867.
§ Davy's "Interior of Ceylon," p. 408.

Tennent's description, written in 1846, is more flattering to one of the most beautiful spots in Ceylon : " No scene in nature can be more peaceful and lovely, but the valley has been so often desolated by war, that nothing remains of the ancient city except its gloomy temples and the vestiges of a ruined dagoba. The British have converted an ancient residence of the Prince of Oovah into a fort, defended by earthworks ; and the modern town in the activity of its bazaars and the comfort and order of its dwellings, generally surrounded by gardens of coconuts, coffee, and tobacco, attests the growing prosperity and contentment of the district."*

A Local Board was established in 1878, and much has since been done to improve the appearance and condition of the town. The present Chairman of the Board reports that "the town has shared in the general prosperity of the Province."

During the decade the town of Bandarawela, which became a Local Board town in 1907, increased in population by 178½ per cent., and had at the time of the Census a population of 1,531. A good water supply has been provided, and Bandarawela is " increasing in favour as a residential town. Bungalows are springing up in all directions, and there is little doubt of its increasing popularity." By the end of the next decade it may be found that Bandarawela has become a serious rival to Nuwara Eliya as an up-country sanitarium.

At the last Census Diyatalawa was a place of considerable importance on account of the camp for Boer prisoners and the military force consequently stationed there. It was found to be such an excellent sanitarium that it has been continued as such for the troops stationed in Ceylon. At this Census its military population was 166 and civil population 605, as compared with a total population of 6,208 at the last Census, which included military and prisoners of war.

Another place of interest in the District is Kataragama, which is one of the sixteen holy shrines of Ceylon, and is the scene of an annually recurrent pilgrimage to the shrine of the god Kanda Swami. " The Name and Power of this God striketh such terror into the Chingulayes," writes Knox, " that those who otherwise are Enemies to this King, and have served both Portuguez and Dutch against him, yet would never assist either to make Invasions this way " (viz., by " the town they call Cotteragom ").†

On account of the serious outbreak of illness which attended some of the pilgrimages to this shrine, special regulations are enforced under Ordinance No. 13 of 1896 for the control of persons proceeding to Kataragama. Passes have to be obtained, and are restricted to a limited number: in 1911 to 2,750; the number in 1909 and 1910 was 3,000.

" The Kataragam god is not loved but feared ; and his worship is conducted on this principle. The situation of his temple and the time fixed for attending it in the hot, dry, and unwholesome months of June, July, and August were craftily chosen. A merit was made of the hazard and difficulty of the journey through a wilderness deserted by men and infested with wild animals, and the fever which prevails at the season was referred to the god and supposed to be inflicted by him on those who had the misfortune to incur his displeasure." ‡

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* Emerson Tennent's " History of Ceylon," Vol. II., pp. 266, 267.
† Knox's " Historical Relation," p. 10.
‡ Davy's " Interior of Ceylon," p. 422.

"The village," writes Davy, "consists of a number of small huts chiefly occupied by a detachment of Malays stationed here under the command of a native officer.*

"It consists only of a couple of streets originally opened for the purpose of perambulating the image during the annual festival. There are some fifteen dwelling huts, mud-walled and partly tiled-roofed; as they are also used during the period of festival as boutiques on the sides of these streets, which surround, in front of the temple premises, a square block of ground, about an acre in extent, of which the Chetties' *chatram*, a neat brick building, occupies more than a quarter, and has a substantial wall built all round it. The population of the village may be estimated at forty, including men, women, and children. The village, its adjacent hills, and the surrounding country are all temple lands, and their occupants are attached to the temple service as its tenants."†

The detachment of Malays have long since disappeared. The population at this Census was 142, and the number of houses in the village was 70, of which 49 were tiled. Only 34 houses were occupied on the Census night.

The large increase in the estate population of the Province of Uva (39 per cent.) is due principally to the increased area under tea and to the introduction of rubber cultivation. The largest estate population is in Yatikinda (31,000)—an increase in the estate population of 1901 of nearly 18 per cent. Wellawaya shows the second largest estate population (17,500), which has increased by nearly 81 per cent.

The Government Agent in his District Census Report, writing of the increase in the estate population, says: "As regards what may be called European cultivation, a very large increase has occurred in the area planted with tea, and rubber—a product new to the Province—which has been introduced partly as a result of the action of Government in allowing leases on favourable terms for the cultivation of rubber and cotton. Cotton has not been found to be a success, though a good deal is still planted in chenas, but latterly a number of natives have taken to the cultivation both of tea and rubber in small blocks.

"The effects of this extension of tea and rubber cultivation on the native population are various. A great deal of money is being brought into the Province, and many native landowners and others are attaining wealth, while even the ordinary villager is getting a good deal of money by cooly work on estates. On the other hand, unless closely watched, there is little doubt that alienation of large areas of land for tea and rubber may adversely affect the villager, not only by depriving him of grazing ground for his cattle, but by drying up the sources which water his fields, and, in spite of reservations, there is some reason to believe that there are cases in which this has occurred."

In his Administration Report for 1910–11 the Government Agent states that "the acreage planted with tea is estimated to be 57,128 acres with a gross produce of 41,027,313 lb., while the acreage in rubber is estimated at 11,336 acres with a gross produce of 1,839,800 lb. It should be added that a considerable area of the land planted with rubber is not yet in bearing. Both industries are prosperous."

Though rubber and tea cultivation have extended, the period was not a particularly prosperous one for paddy cultivation. The

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* Davy's "Interior of Ceylon," p. 420.

† "Hindu Kataragama," by Dr. M. Covington, published in "The Orientalist," Vol. III., pp. 150, 151.

Government Agent remarks that "there have been no large extensions of paddy cultivation, nor have there been any considerable decreases, except in so far as rinderpest and in some years drought has affected the cultivation of land already asweddumized. Chena cultivation has continued much as heretofore, the area cultivated varying necessarily year by year according to favourableness or otherwise of the season for paddy cultivation."

The Ratemahatmaya of Yatikinda (Mr. T. B. Katugaha) reports :—

"Although the cultivation of paddy in my division has been carried on as extensively as formerly, the returns have become poorer. This is due to the insufficiency of cattle for ploughing the fields .... while there was already a scarcity of cattle, a murrain broke out in 1909 and killed many cattle, with the result that the cultivators are obliged to try and have the work which used to be done by four pairs of buffaloes performed by a single pair now. This renders it impossible to cultivate the fields properly, and a bushel of paddy sown does not yield even four bushels, and even the expenses of the cultivator are not realized. In consequence of this many of the villagers, finding it difficult to provide themselves with necessaries of life, seek employment on tea and rubber estates throughout the week, except on Sundays. The number of persons who thus seek employment on estates can be reckoned at about nine-tenths of the population of a village. Although paddy cultivation is on the decrease and the Goviyas are undergoing hardships, the progress of the people in all other directions has been good."

Ryklof van Goens the Elder, in his report on Ceylon written in 1675, on his handing over the Government to his son, thus refers to Uva : "This land of Oeva is difficult to travel in, because of its steep rocky roads and the number of ascending and descending mountains, but yet very fruitful, thickly sown, as one can plant throughout the whole year on account of the plenteous rain, through which it is always damp but never too wet, as the water runs off again."

The Government Agent, writing in 1911, draws attention to the need for improved means of communication in this Province, as the basis on which its future development must depend. "The importance of means of communication as affecting the welfare of the native population can scarcely be exaggerated in a hilly Province such as this. By these means villages hitherto remote are brought within touch of civilization ; the villager finds a new market for his produce, necessities of life, such as salt and oil and cloth stuffs, as well as luxuries, are brought more within his reach, and if he loses his primitive simplicity and learns some of the vices, he has at any rate the opportunity of cultivating some of the virtues of civilization."

The construction of the railway to Badulla, the preliminary work on which was sanctioned in 1911, will undoubtedly greatly increase the importance of this Province. The cart road from Bandarawela to Welimada has been partly opened and will soon be completed, and when finished it is expected to open up a considerable stretch of hitherto inaccessible country, besides providing a short alternative route from Bandarawela to Nuwara Eliya.

The Government Agent, in his District Census Report for 1901, noted that the opening of new roads had called into existence population at bazaars, which had sprung up along the sides of these roads, and cited Muppane as an instance of a considerable town having arisen after the bridging and improvement of the road from Wellawaya.

All these places have increased in population since the last Census, and much has been done still further to improve the means of communication, *e.g.*, between Bibile and Muppane and Haputale and Dambatenna. The difficulties of transport in the District were, however, considerably increased by the very severe outbreak of rinderpest in 1908 and 1909.

While the rubber boom, as has been shown, has largely affected the prosperity of the Province during the decade, there was not the same immigration into the District from the Low-country, which was so marked a feature of the " boom " in the Ratnapura and Kegalla Districts. There were 12,000 Low-country Sinhalese in the Province of Uva at the Census, as compared with 19,000 in the District of Ratnapura, which has a total population of 50,000 less than Uva. The Low-country Sinhalese have increased in Uva by 38 per cent., which is principally due to this increased prosperity, but the increases in the Low-country population in the Kurunegala and Ratnapura Districts were 79 per cent. and 59 per cent. respectively.

With the advent of the railway and improved transport within, there is little doubt but that there will be considerable immigration into the Badulla District, and with the continued prosperity of its agricultural industries the future of this Province is particularly promising.

The total population of the *Ratnapura District* is 165,992, including the estate population, which numbered 30,455, representing an increase of 33,028, or 24·8 per cent., and excluding the estate population an increase of 19,215, or 16·5 per cent. The increase in the estate population alone was 83 per cent. The increase for the District is the largest on record, and the increase in the estate population is the largest for any planting District in the Island.

Every division shows an increase, the most notable being in the Kukul korale, which has increased by 47·3, which is ascribed to the expansion of gemming and plumbago mining; and in the Kuruwiti korale, which has increased by 25·2, due to the healthy condition of the resident population, the opening up of land, and the existence of gem and plumbago-producing lands, which draw numbers of people from other parts of the Island.

Ratnapura town shows an increase of 34 per cent., partly on account of " the rubber boom," which has greatly increased the business done in the town, and the approach of the railway. In the town there are 65 males to every 35 females in every 100 persons, which shows that the population is largely a floating one, or settlers recently attracted to the town by its increased business prosperity.

Immigrants from other Districts appear to account for the increases throughout the Ratnapura District. The number of births has exceeded the number of deaths during the decade by only 4,000. On the estates there is actually an excess of 4,423 deaths over births.

While the Low-country Sinhalese in the District have increased by 59 per cent., the Tamils by 64 per cent., and the Moors by 58 per cent., the Kandyan Sinhalese—the natives of the District—have only increased by 11½ per cent. The proportion of males to females in a 1,000 persons was 553 males to 447 females at the Census of 1901; the Census of 1911 shows a proportion of 563 males to 437 females; so that in every 1,000 persons now in the Ratnapura District there are 10 males more and 10 females less than in 1901—further evidence of increased immigration into the District.

This increase in population has been the result of the remarkable development of the planting industry. The estate population in the Nawadun korale has increased by 202 per cent., which indicates the prosperity of the estates in the We-ganga valley, in the Kuruwiti korale by 172·7 per cent., in the Kukul korale by 81 per cent., and in the Atakalan korale by 79·6 per cent.

There is a decrease of 40 per cent. in the Meda korale, but the estate population there is small, and the decrease is probably due to the increased employment of Sinhalese on the estates.

The Government Agent (Mr. G. M. Cookson) in his District Report writes: "In 1901 the area of all estates in the District amounted to 14,146 acres; in 1911 it is estimated at 43,129. In the early coffee days I am told that the plantations were all on land bought from the Crown, but one of the most significant features of the late rubber boom was the eagerness with which private land was absorbed by European capitalists, largely with the aid of native middlemen. The planter received his reward in the form of so much cash per acre cleared. With this stimulus and with high prices it is not surprising that something like 15,170 acres of private land changed hands and passed from those who were content to raise on it from time to time a few crops of dry grain into the possession of companies who converted it into rubber estates yielding immense profits, or that the value of such land rose or will rise after planting from a few rupees per acre to as much as Rs. 700, Rs. 900, Rs. 2,000, and even Rs. 4,000 per acre, according to the age and yield of the trees. The result of this economic pressure is seen in the increasing number of men and women who find employment on the estates. But it is not true that this is an immense benefit; the better class of Kandyan cannot adopt the life of an estate cooly without resigning much that is of most value in his traditions and manners. Whether consciously or not his status as an easy-going peasant proprietor, dignified, hospitable, well-mannered, a stranger to want or anxiety, and wholly free from the restraints of grinding task work, is slipping from him, and he is entering upon a new phase, where his position will be that of the landless labourer who works for a wage on the estates of great proprietors. Uneasy as one cannot but feel in the presence of this change, it has to be accepted as inevitable, and is not wholly without its good side, particularly for the humbler castes.

"Paddy cultivation is still carried on upon the old methods; the only change to be chronicled is the abandonment of the less fertile fields for cooly labour on the estates."

There can be no doubt that this District is at present enjoying a considerable amount of prosperity, and that the expansion of cultivation has brought with it increased circulation of money, which has benefited all classes.

Signs of material prosperity are to be seen everywhere, and, as the Government Agent reports, "cheap soaps, mirrors, lamps, pictures, toys, chair-backs, table cloths, vases, fancy goods, crockery, glass and hardware, necklaces, and ornaments are found in an increasingly large number of native houses. These articles are, with one or two exceptions, luxurious additions to the unadorned simplicity of the ancient Kandyan household; they have not, except in a few cases, replaced native products.

"In the matter of food, tins of biscuits and preserved milk are now commonly found in well-to-do families. The taste for intoxicating liquor is generally on the increase; arrack is superseding toddy, and

European spirit, though not yet a formidable rival, competes with both. Tea is more generally drunk than in former years."

But there is another side to the picture, as Mr. Cookson has pointed out: not only is there the possibility of the small landowner losing his interest in the land and becoming a "landless labourer," but a further change appears to be taking place in the racial distinction of the native of the District.

This Province—Sabaragamuwa—the very name of which is said to mean the land of the barbarian (සබර—habara or sabara)—is generally believed to have been the home of the Veddas or aboriginal population of Ceylon.

The children of Kuveni, the Yakkha princess who was discarded by Wijayo, are said to have escaped into the forest near Adam's Peak, to have intermarried, and founded a wild race, who inhabited the District, hence called Sabaragamuwa. The traces of the former existence of Veddas in Sabaragamuwa are many: fields, villages, and families yet retain the name of Vedda, Vedda-pangu, Vedda-kumbura, Vedda-watta, Vedda-ela, Vedda-gala, Vedda-gé, &c. It is traditional throughout Sabaragamuwa that once Veddas predominated over the Sinhalese in that District, and that as the latter gained ground the former withdrew towards Bintenna and Wellassa.

The boundaries of the District at a later stage in the history of Ceylon were the scene of some of the fiercest fighting between the Portuguese and Sinhalese. The prowess of one of the heroes of these engagements is commemorated in the well-known inscribed mural stone at the Maha Saman Dewale near Ratnapura. The history of Sabaragamuwa is therefore connected with at least two invasions.

The District is now undergoing a third invasion—that of the Low-countryman. Though a peaceful one, it is none the less profoundly affecting the manners and customs of the inhabitants of the District. Mr. Cookson observes that "the influx of Low-country Sinhalese has infected the Kandyans of this District with a desire to imitate their costume. Except among the higher ranks, I do not remember ever to have seen a woman wearing the Kandyan dress; they either adopt the white bodice with a profusion of cheap laces and embroidery, or, if their caste does not permit this, go bare bodied.* So with the men; a coat, a cloth of superior make, a shell comb, is worn at times by the Kandyan villager. The Chiefs with a few exceptions never appear in native costume, except on occasions of State.

"Kandyan arts and crafts are practically dead. No art can live without patronage, and so long as the people themselves, from the highest to the lowest, look to the West for the adornments and utensils of life, the native article must disappear because it is not wanted, and the native craftsman must die out because there is no steady, natural, and substantial demand for the products of his skill. This process has, of course, been going on for many years; during the last decade we merely witnessed the final stages of decrepitude. In a society founded

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* It is curious that in some parts of the Low-country the women are adopting Kandyan dress. The Mudaliyar of Hapitigam korale, Negombo District (Mr. L. A. Dassenaike), reports: "Within the last ten years instead of the jacket and the cloth which the females in the Low-country villages wore for well-nigh two centuries, they began to affect the ohori and cloth, a reminiscence of the old Sinhalese costume which to this day obtains in the Kandyan Provinces; and although it has not yet been adopted wholesale by the bulk of the people, the upper middle classes of the villages wear it, and at festivals the others affect it. This change in the dress bids fair to be more marked and universal as years pass by."

on money and braced by competition the mere elegancies of life must tend to lose their early importance, and so the goldsmith, the silver-smith, the brassworker, the craftsman in lacquer, the hand loom weaver, the wood carver, find their occupation gone, while the forge, the brick kiln, and the potter are still indispensable."

While planting enterprise ensures steady work and good wages for the villager, he has to meet enhanced prices in food stuffs.

The common dry grains, which form the coarse diet of the poorer villagers, show in the undeveloped parts of the country variations, but no progressive change up or down, with the exception of the Kolonna korale, where, doubtless owing to the demand of neighbouring Districts for the excellent kurakkan which the soil produces, the price of this grain has risen from Re. 1·50 in 1901 to Rs. 2·50 per bushel in 1910. A similar rise has taken place in the much more highly developed Kuruwiti and Nawadun korales, owing to the restricted area under chena products following on the extension of estates. Imported rice has risen from a practically uniform Rs. 4·50 per bushel to Rs. 6, Rs. 6·75, and even Rs. 8, according to the relative accessibility of the division concerned. Coconuts, which ten years ago ranged from Rs. 3 to Rs. 8 per 100, have now reached Rs. 10, Rs. 12, Rs. 15, and Rs. 18. Salt has risen in the Kolonna korale to 12 cents a pound.

While high prices for food stuffs have been the accompaniment of better wages for the village labourer, the estate cooly has suffered severely from periods of high mortality.

During the period 1901–1910 the mortality amongst estate coolies increased to a somewhat alarming extent. " In 1904 it fell as low as 27, which is less than the rate usually obtaining amongst the other classes of the population. But as soon as the rubber boom commenced a marked rise manifested itself, until in 1910 it reached 124 per mille. The death-rate among other classes did not vary much from year to year; it was 32·5 at the beginning and 32·8 at the close of the decade."

It is probable that the death-rate is not so high as from these figures it would appear to be, as the estate population has increased so rapidly that the figures on which the rates were calculated are in many cases incorrect. But there is no doubt that anchylostomiasis is largely prevalent in this District. The Principal Civil Medical Officer reports that it cannot be said that the medical requirements of the District are inadequate. 24 new estates have been scheduled since 1908, and to meet this increase 17 new estate hospitals and dispensaries have been established.

The history of the period for the Ratnapura District may be summed up as one of marked prosperity, attended by many of the circumstances which accompany a " boom " in a tropical district. It remains to be seen how far the Kandyan population will be affected by the various influences at work, and whether the increased material prosperity, which is now possible for them, will be taken advantage of.

If they fail to utilize these advantages to the best purpose, their condition will be harder than heretofore, for the price of necessaries is increasing, and a larger purchasing power has to be acquired. If this is only secured at the expense of parting with their lands, they will find themselves in the end worse off, and deprived of the one source of capital which they have retained through their worst periods of depression. For those who are investing capital in the District the outlook is favourable, for the natural resources are very great. The planting, gemming, and plumbago industries have all reached a high degree of prosperity.

In this District is situated the mountain called Adam's Peak, which has been a famous place of pilgrimage to pilgrims of many races and creeds from the earliest times, on account of the footprint in the hollow of the lofty rock which crowns the summit of the mountain.

It is said by Buddhists to be the footprint of Buddha imprinted on the rock in 580 B.C.; by the Brahmans it is alleged to be the footstep of Siva; by the Chinese of Foë; by the Gnostics of Ieû; by the Muhammadans of Adam; while the Portuguese authorities were divided between the rival claims of St. Thomas and the Eunuch of Candace Queen of Ethiopia.

One learned author—Moses of Chorene—claims the footstep for the devil—"ibidem *Satanœ* lapsum narrant."*

The *Rajavali* states that King Prakrama Bahu I. "made a journey on foot to worship the shrine on Samanhela (the Sinhalese name for the peak), and caused a temple to be erected on its summit;"† and the *Mahawansa* mentions visits of King Kirti Nissanga in 1201‡ and King Prakrama III.‡ in 1267 for the same objects.

In the tenth century Ceylon was an object of pilgrimage for Muhammadan pilgrims, who journeyed in large numbers to the Peak to see the footprint of Adam.

According to Oriental tradition Alexander the Great visited this sacred spot, and the chains which are fastened to the rock to assist in the ascent are ascribed to his forethought.

The famous natural phenomenon of the shadow thrown by the rock and the wonderful view from the summit are attractions which for some travellers exceed in interest the famous footstep.

But, as Tennent says, though "the Buddhists are the guardians of the Sri-pada, around this object of common adoration the devotees of all races meet, not in furious contention like the Latins and Greeks at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, but in pious appreciation of the one solitary object on which they can unite in peaceful worship."§

Special steps were taken for the enumeration of pilgrims to the Peak. The journey is made by large numbers at night, and enumerators were posted at different spots which the pilgrims must pass on their way to the summit. Numbers of pilgrims were no doubt enumerated in the villages at the foot of the Peak. The special enumerators enumerated 1,765 persons, who appear to have been nearly all pilgrims. They were all enumerated at night either on the Peak or on their way there, or at ambalams or resting-places on the road. There were very few persons included in these schedules who were natives of the Ratnapura District, and these were probably accompanying visitors from other Districts. 1,529 were enumerated by Ratnapura District enumerators and 236 in the Kandy District. Of these 1,765 persons, 1,605 were Buddhists, 101 Hindus, and 53 Muhammadans. Six Christians were also included. 1,508 were Low-country Sinhalese, 90 were Kandyans, 115 were Tamils, 50 were Moors, and 2 were Malays.

The towns and districts which were most numerously represented were the Colombo District, from which 616 pilgrims came; there were 600 from Colombo town; there were 205 pilgrims from Kalutara; Kandy District and town were represented by 54; Galle by 59; there were 26 persons from the Kegalla District; and 87 whose birthplace was India, probably kanganies and coolies from estates who were performing

* *Vide* Emerson Tennent, Vol. II., pp. 133 and 399.
† "Rajavali," p. 254.
‡ "Mahawansa," Chapters LXXIX. and LXXXIII.
§ Emerson Tennent, Vol. II., p. 137.

vows by making the pilgrimage. There was only one person making the ascent on the Census night who was born in Europe—a Sinhalese woman, who was born in London.

Including the estate population, the *Kegalla District* shows the largest increase of any District in Ceylon. The population is 242,529; it has increased by 28·4 per cent., being a total increase in the number of inhabitants of the District of 53,738. The population exclusive of estates increased by 22·2 per cent., the estate population by 50·6 per cent.

The increase is a general one distributed throughout the District, and denotes the prosperity and general well-being of this District. While the population increased by 25·5 per cent. between 1891–1901 and by 38,338 persons, the excess of births over deaths during that period was only 6,126. Between 1901–1910 the births exceeded the deaths by 25,057, so that practically half the increase since the last Census is due to the generally healthy condition of the District. Only in one year did the number of deaths come within one thousand of the number of births, viz., in 1906, when unusually severe epidemics of malarial fever and dysentery were experienced. Between 1891 and 1900 the deaths exceeded the births in three years, 1893–1895.

Kegalla now comes seventh amongst the Districts in population, and has a larger population than the Uva, North-Central, and Eastern Provinces. It has displaced Matara, whose majority of 15,000 over Kegalla in 1901 has been converted into a minority of 15,000.

At the commencement of the decade the prospects of the District were not promising. The plumbago industry and the tea trade were depressed, and the extension of cultivation of land for tea had been checked by the fall in price.

The history of the District is very similar to that of the Kalutara District. As the Assistant Government Agent (Mr. J. Conroy) says, "too much emphasis cannot be laid on the effects of the rubber boom in attracting coolies, artisans, contractors, and traders from the Low-country towards the newly-opened rubber estates."

During the ten years 50,836 acres of land were planted up with rubber. It is estimated that 66,000 acres are now under rubber cultivation, of which 26,000 are planted up entirely with rubber and 40,000 planted with tea and rubber. Of these 66,000 acres, 55,500 have been opened in the last six years. The whole face of the country has been largely changed by the rush into rubber and the numerous clearings throughout the District.

It has had its effect, too, on the condition of the people. "The economic condition of the people has altered considerably since the last Census. Formerly the poorer villagers depended mainly on paddy and chena cultivation. The paddy cultivation is in much the same position as it was ten years ago, but there has been a notable decrease in chena cultivation, due firstly to the alienation of a large extent of private chena land to rubber capitalists, and secondly to the planting up of chena land with coconuts and plantains. The result is that employment on the extensive rubber plantations of the District has largely replaced the chena cultivation in the economy of the poorest class of villager," says the Assistant Government Agent.

Changes in employment and cultivations have caused changes in diet. The Ratemahatmaya of Beligal Korale (Mr. L. B. Nugawela) reports that "previous to the last decade even the richer class of people were content with the ordinary food of the country, viz., rice supplemented by fine grain and yams; but now, except the really

indigent classes, the rest have given up the use of fine grains and yams. One of the causes of this state of affairs is the decrease in chena cultivation consequent on the sale of lands by villagers for rubber planting, &c. Those of the villagers who have not sufficient fields for their upkeep work in rubber estates, &c., where they receive good wages, and they live on Coast rice. There was no scarcity of meat in times past, as the country not being opened up the forests afforded game to hunters, and notwithstanding the game protection laws, the people were not slow in hunting the game on the sly. In the absence of game now the villagers either buy meat in the butchers' stalls in the towns or band together and steal cattle and take the flesh."*

The increase in population is not confined to any one division; all the Chief Headmen's divisions show increases of 19½ or more per cent., exclusive of the estate population. The largest increase is in Lower Bulatgama, which has increased in population by 26·3 per cent., while the estate population shows the lowest increase in any division, having only increased by 1·3 per cent. The low rate of increase in the estate population of this division is ascribed to a smaller extent of land having been opened up in rubber as compared with the other divisions, and to the employment of a large number of the local Sinhalese on the estates.

The Four Korales (Beligal, Kinigoda, Galboda, and Paranakuru) show an increase of 22·4 in their general population and of 77·2 per cent. in their estate population, the largest increase in the general and estate population being in the Kinigoda korale (24 per cent. and 1,106 per cent. respectively—the estate population in this korale—round Rambukkana—is however small).

"The Four Korales took precedence over all other outlying divisions, a distinction of which its chiefs were justly proud. In the annual perahera procession at Kandy the *Ira-handa-kodiya*, or flag of the Four Korales (sun, moon, and stars, on a white ground), should immediately follow those of the Gajanayaka Nilame and Maha Lekama, in front of the flags of the rest of the districts. An old ballad current in the district relates how, in addition to this right, the privilege of bearing the five honours and a banner was won for the Four Korales by brave men of old.

"The Four Korales were ever favoured by Kandyan monarchs. They have been the seat of more than one principality, and earlier of many a stronghold. They have given birth to many noble families, and to this day may be found descendants of nearly all 'the eighteen chief walawwas,' the present poverty of some of whom has not carried with it forgetfulness of their pure blood."

The Three Korales (Dehigampal, Atulugam, and Panawal) show an increase of 21·4 per cent. in their general population, and of 85·1 per cent. in their estate population, the largest increase in the general and estate population being in the Panawal korale (23·6 per cent. and 77·8 per cent. respectively)—the rich country south of Sitawaka, on the road from Avisawella to Ratnapura.

"The Three Korales, from their comparative isolation, sparseness of population, and the forest-clad hills, which formerly rendered access difficult, and limited production, never took rank approaching the Four Korales. Nevertheless, the value of the arecanut supplies drawn from *Korala Tuna* was recognized by the Kandyan kings, though

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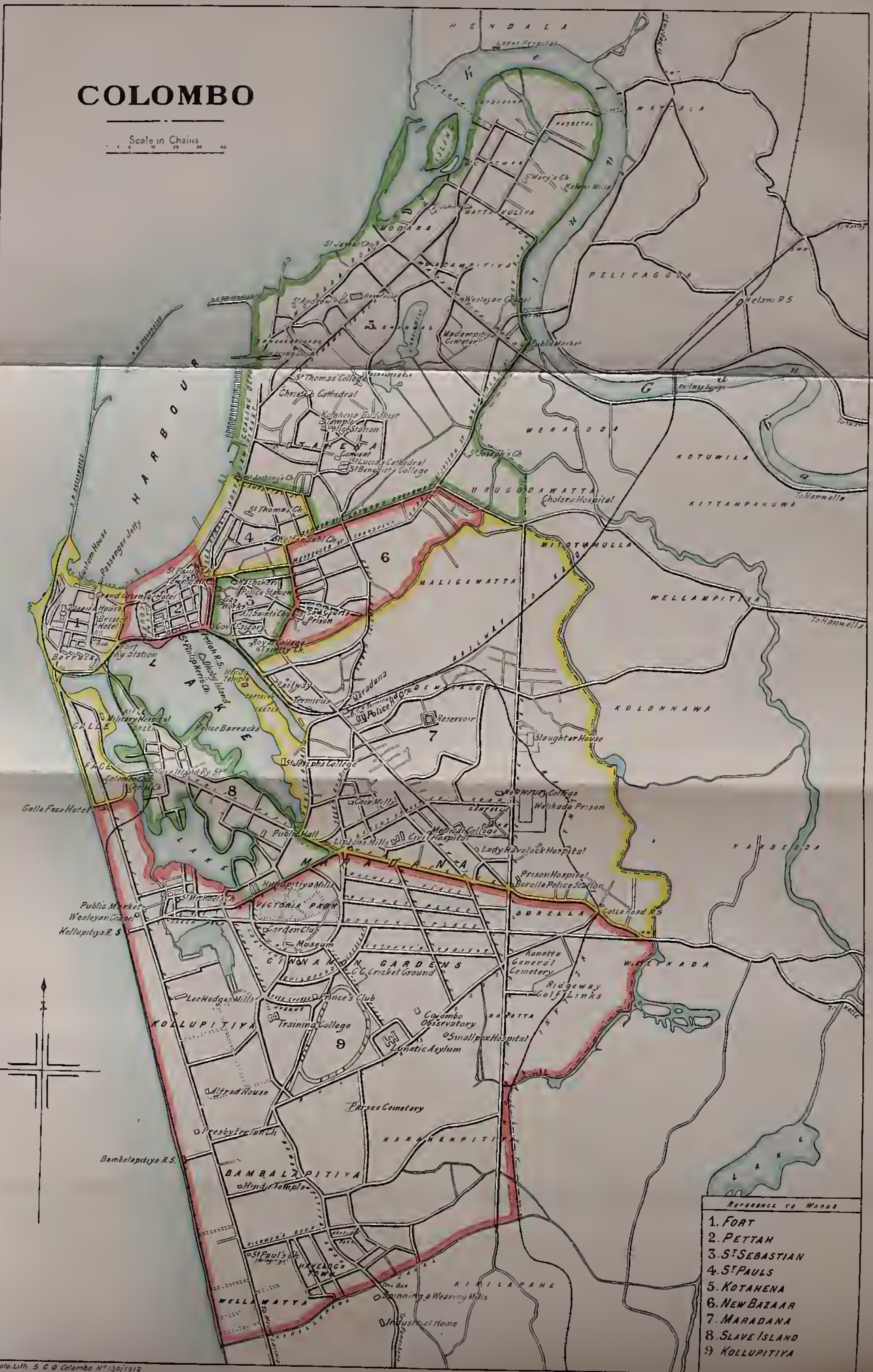
* On the increased consumption of butchers' meat, *vide* Chapter VI., Changes in Manners and Customs.


COLOMBO
Scale in Chains
Reference to Wards
1. Fort
2. Pettah
3. St Sebastian
4. St Pauls
5. Kotahena
6. New Bazaar
7. Maradana
8. Slave Island
9. Kollupitiya
HARBOUR
LAKE
HENDALA
PELIYAGODA
WERAGODA
KOTUWILA
KITTAMPAHUWA
URUGODAWATTA
MALIGAWATTA
WELLAMPITIYA
KOLONNAWA
YAMBEDDA
CINNAMON GARDENS
KOLLUPITIYA
BAMBALAPITIYA
NARAHENPITIYA
KIRILAPANE
WELLAWATTA
VICTORIA PARK
Kelani R.S.
Custom House
Passenger Jetty
Galle Face Hotel
Slaughter House
Welikada Prison
Lady Havelock Hospital
Training College
Lunatic Asylum
Parsee Cemetery
Alfred House
Bambalapitiya R.S.
Kollupitiya R.S.
Public Market
Wesleyan Chapel
Industrial Home
Photo. Lith. S. G. O. Colombo No. 130/1912

CHAPTER V.

THE TOWN OF COLOMBO.

Population — Comparison with Towns—of Great Britain and Ireland — of India — Birth-rate — Causes of Increase of Population — Maradana — Colpetty — Distribution of Races in Colombo — Slave Island — Pettah — Fort — Value of Land — Houses — The Harbour — Temperature — Health—Death-rate—Infantile Mortality—Area, Houses, Persons, and Density of each Ward — Increase in Number of Houses — Density of Population — Suburbs — Races — Derivation of Name — Early History — Portuguese Occupation — Portuguese Names and Places — Dutch Occupation—Description of Dutch House in the Pettah—Dutch Names and Places—Fortifications—Importance of the Town.

The population of the Colombo Municipality at this Census was 211,274, exclusive of the military and shipping; including the two latter the population was 213,396.* The population, exclusive of the military and shipping, in 1901 was 154,691 for the area then included in the Municipality.

Allowing for the changes which have taken place in the area of the Municipality since 1901, the increase in population is 32½ per cent. This increase is one of the most remarkable features of the Census. It was anticipated that Colombo would show a large increase, but the actual increase exceeded all anticipations.

At the first enumeration of Ceylon of which there is a record (in 1824) the population of Colombo is given as 31,188. The population was returned as "within the Fort 734 persons, Pettah 4,979, beyond the Pettah 25,475, total 31,188."

Casie Chitty, in his "Gazetteer," says: "The number of the population of Colombo has been exaggerated by different authors. Percival and Cordiner reckoned it in 1804 at 50,000, and McCulloch, adopting this estimate, supposes it now to amount to 60,000, but by a table published in the 'Colombo Journal' in 1832, the actual number is fixed at 31,519 only."† Spence Hardy in his "Jubilee Memorials," written in 1864, says that "there is no certainty as to the population of Colombo. At the Census of 1816 it was said to be 26,000. At that time there was scarcely any commerce, and the native population was principally Singhalese; but if the town itself now contains 45,000, and it is supposed that with the suburbs the Tamil-speaking population alone is 40,000, we may give 20,000 for the rest, and we shall then have 60,000 in all."‡

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* 659 pilgrims at St. Anna's on the night of the Census gave the town of Colombo as their residence, while 230 pilgrims at Madu and 600 making the Adam's Peak pilgrimage were Colombo residents, a total of 1,489 persons, who at any other time would have been included in the Colombo town population. There must have been a very large number of Colombo residents enumerated on their way to these pilgrimages. Most of those at the Roman Catholic pilgrimages came from the Kotahena Ward.

† Casie Chitty's "Ceylon Gazetteer," pp. 76, 77.

‡ Spence Hardy's "Jubilee Memorials," p. 71.

given below show that the recorded birth-rate of Colombo has ranged from a minimum of 20·6 in 1901 to a maximum of 26·4 in 1906, with an average during the decennium of 23·1 per 1,000 :—

Colombo Town Birth-rates for each Race, 1901–1910.

Year.	All Races.	Europeans.	Burghers.	Sinhalese.	Tamils.	Moors.	Malays.	Others.
1901	20·6	28·1	29·0	24·1	10·7	20·8	28·3	7·6
1902	22·9	33·4	32·4	27·9	12·1	20·0	28·5	11·9
1903	21·5	31·2	30·0	27·3	11·1	18·1	19·4	11·7
1904	21·6	31·6	30·6	26·9	11·2	18·0	29·2	13·0
1905	22·5	30·9	33·4	29·7	10·4	17·2	25·4	13·5
1906	26·4	28·5	36·5	33·4	14·4	22·3	33·7	16·5
1907	23·4	33·1	29·7	30·0	12·5	19·1	32·1	13·3
1908	24·5	26·8	34·0	32·2	12·3	19·2	33·7	13·1
1909	23·7	22·1	36·0	31·1	12·7	18·6	32·6	12·8
1910	23·1	25·6	35·2	29·0	12·1	19·4	31·8	11·9
Average	23·1	29·0	32·7	29·3	12·0	19·3	29·6	12·6

" Such a low birth-rate cannot be accepted as correct for such a virile population as undoubtedly exists in Colombo. The birth-rate of the Island as a whole ranged from 32·8 in 1901 to 40·1 in 1909, with an average for the nine years of 37·6 per 1,000 living (the Ceylon rate for 1910 is not available at the time of writing).* There is thus an enormous difference between the birth-rates of the Colombo population and of the population of the Island as a whole.

" The statement below shows that the several races are very differently affected in this respect, and thus gives us a clue to the mystery of the recorded natural decrease :—

Race.	Average Birth-rates. 1901–1910. Colombo.	Average Birth-rates. 1901–1909. Ceylon.	Excess or Deficit in Colombo.
Europeans	29·1	25·4	— 3·7
Burghers	32·7	32·0	+ 0·7
Sinhalese	29·2	40·2	— 11·0
Tamils	11·9	30·0	— 18·1
Moors	19·3	37·9	— 18·6
Malays	29·5	33·3	— 3·8
Others	12·5	18·3	— 5·8
All Races	23·1	37·6	— 14·6

" It is obvious from the above statement that there is something far wrong with the birth-rates of the Sinhalese, Tamils, and Moors in Colombo, for that they are virile races is shown by their birth-rates in Ceylon as a whole.

" With a view to finding out whether the birth-rate as recorded for Colombo is correct, and if not how far it is in error, one must have some standard for comparison. The best standard for this purpose is the population of each race in Ceylon as a whole. It is necessary, however, to make allowance for difference in the age and sex constitution of the Colombo population as compared with the Ceylon population. This correction can be made by calculating the birth-rate on the number of women in each race at child-bearing ages, viz., between 15 and 45 years, instead of upon the whole population at all ages.

* It was 39 per thousand in 1910.

"By adopting this method for each race in Ceylon we obtain a standard for comparison. This at once discloses the fact that there is something far wrong with the recorded birth-rates of the Sinhalese, Tamils, and Moors in Colombo; but particularly with the Sinhalese, which must be regarded as absolutely worthless, since they show a fecundity far below that of their sisters in the Island as a whole. It is highly improbable that there is any material difference between the fecundity of the women at child-bearing ages in any race in Colombo on the one hand, and the women of the same race at similar ages in the Island as a whole on the other hand.

"If we accept this assumption, then we have at our disposal a means of estimating the probable true birth-rate for each race in Colombo, by applying the standard rate for each race in Ceylon to the populations of these races in Colombo, taking the number of women at child-bearing ages as the basis of the calculation, in order to eliminate the disturbing effect of differences in the age and sex constitution between Colombo and Ceylon. This has been done in respect of each race for each year of the decade, with the result shown in the statements annexed, which are summarized in the following statement :—

Race.	Registered Births, Colombo.	Calculated Births, Colombo.	Deficit or Excess of Registered Births.
Europeans	813	529	+ 284
Burghers	4,089	4,042	+ 47
Sinhalese	22,683	36,311	—13,628
Tamils	5,026	8,119	— 3,093
Moors	6,361	11,089	— 4,728
Malays	1,450	1,638	— 188
Others	646	657	— 11
All Races	41,068	62,385	—21,317

"If the above is a correct estimate of the true number of births which have occurred amongst the Colombo population, then the recorded natural *decrease* of 17,637 becomes a natural *increase* of 62,385 — 58,705 deaths = 3,680.

"The next question is, What has happened to all these 21,317 births which may thus be supposed to have escaped registration during the last ten years ? Is registration of births so hopelessly defective that 34 per cent. of the births which occur escape registration, or is there some other explanation ?

"Inquiry has shown that there is another explanation, and that probably a large proportion of these births do not escape registration, but they escape registration *in Colombo*. It appears that it is the custom amongst the indigenous races that when a woman has a child she repairs, prior to her confinement, to the home of her parents, and there her child is born. She returns to the home of her husband after a period which is said to vary from two weeks to three months. This is said to be the invariable custom in the case of a first child, and very frequently in the case of every succeeding child. If, therefore, the home of the mother's parents is outside Colombo, it is probable that the birth of the child will be registered there, and so will be lost to Colombo, although the child, if it survives, is brought to Colombo, where it forms a unit in the infant population of the town. Here it will be seen we touch the question of the infant death-rate, because should such a child die after it has been brought to Colombo, its death will be recorded here, although its birth forms no part of the recorded infant

population. In this way the infant death-rate must be fallaciously raised. By a rough calculation it is estimated that if these assumptions are correct, the infant death-rate in Colombo must be nearer 200 than 300 per 1,000 births as published.

"The next point is, How far does this temporary migration for confinement reasons go on here? I am told that a large number, especially of the Sinhalese men in Colombo, are married to village women, many of the men themselves having come originally from the country to the town, to which they are attracted by the great number of public works going on, the high rate of wages, and the amenities of town life generally. We have thus a probable explanation of a considerable part of the deficit of recorded births in Colombo, amongst the Sinhalese especially, and they are the race which, as the foregoing statement shows, are affected above all others. No doubt this factor has been operating to some extent in the case of the Tamils and the Moors also.

"This internal migration for confinement reasons is, however, not the only factor responsible for the reduction in the recorded rate of natural increase. There are large numbers of persons whose usual place of residence is outside Colombo, and who come when sick to Colombo for treatment, many of them dying here. In the case of such deaths in hospital* the correction is as far as possible made, but there must be many who really belong to extra-urban districts whose deaths go down in the Colombo records, and thus fallaciously increase the Colombo death-rate, and so reduce the recorded natural rate of increase.

"The following statement is a summary of these calculations :—

Calculated Natural Increase in Colombo, 1901–1911.

Race.	Calculated Births.	Recorded Deaths.	Calculated Natural Increase or Decrease.
Europeans ..	529	829	— 300
Burghers ..	4,042	3,284	+ 758
Sinhalese ..	36,311	27,569	+ 8,742
Tamils ..	8,119	13,689	— 5,570
Moors ..	11,089	9,822	+ 1,267
Malays ..	1,638	1,723	— 85
Others ..	657	1,789	— 1,132
All Races ..	62,385	58,705	+ 3,680

"Finally, the calculated natural increase may be compared with the actual increase disclosed by the Census :—

Race.	Calculated Natural Increase or Decrease.	Actual Increase.	Difference.
Europeans ..	— 300	298	598
Burghers ..	+ 758	1,243	485
Sinhalese ..	+ 8,742	17,308	8,566
Tamils ..	— 5,570	15,655	21,225
Moors ..	+ 1,267	8,945	7,678
Malays ..	— 85	861	946
Others ..	— 1,132	1,211	2,343
All Races ..	+ 3,680	45,521	41,841

* The number of deaths in hospitals and jails in Colombo between 1901–1910 was 14,424. Excluding these, the excess of deaths over births for the decade was 3,213, instead of 17,637.

"Assuming that the results so obtained are approximately correct, they cannot, of course, pretend to be more than a very rough estimate. it will be seen that there must have been an enormous amount of immigration into Colombo during the last ten years.* The Malay figures are of especial interest, inasmuch as they indicate that they are the only race not affected by external migration, who show a true natural decrease."

Every ward in the town of Colombo shows an increase in population.

Maradana, which was the name given by the Sinhalese to the sandy downs along the sea coa st on which the best and most delicate cinnamon grew,† is to-day one of the most thickly populated quarters of Colombo. With an average of 5½ persons per house, it shows the largest increase of any ward (44 per cent.).

Next comes "the village of Colpetty," with an increase of 37 per cent. In this Ward are included the Cinnamon Gardens, the most fashionable residential quarter of Colombo. One-third of the European population resides in this Ward.

Spence Hardy, writing of Colpetty in 1864, says: "About the origin of the name of this village‡ there are many conjectures, but no certainty. The mission station is called officially 'Colombo South,' the Galle Face extends more than a mile to the south of the Fort, and there is then the commencement of the village of Colpetty, which is built on both sides of the road, containing, according to a recent enumeration, 232 houses.§ It consists of a bazaar, and a series of mansions and native dwellings mingled together without any regular order, in the midst of coconut trees, with strips of cinnamon garden intervening in several places. Nearly all the superior dwellings are surrounded by gardens, and have been built within the last fifty years. Formerly there were few houses on the side of the road towards the sea. It was at one time the custom for the persons here resident, who had business in the Fort, to go there in boats, for which there is facility by branches from the lake, and more recently the running of an omnibus was attempted; but each family now uses its own conveyance. Its proximity to the Cinnamon Gardens gives its residents the opportunity of taking extended walks, if they prefer health to listlessness; and along some parts of the shore the same privilege may be enjoyed, with the pleasant sight of the sea and the play of its refreshing breeze, its surface dotted here and there with the canoe of the fisherman; and not unfrequently the smoke of the steamer, or the outspread sails of some well-laden vessel, can be distinguished, with gorgeous sunsets that many a painter would give his best production to be permitted to study."||

There is considerable doubt as to the origin of the name Kollupitiya, as it should be correctly spelt. One explanation is that it is "Kollan pitiya"—"the plain of the boys," and that it was once a playground for young athletes when the Sinhalese king reigned at Cotta. Another suggestion is that it means the gram plain, kollu being the Sinhalese

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* There were 116,000 persons enumerated in Colombo who were not born in the town, as compared with 95,000 persons born in Colombo and enumerated there. More than half the population consists of "foreigners," or immigrants into the town.

† The cutting of firewood or felling of timber of any kind in the "Marandahn" was more than once prohibited by the Dutch (edicts of 1714–1757).

‡ In a case argued before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in July, *1911*, the property in issue is described as "a cottage in Colpetty."

§ In 1911 there were 3,813 occupied houses in the Colpetty Ward.

|| Spence Hardy's "Jubilee Memorials," p. 94.

for gram. There is a further explanation based on another meaning of the words, viz., "the plain of plunder."*

Colpetty represents the wealthy residential quarter; Maradana is both a rich and a poor residential quarter. It includes part of the Cinnamon Gardens, but the very large majority of the houses in the Ward are occupied by the poorer mechanics and artisans.

The very large cooly population of Colombo is found in the New Bazaar, Kotahena, and St. Paul's Wards. The Tamils predominate in St. Paul's; the Moors come second in this Ward. In every other Ward except St. Sebastian and the Fort, where the Moors predominate, and the Pettah, where the Tamils are in a small majority, the Sinhalese are in a very large majority. There are more Europeans in the Colpetty Ward than in any other three Wards. More Burghers are found in Maradana North than anywhere else, though Colpetty and Kotahena South account for almost the same number. More than half the Malays are found in Slave Island.

The history of Slave Island Ward is largely connected with that of the Malay Regiment. "In the centre of the lake is a tongue of land, denominated Slave Island from the use to which it was applied by the Dutch.† It is numerously covered with coconut and other trees, which afford an excellent shade. Communication from this place with either the town or the Fort is very easy by land, passing over a very pretty little stone bridge‡ which opens to the south end of the Galle Face, near the village of Colpetty, or by boats which cross the lake in all seasons. Slave Island is the headquarters of the Ceylon Rifle Regiment, and there are some tolerably good houses,§ usually occupied by the officers of the regiment." ||

Both the Sinhalese and Tamil names for Slave Island mean "The Company's street" (*Komponnavidiya*, Sinhalese; *Kumpani Teruvu*, Tamil), probably from the company of gun lascars who had their lines there.

Slave Island is to-day one of the most thickly-populated Wards in Colombo, and nearly the whole area is built over, in marked contrast to the "island" described by Cordiner. "Three gates open from the fort towards the sea. Three others communicate with the land: the Delft or main gate, which leads to the Pettah, the south gate, which opens on the road leading to Point de Galle, and a winding Sally-port, which communicates, by causeways and bridges, with a rugged peninsula commonly called Slave Island. This peninsula divides the lake. The English, on their arrival, made it a station for the Malay

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* The story is that a Sinhalese poet, by name Ambanwela Rala, fled to the Dutch, by whom he was favourably received, and granted permission to plant the Kollupitiya plain with coconuts. His only object being to cheat the Dutch, he took care to plant them in an "unlucky" hour. "The oldest inhabitant" used to point out a fruitless old coconut tree in the Mission school compound as the last survivor of this plantation. On Ambanwela's death, after he had been buried with military honours, the Dutch took possession of his property, expecting to find much spoil. Nothing, however, was left except a will containing only these words: "Honours paid to the dead are in vain."

† There is some doubt as to how the name arose. According to Percival (Percival's "Ceylon," p. 99), it was called Slave Island by the Dutch from its being the place to which they sent their sick slaves. But during the Dutch period it is referred to only as "Ijo," the island; and it is still known by this name amongst many of the Portuguese mechanics, from which it would appear that the name Slave Island was given it in English times.

‡ The narrow passage through the ramparts of the Fort towards Slave Island was known as "Sally-port."

§ The offices of the Colombo Commercial Company are to-day known to ricksha coolies as "Mess Bungalow"; the house was once the mess of the Ceylon Rifles.

|| Casie Chitty's "Gazetteer," p. 74.

Regiment. It contains a mud village, a bazaar, or market stalls, an excellent parade, and two gentlemen's villas. One of these is built on a spit of land projecting at right angles from the body of the penin sula, and fronting the fort. It is a neat house of two stories, which was erected by the Dutch as a freemason's lodge, but has now become the property of a private person. The other villa looks towards the sea and the road leading to Point de Galle. The situations of both are eligible and retired ; and their distance from Columbo does not exceed an English mile ; but there is no road by which a carriage can drive to either, without making a circuit of several miles. The common way of going to the first-mentioned villa is through the Sally-port, either on foot, on horseback, in a palanquin, along the causeway, or across the lake in a boat. In going to the other it is usual to pass nearly a mile along the south road, until in front of the house, then to turn down to the water's edge and cross a branch of the lake, which has there the appearance of a river, not being more than thirty yards in breadth."*

Kew Road, which to-day connects Slave Island with the Fort, alone recalls the fact that on Slave Island was the first botanical garden in Ceylon. The gardens occupied seven acres of land in Slave Island, but as the site was liable to be flooded the establishment was in 1813 moved to Kalutara. The first superintendent was a gardener from Kew, which was the name given to the gardens, and thence to the road.

The population of the Pettah and Fort Wards gives no indication of the *daily* life in these, the two busiest quarters of the town. Most of the day's work of Colombo takes place in these Wards. At night they are for the most part deserted streets of closed business premises and boutiques, their sole occupants being the night watchmen.

"The principal suburb of Colombo is the Pettah, or 'black town,' being almost entirely inhabited by natives and half-castes. The houses formerly came close up to the fortifications,† but in 1795, when the Dutch were preparing for the descent of the English on the Island, many were removed, and a clear space made between them of several hundred yards. The Pettah is very large and generally well built, containing many fine houses and luxuriant gardens, the residences of the rich descendants of the Portuguese and Dutch. Some of the streets are shaded with tulip trees, and the houses coloured bright yellow, with bands of red or deep orange round the doors and windows, and many have white earthenware vessels fixed on the roofs or gables to draw off the 'evil eye.'

"There are very good shops in the Pettah, kept by Moormen and Parsees. The Moors have such long and unpronounceable names, that their establishments are known to the Europeans who patronize them by the number of the house ; No. 42 was well known."‡

Gone to-day are the "luxuriant gardens," while the old Dutch houses—which have been for many years the stores and boutiques of the Pettah merchants, are being gradually displaced by large upstair shops with plate glass windows and up-to-date show rooms.

The change in the mode of life in the Pettah is well illustrated in the derivation of Maliban Street—Malieban literally means "The Mall"—"allée d'arbres battue et bordée." It was formerly "the fashionable promenade of the Dutch vrouws in the good old days when carriages

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* Cordiner's "Description of Ceylon" (1807), pp. 37, 38.

† The Pettah was known to the older generation of Burghers as the "Oude stad," or old city.

‡ "Ceylon," by an Officer late of the Ceylon Rifles, Vol. I., p. 375.

were not wanted and the Pettah enjoyed all the privileges of West End gentility." To-day it is chiefly occupied by wharf and boat coolies. Kayman's Gate, or Kayman's Port—" Alligators' Passage " (*kayman* means an alligator) as it was formerly called—still remains to recall by its name and position the fact that a canal once ran through the Pettah, into which alligators may have penetrated.*

In the Dutch times the outer defence of the town consisted of a barrier running from the lake along what was known as St. John's Canal, which connected the lake with the sea. The barrier was razed to the ground soon after the British occupation, and St. John's Canal was filled up, and on a part of its site now stand the Municipal markets and the Town Hall.† Kayman's Gate marks the city's entrance on that side. Until quite recent days criminals were executed at this spot.

All the Dutch writers on the Island describe at length the strong defences of the Fort—or Castle as it was originally styled—of Colombo: its noble bastions, its strong walls, its batteries, its powder magazines and cellars for gunpowder, its counterscarps, ravelins, and " deep wet ditches supported by sluices from the lakes, which in one place reach the walls," its city gates, its rocky harbour, only safe at one season of the year, in itself a strong defence.

While the Dutch were strengthening its fortifications, they did much to improve the interior of the Fort.

The streets in the Fort had to be kept clean. In 1676 and 1702 decrees were issued that cattle were to be sent outside the Fort for pasture, and animals were not to be allowed to graze in the street. An exception was, however, made in favour of horses.

The erection of ola huts in the Fort was not allowed (1706, 1745).

Galloping on horseback or in chariots in the Fort was forbidden (1670).

In early British times the Fort was at first the principal residential quarter. " In those days there were not many European residents outside the Fort. A straggling few in the near portion of Colpetty, one or two in Slave Island and at Kew-point and Captain's Garden, and about as many in Mutwall. The majority by far dwelt within the walls. High military officials resided in those times within walls which form to-day a tailor's cutting room in Hospital Lane. Merchants resided in one-half of a house, whilst they carried on their business in the other portion; and when the day's work was over, the verandah in front formed the family sitting-room, to which military and civilian neighbours resorted as a matter of course. Queen Street looked in upon Prince Street, whilst hospitalities were exchanged between Baillie Street and Chatham Street. A stroll through the Fort after dinner was a pleasant mode of passing the time, dropping in first on one neighbour and then on another, until the evening round was completed."‡

To-day, thronged by the crowds of passengers poured into the town by the great steamer lines which bring thousands through Colombo, travelling between Australia, India, and the Far East, and on their way to and from England, the Fort presents all the appearance of an Earl's Court Exhibition.

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* Alligators were not the only strange visitors who found their way into Colombo in Dutch times. An account of the exciting adventures of a wild " tusker " in the Fort on November 25, 1751, will be found in the " Report on the Dutch Records in the Government Archives at Colombo," by R. G. Anthonisz, p. 51.

† Such importance did the Dutch attach to this barrier that the penalty for the removal of earth from the dam between the Fort and the Pettah was a fine of 200 rix-dollars and hard labour in chains for twenty-five years.

‡ " Old Ceylon," by John Capper, p. 85.

The importunate *tambi*, the native jeweller, and curio-seller entreat the passers by to see, if not to buy, the jewels and treasures they are prepared to spread before them; *gharry-wallahs* (carriage drivers) and ricksha coolies fight for fares, and jugglers and snake charmers display their skill in front of the verandahs of the large hotels.

But while these features of a great tourist resort and passenger playground are conspicuous, there have been many other signs, in the past ten years, of the growing wealth and business prosperity of the city.

No Crown land has been sold in the Fort of Colombo since 1898, but very high prices have been realized at private sales. Two pieces of land in the Fort of about one-fourth of an acre were sold in 1911 for Rs. 300,000 and Rs. 200,000 respectively.

In Norris Road in the Pettah an extent of about 12 perches of land with buildings was sold for Rs. 16,000 in 1910, and another piece of land in the Pettah of some 13 perches in extent with buildings was sold for Rs. 37,000 in 1911, while about 6 perches of land with buildings in Fourth Cross Street, Pettah, realized Rs. 20,750.

In the Cinnamon Gardens two blocks of land belonging to the estate of the late Sir Harry Dias, in extent about 10 acres, were sold at Rs. 15,000 an acre, while Crown land in the same quarter fetched Rs. 9,000 and Rs. 8,000 an acre.

Two blocks of Crown land in Gregory's Road of 1½ acre and 1 acre 1 rood 30 perches were sold for Rs. 8,008 and Rs. 5,005 an acre respectively.

The price of land in any neighbourhood cannot be accurately estimated from the price paid for a small block, which may be required by the purchaser to round off a property, or to prevent a view being obstructed, or other private reasons. But the value of land in the outlying portions of Colombo may be estimated from the sale of two blocks of land at Timbirigasyaya, of 8 acres 2 roods 24 perches, and 5 acres 37½ perches, for Rs. 3,558 and Rs. 4,765 an acre respectively.

The rates paid for lands acquired for the Railway give some indication of the value of land in the different quarters of the town. For land acquired—(*a*) Near the Cotta Road Station Rs. 5,000 an acre was paid.
(*b*) Near Bambalapitiya Station Rs. 15,000 an acre.
(*c*) Near Kollupitiya Station Rs. 20,000 an acre.
(*d*) Near Slave Island Station Rs. 25,000 an acre.
(*e*) Near Maradana Station Rs. 30,000 an acre.
(*f*) Near Pettah Station Rs. 40,000 an acre.

It is estimated by the official valuers of land that the price of land in the town of Colombo has probably risen by about 50 per cent. during the last ten years.

The highest buildings yet erected in Colombo have been built in the past decade. The new buildings of Messrs. Freudenberg in Prince Street, built on land which cost Rs. 550,000 an acre, Harrison & Crosfield's, Walker's, and Cargill's, and the new offices of the Public Works Department, are conspicuous buildings erected since the last Census.

In 1814 the number of tiled houses within the gravets was estimated at 2,654; at the Census of 1825 there were 3,901; at this Census the number within the present Municipal limits was 38,998.*

The present position of Colombo and the prosperity of its population, as evidenced in their increase in numbers and in wealth,

* This number includes unoccupied as well as occupied houses, shops, and boutiques in the Fort, Pettah, &c., and stores in San Sebastian Ward, &c., which were unoccupied at the time the Census was taken, and so are not included in the number of houses given in the statement on page 141, which refers only to occupied houses.

are due more to the importance of Colombo as a port than to any other cause.

In point of tonnage of vessels calling, Colombo is third in the British Empire and seventh in the whole world. The tonnage of all vessels calling at Colombo in 1910–1911 was 8,701,097. 2,820 British vessels and 813 foreign ships (other than warships and vessels which called only to coal) entered the Island ports in 1910–1911.

Imports have increased since 1901 by 50 per cent., exports by 100 per cent., and the increase in the total trade of the Island for the decade is 72 per cent. Nearly the whole of the trade—a value in 1910–1911, omitting specie and coal for use of steamers, of nearly Rs. 329,000,000—passes through Colombo.

"The harbour of Columbo, which lies on the west side, is nothing more than an open road, affording good and safe anchorage to ships for only four months of the year, from December to April. During this period the north-west winds, to which this road is much exposed, do not prevail to any violent degree; and ships from different parts of India put in here to trade. But about May, when the monsoon sets in on the Malabar Coast and extends its ravages to the west coast of Ceylon, the roads of Columbo no longer afford any protection. Vessels then find shelter in the more secure ports of Trincomalee and Point de Galle, and seldom venture to these roads for the following eight months. Columbo is by this means cut off from any intercourse by sea with the rest of the Island for two-thirds of the year. As this is the chief place for the staple trade of Ceylon, the disadvantages arising from these circumstances are very considerable; but such is the fury of the monsoon hurricanes here, that they can only be obviated by improving the communications by land between Columbo and the more secure harbours on the east coast of the Island," wrote Percival in 1803.*

"Strictly speaking, there is no harbour at Colombo, for the little bay which affords occasional shelter to small craft does not deserve that name."†

No expenditure incurred on public works in the Colony has had more important results than the expenditure on the Colombo Harbour Works. Colombo first acquired a position amongst the great ports of the world when the first block of the south-west breakwater of the harbour was laid by King Edward VII. (then Prince of Wales) in 1875. It took ten years to complete this breakwater.

As soon as Colombo became a great port of call it was necessary to increase the deep water area.

In 1894 the memorial stone of two new breakwaters—a north-east breakwater, 1,000 feet in length, and an island breakwater—was laid by Sir Arthur Havelock.

The area enclosed within the harbour, when fully sheltered, is 646 acres, which renders Colombo one of the largest artificial harbours in the world.

Later improvements and additions, which have been largely due to the foresight and policy of Sir West Ridgeway, have been a graving dock, which was opened in 1906, the new arm of the south-west breakwater, the erection of a patent slip, a barge-repairing basin, and a fishery harbour.

In addition to the numerous improvements which have taken place during the decade in the town and harbour of Colombo, much has been done to improve the health and sanitation of the town.

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* Percival's "Ceylon," pp. 106, 107.

† Cordiner's "Description of Ceylon" (1807), p. 29.

The new drainage works were commenced in 1904. The first Municipal enteric hospital was opened in 1909, and the first Municipal free dispensary in 1910.

Colombo always bore a good reputation for its healthiness. Horsburgh, the geographer, says that Colombo is "the healthiest seaport in India."

The author of "Ceylon, by an Officer of the Ceylon Rifles," says that it is "decidedly the most healthy town in the Island."

Cordiner in his "Description of Ceylon"* writes: "During five years' residence (in Colombo) I rarely heard of any person being sick, unless those whose illness was caught in the interior of the country. Before the commencement of hostilities with the King of Candy in 1803 a funeral was not a common occurrence at Colombo, and out of a thousand British soldiers it often happened that one man was not lost in the space of two months. The air is at all times pure and healthy, and its temperature uncommonly uniform.

"Fahrenheit's thermometer usually fluctuates in the shade about the point of 80°. It seldom ranges more than five degrees in a day, and only thirteen through the whole year, 86° being the highest and 73° the lowest point at which it has been seen in any season.

"The healthiness of this place may be ascribed to its dry and insulated situation, to the regular prevalence of the land and sea breezes, to its partaking of the salutary influence of both monsoons, and to the refreshing showers which fall every month in the year, cooling the air and cherishing perpetual verdure. Three weeks of uninterrupted fair weather are rarely experienced, and a long continuance of rain is entirely unknown."

The average mean temperature of Colombo for the last forty years is 80·7°. The highest temperature recorded in 1911 was 95·7° (February 19), and the lowest 64·5° (January 27, 28).

The rainfall appears to have changed considerably in the last hundred years. The average yearly rainfall for the last forty years is nearly 83 inches; during 1910 there were 45·69 inches of rain, and it rained on only 135 days, and the longest spell without rain was nearly five weeks.†

The changes which have taken place in the rainfall of Colombo may partly account for its comparative unhealthiness to-day.

The Medical Officer of Health has sent me the following notes on the health of Colombo during the past decade:—

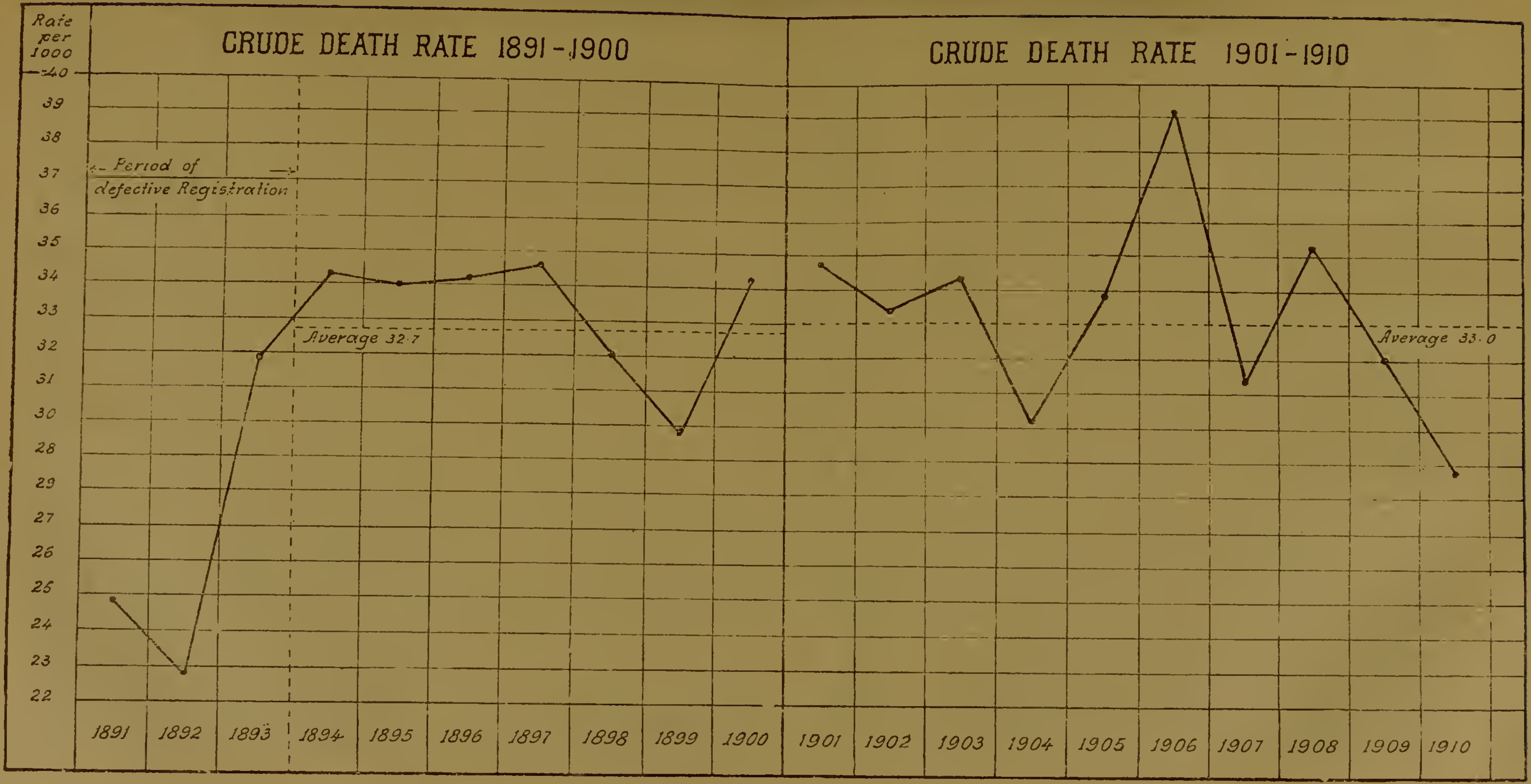
"The Registration Ordinance, No. 20 of 1891, came into operation at the beginning of 1893, but an examination of the statistics indicate that it took some time to get things into proper working order. Consequently the true death-rate in Colombo prior to 1894 is not known.

"The average mortality from all causes in Colombo during the seven years 1894–1900 was 32·7 per 1,000 living, whereas during the decennium 1901–1910 it was 33 per 1,000, a difference of only 0·3 per 1,000 in favour of the earlier period, which is practically negligible, especially when it is considered that registration probably continued to improve for some time, and was more complete in the later period. Had it not been for the abnormal rise which occurred during 1906, the death-rate during the recent decade would have been considerably better than it was in the earlier period.

* Cordiner's "Description of Ceylon," pp. 62, 63.

† During 1911 there were 69·36 inches of rain, and it rained on 169 days; the longest spells without rain were two periods of 19 days in February–March and at the end of the year.

Death-rate of Colombo, 1891–1901 and 1901–1910.



"An investigation of the statistics of 1906 showed (1) that the abnormal increase in the mortality was not only not confined to Colombo, but was even more marked in the Island as a whole ; (2) it was not due to invasion by an epidemic, but to an abnormal increase in the incidence and deaths from most of the usual chief causes of mortality ; (3) the infant population of Colombo was not affected, but had, on the contrary, the lowest death-rate ever recorded.

"These facts prove that the abnormal mortality during 1906 was not due to local causes, more particularly to causes connected with the sanitary condition of the City, but to some factor or factors operating throughout the Island generally. In this connection it is significant that, as the records of the Superintendent of the Observatory show, there were a number of unusually sudden drops in the temperature coincidently with the sudden increase of diarrhœa, dysentery, and pneumonia, which were the principal causes of the high death-rate during the earlier part of the outbreak, and in all of which, as is well known, chills act as a powerfully predisposing cause. Later on diseases such as phthisis and enteric fever also increased, as the result no doubt in many cases of the debilitating effect of a previous attack of one of the other diseases enumerated above.

"The following statement shows the death-rate from all causes in each race during each year of the decade :—

Death-rate from all Causes amongst each Race between 1901–1910, revised according to the Estimate of Population based on the Census of March 10, 1911.

Year.	All Races.	Europeans.	Burghers.	Sinhalese.	Tamils.	Moors.	Malays.	Others.
1901	34·7	30·0	24·9	34·3	40·0	33·0	37·2	35·8
1902	33·3	27·1	26·1	33·7	37·4	31·3	31·6	32·6
1903	34·4	34·1	28·0	37·5	34·1	30·4	32·1	35·2
1904	30·2	27·6	25·7	32·5	26·3	29·1	41·2	36·2
1905	33·9	28·0	26·5	37·4	32·1	30·8	33·6	38·8
1906	39·1	36·6	29·6	41·8	41·0	30·9	35·5	46·4
1907	31·4	26·4	23·1	32·8	31·8	29·3	37·6	36·3
1908	35·2	36·5	30·2	40·9	29·5	30·3	38·4	39·0
1909	32·0	23·8	25·1	35·9	31·9	27·4	34·2	27·0
1910	28·8	26·2	23·5	29·5	26·2	25·8	30·3	26·0
Average	33·0	29·6	26·3	35·6	32·7	29·7	35·2	34·9

"As the foregoing statement shows, the Sinhalese had the highest average death-rate of any race during the decade, but the Malays and the 'Others' were not far behind ; the Burghers, on the other hand, had the lowest rate, followed closely by the Europeans and the Moors, the Tamil rate being intermediate between these groups. The rates for the Europeans, Tamils, Moors, and Others, but especially the Tamils, are far from trustworthy, as their populations are much affected by migration.

"The conclusion to be drawn from these statistics is that, taking the decade as a whole, the health of the general population has shown no permanent tendency either to improve or to degenerate, but, if we exclude the abnormal year 1906, there was a distinct tendency towards improvement both before and after that date. This cannot be viewed as other than satisfactory, when it is considered that, notwithstanding the extraordinarily rapid increase of the population disclosed by the recent Census, the town remained up to the end of the decade as

innocent of proper means for the disposal of liquid waste as it was at the beginning. Had it not been that the Municipal Council adopted a more liberal policy in the matter of scavenging, and strenuous efforts were made by the Municipal staff to improve that branch of work, and, as far as the means at their disposal permitted, to improve the existing primitive bucket system of conservancy and the general cleansing of private premises, there can be no doubt that the health of the town would have shown a progressive and rapid retrogression *pari passu* with the increase and the consequent greater density of the population.

Death-rate from Diseases most prevalent in Colombo, 1901–1910.

Pulmonary Group = Phthisis, Pneumonia, Bronchitis
Diarrhoeal Group = Dysentery, Diarrhoea, Enteritis
Fever Group = Enteric, Simple Continued, Remittent and Intermittent Fevers

"An examination of the detailed statistics confirms this opinion, for the mortality from the pulmonary group of diseases (including phthisis, pneumonia, and bronchitis), which are not amenable to ordinary sanitary measures such as scavenging, house cleansing, food inspection, &c., steadily rose until the highest death-rate on record was reached in 1909, whereas diarrhœal diseases (including diarrhœa, enteritis, and dysentery) and fevers (including enteric, simple, remittent, and intermittent fevers), which are closely associated with filth conditions, showed a rapid improvement since 1906, the lowest

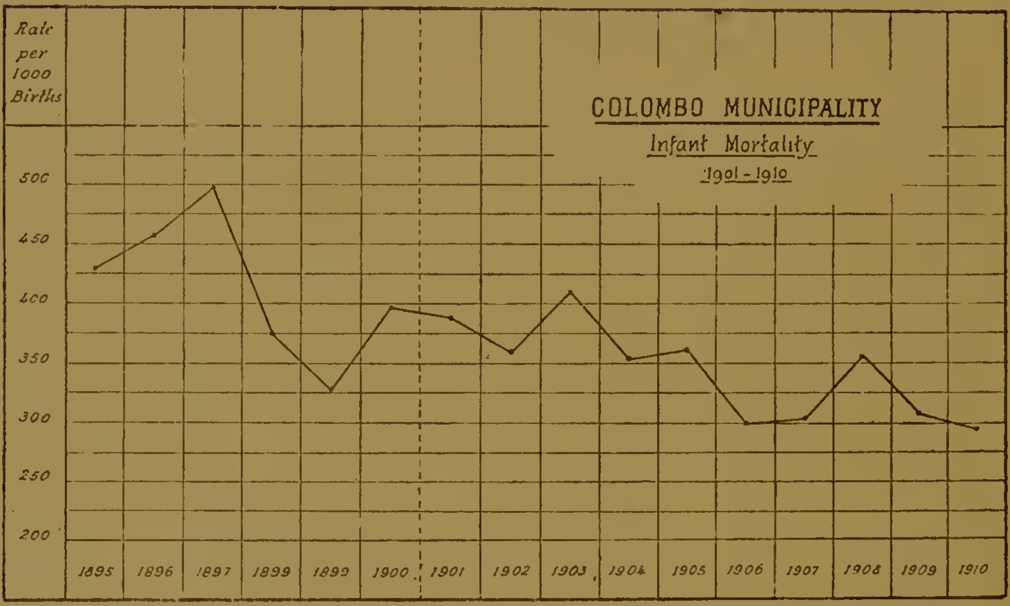
rates on record for each group being reached in the last year of the decade.

"The great sanitary work of draining the town which is now in progress should, when it has been completed and is in full working order, have a marked effect in improving the health of the town, and it is expected that the first indication of that improvement will be recorded in the vital statistics of the decade which has just commenced.

"The infant death-rate in Colombo has been steadily falling for a series of years, the lowest rate on record being that of 1910. The average rate for the period 1894–1900 was 413 per 1,000 births registered, whereas the rate during the decade 1901–1910 was only 344 per 1,000 births.

"The average for five yearly periods has been as follows :—

Period.	Average Rate.
1894–1898	432
1899–1903	376
1904–1908	337
1909	310
1910	295



"Some idea of the great saving of infant lives which this represents is obtained from the fact that had the average death-rate during the period 1894–1900 been maintained in the year 1910, there would have been 1,998 instead of only 1,420 deaths, representing a saving of 578 infant lives during the year."

The statements given on pages 141 and 142 show the area, houses, persons, density of houses and persons, and increase per cent. of houses and persons in the town of Colombo and its Wards between 1891 and 1911.

In the Census Report for 1901* the faet that the increase in the population of Colombo was less than was expeeted was aseribed to the deficiency of house aceommodation and to the increase in the population of the suburbs.

* Report on the Census for 1901, Vol. I., pp. 57, 58.

Area, Houses, Persons, Density of Houses and Persons, and Increase per Cent. of Houses and Persons in the Town of Colombo and its Wards, 1891–1911.

Ward.	Area in Acres.			Houses.			Persons.			Houses per Acre.		
	1891.	1901.	1911.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1891.	1901.	1911.
Fort	220	228	220	95	126	170	1,530	1,279	3,497	·4	·6	·77
Pettah	92	118	92	1,141	1,367	1,411	7,961	7,561	7,967	12·4	11·6	15·3
St. Paul's	143	157	143	3,419	3,039	5,328	16,322	20,260	24,732	23·9	19·4	37·0
St. Sebastian	116	116	116	1,575	1,782	2,137	7,943	9,349	11,543	13·5	15·4	18·4
Kotahena	1,649	1,684	1,643	5,142	5,702	7,369	27,935	33,350	40,556	3·1	3·4	4·5
New Bazaar	289	289	289	3,119	3,554	4,361	14,501	17,470	22,306	10·7	12·2	15·1
Maradana	1,297	1,297	1,297	4,611	5,421	7,815	23,562	30,377	43,743	3·5	4·2	6·0
Slave Island	313	313	313	2,903	3,482	4,156	13,622	16,764	20,979	9·2	11·1	13·3
Kollupitiya	1,928	1,990	1,928	2,330	2,795	3,813	13,449	18,281	25,036	1·2	1·4	1·9
New Extensions.. ..	—	—	1,593	—	—	2,107	—	—	10,915	—	—	1·3
Colombo Municipality ..	6,047	6,192	7,634	24,335	27,268	38,667	126,825	154,691	211,274	4·0	4·4	6·0*

* These figures are for the same area for which figures are given in 1891 and 1901. Including the New Extensions Ward, the number of houses per acre is 5·07.

Area, Houses, Persons, Density of Houses and Persons, and Increase per Cent. of Houses and Persons in the Town of Colombo and its Wards, 1891–1911—*continued.*

Ward.	Persons per Acre.			Persons per House.			Increase per Cent. of Houses.		Increase per Cent. of Persons.	
	1891.	1901.	1911.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1891–1901.	1901–1911.	1891–1901.	1901–1911.
Fort	7	6	— †	16·1	10·1	— †	32·6	34·92†	—16·4	173·4†
Pettah	86	64	87	7·0	5·5	5·6	19·8	3·22	— 5·0	5·3
St. Paul's	114	129	173	4·8	6·7	4·6	11·1	75·32	24·1	22·0
St. Sebastian	68	81	100	5·0	5·2	5·4	19·1	19·92	17·7	23·4
Kotahena	17	20	25	5·4	5·8	5·5	10·9	29·24	19·4	21·6
New Bazaar	50	60	77	4·6	4·9	5·1	13·9	22·71	20·5	27·6
Maradana	18	23	34	5·1	5·6	5·6	17·6	44·16	28·9	44·0
Slave Island	43	54	67	4·7	4·8	5·0	19·9	19·36	23·1	25·1
Kollupitiya	7	9	13	5·8	6·5	6·6	20·0	36·42	25·9	36·9
New Extensions.. ..	—	—	7	—	—	5·2	—	—	—	—
Colombo Municipality ..	21	25	33*	5·2	5·7	5·5	12·0	37·00	22·0	32·5‡

* These figures are for the same area for which figures are given in 1891 and 1901. Including the New Extensions Ward, the number of persons per acre is 27·68.

† The population of the Ward includes a large number of boat and coal coolies who were working within the limits of this Ward on the night of the Census. The population is largely a floating one, and comparisons showing number of persons per house and per acre are therefore fallacious.

‡ The population of the area now comprised in the New Extensions Ward, as far as it can be calculated for 1901, has been included in the 1901 figures for the purpose of this comparison.

There has been a very noticeable increase in the number of houses in Colombo, excluding the New Extensions Ward, since 1901. The number of houses has increased by 9,000, and the number of persons per house has decreased from 5·7 to 5·5.

In St. Paul's Ward the increase in the number of houses is greatest. There is a remarkable difference in the number of persons per house. In 1901 there were 6·7 persons to a house, and in 1911 only 4·6. The actual increase in the number of houses is not, however, as great as it appears. This has been caused to a great extent by the houses in this Ward having been partitioned off by screens, &c., and treated as separate houses. There is an increasing demand, even amongst the poorest classes, for privacy, and instead of several families living in one large room, the space is now partitioned off and leased separately.

The increase in the cooly population of Colombo has also meant a large increase in the number of sheds and lines erected for the night accommodation of these coolies. There has been a considerable increase in the number of these temporary erections, which were all numbered at the Census, as they conformed to the definition of a "house."

It is also reported that the number of small eating-houses, boutiques for sale of aerated waters and decoctions of sherbet and limes, and bread shops has largely increased.

The Municipal Council is making every effort to deal with the congested areas, and several quarters have been opened up during the decade by new roads and the widening of existing roads, notably Short's Road from Slave Island, Skinner's Road North, the new road from Maradana to Baseline Road, Mansergh Avenue, and Panchikawatta Road from Maradana station to Skinner's Road North.

Many insanitary tenements have been pulled down and rebuilt. Street widenings and improvements in the by-lanes and back-ways of the city take a prominent place in the Council's programme for the next ten years.

The Municipal Officer of Health, dealing with the question of the density of population in Colombo in relation to mortality, writes as follows :—

"Newsholme has shown that there is no causal relationship between density of population *per se* and a high mortality; but in Colombo, as in most other places, high degrees of density are generally accompanied by other conditions, such as poverty, ignorance, carelessness, filth, &c., which do produce a high rate of mortality.

"The Ward densities and their death-rates are for various reasons practically worthless as a means of testing this association, chief amongst these reasons being the fact that whereas nearly every available part of Wards such as St. Paul's, Pettah, and San Sebastian are occupied; other Wards, such as Kotahena, Kollupitiya, and Maradana, have very densely populated spots as well as large sparsely populated areas, the average density of these Wards being thus greatly reduced. A rough test can, however, be made by selecting two areas, consisting in the one case of densely populated streets, and in the other case of moderately populated streets.

"Two such areas were thus selected, and their populations at the recent Census were obtained for the purpose of an inquiry in connection with phthisis, which, as is well known, is closely associated with a foul atmosphere. The result is shown in the statement below, from which it will be seen that whereas the ratio of phthisis reported (chiefly deaths) was 1·33 per 1,000 of population in the non-congested area, it was 4·70, or more than three times as much, in the congested area.

"The comparison is, of course, a very rough one, and would have been more fair if a longer period and more equal aggregate populations had been selected, and a correction made for varying age and sex constitution, but these two areas are contiguous, and the difference in the ratios expresses, although crudely no doubt, the different effect of the conditions under which the people in areas of high and low densities live.

"The information which has been obtained at the 1911 Census will, it is hoped, render it now possible to carry such investigations further in future, and more accurately to define the unhealthy centres of the town.

Cases of Phthisis in Congested and Non-congested Areas.

Street.	Population.	Phthisis Notifications, January 1 to December 19, 1911.	Ratio per 1,000.
(a) Congested Area.			
Kochikadde Street	2,829	11	3·90
Wolfendahl Street	3,346	10	2·99
Brassfounder Street	1,189	9	7·57
Gintupitiya Street	2,514	13	5·17
Siripina Lane	961	8	8·33
Total	10,839	51	4·70

(b) Non-congested Area.	Population.	Phthisis.	Ratio per 1,000.
Hill Street	1,478	2	1·35
New Chetty Street	1,330	1	0·75
Green Street*	439	2	4·55
Van Rooyan Street*	433	0	0·00
Total	3,680	5	1·33

The extent of open spaces, parks, and recreation grounds in Colombo is 198 acres 36 perches, or 4·42 per cent. of the total area of Colombo exclusive of the lake.

The suburbs of Colombo show no decrease in population, but have largely increased, and residential Colombo, with the increasing development of motor traffic, seems to be gradually moving out towards Havelock Town. The population of Wellawatta has increased by 1,979, of Mount Lavinia by 1,049, and of Dehiwala by 710.

There is a Sinhalese proverb, "*Like the Portuguese going to Kotte*,"† which is applied to a long and circuitous route. It is said that the Portuguese were conducted to Kotte through Panadure and Rayigam korale, after they landed in Colombo, in order to conceal from them its proximity to the seaport. It is probable that the ground covered by the route taken by the Portuguese on the occasion will ere long be included in the present capital of Ceylon.

Percival, writing in 1803 of Colombo, says : "There is no part of the world where so many different languages are spoken, or which contains such a mixture of nations, manners, and religions. Besides Europeans and Cingalese, the proper natives of the Island, you meet scattered all

* No importance can be attached to the rates for short periods of individual streets with small populations.

† පරංගියා කෝට්ටෙට ගියා වගේ.

over the town almost every race of Asiatic: Moors of every class, Malabars, Travancorians, Malays, Hindoos, Gentoos, Chineso, Persians, Arabians, Turks, Maldivians, Javians, and natives of all the Asiatic isles, Parsees, or worshippers of fire, who would sooner have their houses burnt and themselves perish in the flames than employ any means to extinguish it. There are also a number of Africans, Cafrees, Buganese, a mixed race of Africans and Asiatics; besides the half-casts, people of colour and other races which proceed from a mixture of the original ones. Each of these different classes of people has its own manners, customs, and language."*

At this Census persons of 78 different races were enumerated in Colombo.

All the principal European races were represented; the largest number after the British, of whom there were 2,374, 638 more than in 1901, were the French, with 110, most of whom are priests and teachers in the Roman Catholic colleges. Germans come next with 97. There is a German club, and the German community occupy a very important position in the commercial life of the city: Germany is Ceylon's best customer after the United Kingdom and United States of America.†

Amongst other races represented were Parsees, Kaffirs, Arabs, Maldivians, Zulus, Chinese, Japanese, Egyptians, Americans, Australians, Canadians, Cambodians, Boers, and Maoris.

The Cochinese in Colombo have increased from 1,718 in 1901 to 2,789 in 1911. They are employed in increasingly large numbers as coolies, messengers, &c.

Of the principal races which compose the population of Colombo, the largest increase is amongst the Kandyans, who have increased by 80 per cent., but their numbers are very small, being only 2,495 in all. The Tamils have increased by 50 per cent., from 34,000 to 51,000. The Europeans have increased by 35 per cent. There are now 2,752 Europeans in Colombo, as compared with 1,016 thirty years ago, and besides those living within the Municipality, there are 150 Europeans living in the suburbs of Colombo. The Moors show an increase of 31 per cent. The Low-country Sinhalese, who form three-sevenths of the population, have increased by 31 per cent.

Though nearly half the population of Colombo is Sinhalese, Colombo has in a sense been forced upon the Sinhalese in spite of themselves: it was never a city of their own choice or making. Its history is from the first connected with the foreign invasions of Ceylon. It was originally occupied for trade purposes, then fortified, and afterwards defended by one foreign invader against another, or against the attacks of the Sinhalese.

Raja Sinha, the King of Kandy, was but expressing the pious wish of every Kandyan when he wrote to the Dutch in 1641: "I have for many a long year had a longing to destroy the city of Colombo and raze it to the ground, as it is the origin and mother of all the evil that has come upon this Island and the natural kings of the same, killing the same and keeping them from their kingdoms."‡

To understand its history and its importance one must realize that the Sinhalese have never been a maritime people. Colombo is one of

* Percival's "Ceylon," pp. 114, 115.

† The proportion of Ceylon's exports taken in 1910–1911 were 47·32 per cent. by the United Kingdom, 13·69 by the United States of America, and 9 per cent. by Germany.

‡ Extract from the Journal (Day Register) kept in the fort of Batavia, anno 1640–1641, published in the "Ceylon Literary Register," Vol. II., p. 399.

the offsprings of sea power, and it has accordingly been captured in turn by the different races who have acquired through the empire of the sea the predominance in the East. By some authorities Colombo is said to owe even the present rendering of its name to the foreign invader.

The theories of the derivation of the name Colombo are many. By some it is thought to have been originally connected with the river Kelani—the mouth of the river is adjoining the town. By others it is said to be derived from Calamba, a seaport and fortified place; another derivation connects it with the Sinhalese word *amba*—a mango, and gives the meaning of Colamba as a grove of mangoes. The derivation generally received as correct is that the village and port were originally known as Colontota, from *Cola-amba-tota*—mango grove port, but *vide* the meaning of *cola*, as given by Knox, in note *infra*.

The Dutch adopted a punning coat of arms for the town: a mango tree with a dove (Latin, *Columba*—a dove) in it.

Whatever may have been the origin of the name, it was undoubtedly known in Asia, long before the coming of the Portuguese, by the name of Kelambu, or Kalambu, or Kalamba.

It is alleged that the present rendering of the name is due to the Portuguese, who, finding a name so like that of their famous navigator and discoverer Christopher Columbus, called the city Colombo.*

The discovery of the value of the situation of Colombo was not made by the Portuguese.

One of the marauding expeditions of Arabs, which in the ninth and tenth centuries descended to plunder and to raid on the coasts of India and the islands of the Indian Ocean, saw the advantage of erecting a fort on the corner of the crescent formed by the bay of Colombo, which would serve them as a useful port to run into during certain seasons of the year.

"There is a tradition current among the Moors in Ceylon that the Khalif of Bagdad, in the beginning of the tenth century, hearing that the Moorish traders settled in Colombo were not very orthodox Mahometans, sent a learned priest to instruct them, who built a mosque, and when he died, to commemorate his virtues, a tomb was erected in the cemetery, which remained for 800 years, when it was removed by the Dutch."†

Ibn Batuta writing in 1344 described "Kalambu the finest town in Serendib" as the abode of the Wazer or Vizier of the sea named Jalestie, who had a guard of 500 Abyssinians. He appears to have been a buccaneer.

When the Portuguese landed in Ceylon at the beginning of the sixteenth century‡ they found in the harbour of Colombo "several

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* Such an authority as Knox gives this explanation: "On the West the City of Columbo, so called from a Tree the Natives call Ambo (which bears the Mango fruit) growing in that place; but this never bare fruit, but only leaves, which in their Language is Cola, and thence they called the Tree Colambo: which the Christians in honour of Columbus turned to Columbo."—Knox's "Historical Relation," p. 2.

† "Ceylon," by an Officer late of the Ceylon Rifles, p. 372.

‡ The first Portuguese who landed in Colombo were thus described to King Dharma Prakrama IX.: "There is in our harbour of Colombo a race of people fair of skin and comely withal. They don jackets of iron and hats of iron; they rest not a minute in one place, they walk here and there; they eat hunks of stone and drink blood; they give two or three pieces of gold and silver for one fish or one lime; the report of their cannon is louder than thunder when it bursts upon the rock Yugandhara. Their cannon balls fly many a *gawwa* and shatter fortresses of granite."—*Vide* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Vol. XIX., p. 362; and Emerson Tennent's "Ceylon," Vol. I., p. 418.

FIRST PORTUGUESE FORT AT COLOMBO, 1518.

(*This illustration is taken from Correa's "Lendas da India," Vol. II.*)

ships from Bengal, Persia, the Red Sea, and other places, which had come there to barter cinnamon and elephants."

The Portuguese early recognized the value of the position, both as an anchorage and from its proximity to the cinnamon lands, and fortifications were erected by them in 1518.*

Ribeiro says : "Columbo from being a small stockade of wood grew to be a gallant city fortified with a dozen bastions ; it is true these were six-sided after the ancient fashion, and of small size, but they were conveniently situated. The ramparts were a single line of taipa,† a sufficient defence against the natives, with a ditch and moat on either side ending in a lake which skirted a third of the city on the land side. Its artillery consisted of two hundred and thirty-seven pieces, of three kinds, from ten up to thirty-eight pounds. It was situated on a bay capable of holding a large number of small ships, but exposed on the northern side, and its line of circumvallation stretched over one thousand three hundred paces."‡

The history of the Portuguese occupation of Colombo ends with the famous siege of 1656, when the city was taken by the Dutch. An interesting account of the siege is given by Ribeiro, and the last scene of all, when the remnant of the Portuguese capitulated, is movingly recounted :—

"At three o'clock in the afternoon of the 12th May, 1656, we came out of the city, seventy-three very emaciated soldiers, all that remained there, including some with broken arms and minus a leg, and all looking like dead people.

"We marched in single file through a crowd of natives who looked on from either side, showing in their faces their feelings at seeing us in this condition, for they were almost all our enemies from Candia. We had to leave the four cannon at the city gate through lack of men to drag them, and on reaching the General's quarters at N. Senhora de Vida, we gave up all our arms to the guard, the Captains and Officers retaining their swords ; we then entered the house, where we met the General and the Major, who received us very warmly and gave us a toast in wishing us farewell, saying they wished us good luck, and that before it was late they desired to go and receive the infantry and their lordships the Generals : we replied that their lordships could go to meet the Generals, but that all the soldiers were before them. At this they changed colour, a great sadness following the cheerfulness with which they had received us. After exchanging a few words in their own language, they replied : 'We were under the impression that your worships were the higher officers.' And so it should have been, for whenever an officer of any position was killed, his place was immediately taken by another, and so out of the seventy-three as many were officers as soldiers ...... The Captain took us to the city slowly by that road, telling us that we would have to render a heavy account to God for allowing the destruction of so many people, by attempting what we could not accomplish : he had been over the posts which we had defended, and they needed a garrison of not less than one thousand two hundred men. He had read of many sieges which had taken place, but none of them could be compared with this : for though others might

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* The Sinhalese made several attempts to capture Colombo. The most famous is the siege of the city by Raja Sinha I. in 1586–87, of which a graphic account is given in the *Rajavali*, and by the Portuguese writers De Couto and Faria y Souza.

† Walls of timber and mud, apparently.

‡ Ribeiro's "History of Ceylon" (translation by Paul E. Pieris, C.C.S.), p. 127.

have lasted a longer time, they were not accompanied by the miseries and incidents of this ; every deserter had spoken of the sufferings within the city, but they would not believe them, as the account seemed impossible...... Including reinforcements, eight thousand three hund'ed and fifty men, all Europeans, had taken part in that siege, and of these there remained one thousand two hundred fit to carry arms, and seven hundred wounded and burnt, all the rest were dead."*

It is remarkable that while the Portuguese have left such considerable traces of their occupation of Ceylon through their influence on the language, religion, and nomenclature of the Sinhalese, there are very few place names, even in Colombo, which have a Portuguese origin. Yet the Portuguese gave the Sinhalese language most of the words used in connection with the buildings of to-day.

The ancient houses of the Sinhalese were for the most part such rude and primitive structures that there were few words in the language which were required in the building of a house.†

The builder of the house of modern times, the mason, bears a Portuguese name ;[1] the kiln in which he forms his lime is expressed by a Portuguese word ;[2] the lever[3] and the wheel[4] are also Portuguese.

The carpenter was known to the Sinhalese, and a Sinhalese word describes his occupation, but his work to-day requires the use of Portuguese words. The words employed for the wall,[5] the rafters,[6] the laths,[7] are all Portuguese.

The Sinhalese supplied the door, the Portuguese the window,[8] and the glass[9] subsequently used in it.

The kitchen[10] and the drain[11] are Portuguese additions, as is also the room[12] itself ; the idea of separate accommodation in the ordinary dwelling-house was new to the Sinhalese.‡

While the Portuguese may be said to be the builders of the modern house, as is shown in the numerous Portuguese words connected with it, the streets of Colombo nearly all bear Dutch and English names.

It is curious that one of the last traces of the Portuguese occupation of Colombo is to be found in the citadel of the Dutch Burgher. Wolvendaal, the site of the grand old Dutch church, is an adaptation of the Portuguese name. On this site probably stood the Portuguese church of Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe. The name of the hill and the Portuguese monastery on it was known subsequently as the Acqua or Agoa de Lupo§ (the wolf's pond), which has now been translated into

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* Ribeiro's "History of Ceylon" (translation by Paul E. Pieris, C.C.S.), pp. 379–380.

† It is true that there are Sinhalese words expressing equivalents of the terms given below, but the words now used in common parlance are those which are derived from the Portuguese. It was only the leading Sinhalese nobles who occupied houses of superior structure. Many of them are described in ancient sannas as elaborately constructed edifices. The poorer classes lived in huts, and were forbidden by sumptuary laws to occupy tiled buildings. When there was a change in the type of house occupied by the general population, they naturally used the terms which were known to the mechanics and workmen amongst them, and which actually represented the articles then in use.

[1] "Pedaréruwa" — Port. Pedreiro ; [2] "Pornuwa" — Port. Farno (oven) ; [3] "Alavankuwa"—Port. Alavanca ; [4] "Rode"—Port. Roda ; [5] "Tápo"—Port. Taipa ; [6] "Parála"—Port. Barrote ; [7] "Rippa"—Port. Ripa ; [8] "Janéle"—Port. Janella ; [9] "Viduruwa"—Port. Vidro ; [10] "Kussiya"—Port. Cozinha ; [11] "Kánuwa"—Port. Cano ; [12] "Cámara"—Port. Camara.

‡ Those who are interested in the derivation of words are referred to interesting articles in "The Orientalist," by Louis Nell and A. E. Buultjens in Vol. III., and by Edmund Woodhouse in Vol. II.

§ *Vide* map of Colombo opposite p. 150, and building marked *b*.

Wolvendaal, or "the wolves' dale." The name *Adilippu*, or *Adirippu Palliya*, is still used by the natives.

It was round this hill (which at the present day is one of the busiest quarters of Colombo) that much of the fighting raged during the siege of Colombo by Raja Sinha I. in 1586–1587. The *Rajavaliya** states that "Vikramasinha Mudali pitched his camp, having erected a stockade at Lower Boralugoda. Sencrat Mudali encamped on the plain of Boralugoda."

The Adirippu Palliya stood on Boralugoda hill, and Lower Boralugoda was the site of Santunpitiya. The name Santunpitiya† survives in Gentoopitiya street, to-day inhabited chiefly by Tamils, and one of the most densely populated streets in the town.

The Liveramentu cemetery, situated in the south of the town, is on the site of a Portuguese church dedicated to the Virgin Mary—the Virgin of Good Deliverance (liveramentu).†

The name Milagiriya (the hamlet where St. Paul's Church now stands) comes from the Portuguese church on this site dedicated to "Nossa Senhora de Milacre"—Our Lady of Miracles.

The names of the bastions of St. Sebastião† and St. João† survive in San Sebastian Ward and St. John's Street.

Other names survive which we know were used in Portuguese times, but these are principally Sinhalese names which were transformed by the Portuguese. We know that the Galle Buck was then a landmark of Colombo. It is referred to in Ribeiro as the Galvoca,† its name being Sinhalese, *Galbokka*—the stony hollow.

Kotahena, or the chena planted with kottan trees (kottan is the native almond), was changed by the Portuguese into Kotachena.‡

The lake was as conspicuous a feature of Colombo in those days as it is to-day, and that it was then, or at least some part of it, known as the Dhobies' Lake, we find from the plan of Colombo in Le Grand's "Ribeiro," where it is described as the "Etang des Lavandieres," or the tank of the washer*women!*

Whilst the Portuguese occupation was pre-eminently a military occupation, the Dutch had more leisure to devote to peaceful pursuits. The family life of the settlers of the two nations was entirely different. The Portuguese intermarried with the natives of the country, and in consequence largely adopted the customs of the races amongst whom they found themselves, who in turn accepted the Portuguese religion and language.

The first Roman Catholic church in Colombo is believed to have been built on the Galle Buck.

The tombstone of "Juaz Monteiro, the first Primate of the Island of Ceylon, who improved this country with churches and built 'Sao Leo,'"§ and who died in 1536, was found near the Battenberg Bastion in 1836.||

The map overleaf shows the large number of churches and convents erected in Colombo by the Portuguese.¶

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* The "Rajavaliya" (translation by B. Gunasekora), p. 91.

† *Vide* map opposite p. 150, and Key to Map, k, d, e, A, L, and 15.

‡ After being altered by the Dutch to Kotanchena, it was anglicized into Cotton China. The correct name has now been restored.

§ The church of St. Laurenso is referred to—*vide* building marked 2 in map of Colombo opposite p. 150.

|| "Ceylon Literary Register," Vol. I., pp. 8 and 32.

¶ The map overleaf is published for the first time. It was obtained from the Ryks-archief at The Hague, where it was found by Mr. Grinlinton, Surveyor-General, for the Ceylon Government Archives.

Key to Map on the opposite page.

Aenwysingh der Voornaemste Plaetsen, der Belaegerdon Stadt Colombo—hoe de werken by den E: Heer Dir, Gerid Hülft S$^{al.}$ voor de Stadt, mot Aprochen En Bat. Aengebracht sijn en hoo de Stadt met Allhaen Pünten, Bolwerkon En Voornaemst Plaotsen genaemt syn gewest—Anno Christi 1656, den 12 Maÿ Verovert.

(*Description of the Principal Places of the Beleaguered City of Colombo, showing the manner in which the Honourable the Director-General Gerard Hulft of blessed memory placed his Works before the City with its Approaches and Bulwarks, and the manner in which the City with all its Batteries, Bulwarks, and Principal Places was taken in the Year of Our Lord 1656 on the 12th May.*)

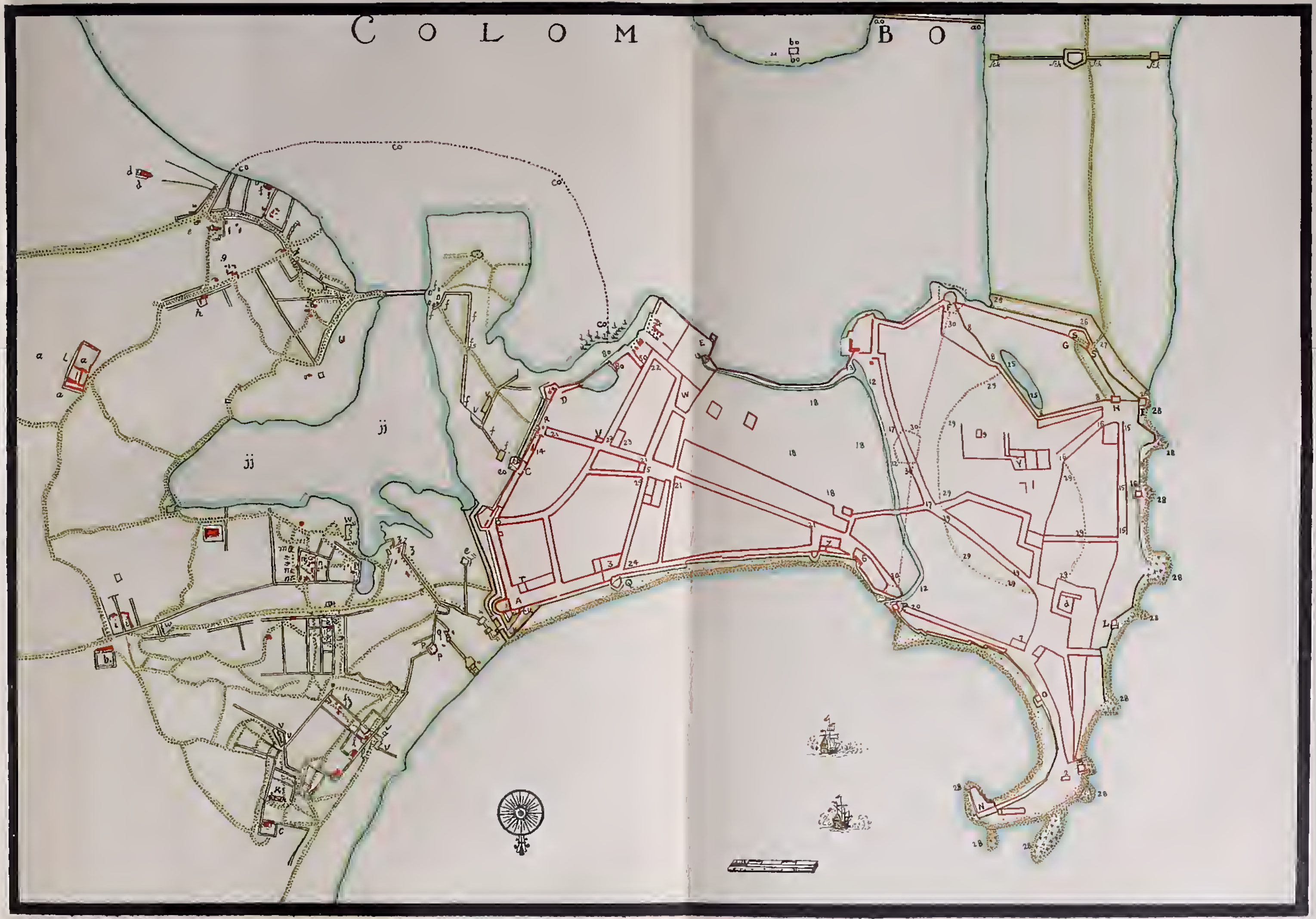
A. St. Joan
B. St. Steuan (St. Stephen)
C. St. Philippo
D. Keanges [Convent (?)], o Matre de Deos
E. Concession
F. St. Jeronimo
G. St. Antonio de Torraen
H. St. Jago
I. St. Augustino
K. Don Francisco
L. *Calhio Boca* (Entrance to the Bay)
M. St. Laurenso
N. St. Cruys, o Water Casteel
O. De Water Poort (Gate)
P. Tronco Velho (Part of the old Fortification)
Q. Curas
R. Porta Reina (Queen's Gate)
S. Porta *Mappana*
T. St. Domincos
V. De Kerck (Church) Matre de Deos
W. De Kerk van de Capucinen
X. *St. Paalo*
Y. Het Clooster van St. Augustiuo
Z. De Kerk den Hemel, o Ceo (Church of Heaven, or "de Ceo")

1. Het. Clooster St. Francisco.
2. De Kerk St. Laurenso
3. De Hr. Gouevneurs Huys
4. Het Huys van Don Jerouimo
5. Het Stadt Huys
6. 't Hospitael
7. Misericordia
8. De Oude Stads muere (Old Town Wall)
9. De Cruyt Kelder (Gunpowder Magazine)
10. De Cruyt Maekery, o Cruyt Huys (Gunpowder Manufactory, or Gunpowder House)
11. De Tangh Achter de Stadt (Tank or Lake behind the City)
12. De Loop (Road) van de Tangh, naer de Zeetoe (to the Sea)
13. Water lossing (Watercourse)
14. 4 Mynen (Pits)
15. *Roa de Calhja boea* (*vide* L.)
16. Roa de St. Augustino
17. Roa de Caza (House) de Polvere
18. Dit. Pleyn heeft voll, met Clappers hoomen Geplant gestaen (This plain is fully planted with Coconut Trees)
19. Roa de St. Francisco
20. Roa de Misericordia
21. Roa Directo (Direct)
22. Roa de Matre de Deos, de Clericos
23. Het Hüys daer onse gevangens gefesten hebben (House where our Prisoners were lodged)
24. Roa d: Generael
25. Gleene binnen Tangh (Small Inner Tank)
26. Een Drooge Kracht (Dry Moat)
27. De Brughe (Bridge)
28. Klippen 2 à 3 Voet bouen Water (Rocks 2 or 3 feet above Water)
29. Een Bergh in der Stadt liggent (a Hill within the City)
30. Alwaer de Stadt sal Asg: needen Envergleenert worden (where the City will be divided and reduced in size)

a. Het Quartier oft Logement, van der En Hr. Direct Gerid Hulft end: d: E: H: Gouerneur van der Heyden
b. De Kerk *Agoa de Lopo* of, het Quartier van de Heer Majoor van de Laen
c. Cap Cuylenborghs Logement of Huys
d. *Nosso Senhora de Liberament*
e. *St. Sebastiaen*, of 't Quartier van Luyth Christophel
f. Papen Huys (Monastery)
g. Luyth (Lieutenant) Albert
h. Luyth Kint (Lieutenant Kint)
i. Den Luyth de Moss, Er Martykers quartier
k. *St. Tomas*
l. Luyth Ketelaers Huys
m. Quartier van Luyth de Witt
n. *Jauanen Quartier* (Javanese Quarters)
o. Quartier van Luyth Gerel
p. Capt. Capado Reduyt (Redoubt)
q. Luyth Scherp
r. Luyth Herts Reduyt
s. Quartier van Luyth—met syn Aprochen
t. De Brugge (Bridge) ouer de Tangh
v. Vier Bataryen van, 6 Stucken (Four Batteries with 6 Pieces)
w. Twee Bataryen van, 4 Stucken
x. Ses Bataryeu van, 2 Stucken
y. Reduyt
z. Groote Mortier (Great Mortar)
sz. Trie Gleene Mortieren (Three Small Mortars)
ch. Onse Callerye (Our Gallery)
sch. Des Viants Beer (The Enemy's Pier)
ck. Buyten (outer) Reduyt
sck. Assnidlng van ons Volck voor de Poorte Mappana (The cutting down of our People before the Port Mappana)
ao. Een Brugge ouer de Tangh
bo. Reduyt van Gillis Steur
co. 16 Chineese Champagne soo ons Volck ouer de Tangh overgeset (16 Chinese Champans placed over the Tank by our People)
do. Alhier is onse Volck thet de eerste storm Ingecomen (Here our People first met with a Storm)
eo. Totop de stippel is deese Pünt Aff geschooten en vercleenert worden (This Bastion has been cut down up to the stippled line and reduced in size)

Note by Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, the Government Archivist.

This map was evidently prepared shortly after the Dutch conquest of Colombo (1656), and was probably intended to accompany a report of the conquest. It is the oldest Dutch map of Colombo I have met with. Many of the names of places are in Portuguese, and the bastions, Rotterdam, Hoorn, Delft, and Leiden, with the curtains between, by which the Dutch shortly after their occupation cut off the Fort or Castle from the Pettah and the northern suburbs, are only marked as work in prospect. They were certainly completed before 1680.



Lith S.G.O. Colombo. No 140/2/1912.

The Dutch, always a domesticated people and strongly attached to family life (a Dutch "interior" is still regarded as the typical representation of a race devoted to its hearth and home), preserved as much of the home life of their fatherland as they possibly could. Their wives came out to them from Holland, and the Dutch colony at once introduced the customs and habits of their own country.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, the Government Archivist, in a very interesting lecture on "The Dutch in Ceylon,"* has given so admirable a description of a Dutch house in the Pettah that I venture to quote from it at length:—

"Let us imagine ourselves taking a peep into a Dutch house in the Pettah of Colombo, the Oude stad, or old city, somewhere in the year 1750. In front of it, stretching the whole length, is an open paved platform called the stoep, which we have to cross in order to enter the house. Opening into the house from the stoep is a wide portal set in a massive framework of wood with heavily panelled shutters, and surmounted by a fanlight filled in with a huge cipher monogram. On either side are lofty windows nearly four feet from the ground. The door leads us into the kleine zaal, which is a kind of lobby or passage, but it is wide enough for two rows of chairs to be ranged against the wall on either side. No other furniture is here, but the walls are decorated with a number of portrait engravings and historical scenes set in broad ebony frames. The portraits are those of the first Stadhouder Willem the Silent, of his son Prince Maurice, of the Admirals Tromp and De Ruyter, and other heroes of Dutch history; while the pictures represent the Siege of Leiden, the Murder of the DeWitts, the Escape of Grotius in a Chest, and similar events which they in those days delighted to recall. Two doors lead from the kleine zaal into chambers on either side; but we will, for the present, pass on to the zaal or great hall, which is a wide and lofty room, stretching across nearly the whole breadth of the building. It is the living room of the family. On one side is a long dining table of four square pieces, each standing on a single centre pedestal after the fashion of a round table. Around it are placed a row of high-backed chairs. An eten kast, which serves as a larder, and a kelder or cellaret of calamander wood bound with copper, stand close by. Along the walls are other chairs of diverse shapes and sizes, some broad and roomy, others small and low. A rustbank or settee of ebony with two footstools beside it occupies a blank space of wall; while by a window near it stands a small table with a dambord, or draught-board. By another window stands a lessenaar, or desk of calamander or ebony, on which lies the Staten Bybel, a large folio black letter Bible in heavy wooden boards covered with stamped leather and fastened by brass clasps and corners. In this Bible, if we opened and examined it, would be found the stamboek, or family register, in which the head of the family kept a chronicle of domestic events. Often a genealogical tree would be attached to the stamboek to trace the family back to the first settler in Ceylon or to some distinguished ancestor in the Vaderland. A couple of brass candle stands, a couple of tall spittoons of the same metal, a kantoorje, or writing desk, and a bookcase are other objects which attract our attention. A large variety of porcelain jars, ivory boxes, and brass articles of various shapes lie about on the tables. On the walls are pictures larger in size than those in the passage. Some of these are oil paintings,—not on canvas, as we have them now, but on broad wooden

* "The Dutch in Ceylon: Glimpses of their Life and Times," pp. 22–25.

panels. On a rack on the wall are a number of swords of various sizes and shapes, from the ponderous long sword of brass and steel to the slender weapon, silver-mounted and gold-chased, which the fashion of the day required every gentleman to wear as a part of his full dress. On the same rack are also displayed several three-cornered hats and a wig or two. Hanging from the ceiling are large square lamps. These are made of four panes of glass mounted in brass with a centre support for a burner.

"We also catch a glimpse of mevrouw in her morning toilet of a crisp gingam skirt and long white jacket of spotless linen, as she sits in the halve dak or back verandah and orders the servants about, her shrill voice ringing through the house as she keeps constantly calling for them by such names as Rosalie, Belisante, Aurora, or Champoca. The children are also preparing for school, which they attend at 8 o'clock. They go out, the boys in their opperbroeks, a sort of combination garment; and the girls in skirts and short white jackets. While many of these things are familiar to us, because the Dutch were a very conservative people, and the fashion they observed fifty or a hundred years previously came down very little changed even to our own early days, the appearance of the domestics strikes us at once as unfamiliar. Instead of the fine-featured, brown-complexioned Sinhalese servants who now take the employment in our houses, we find here a swarthy, woolly-haired, and thick-lipped race of men and women engaged in several household duties. They are variously clad. Some of the men are in pantaloons and jackets, others in waistcloths; while most of the women wear skirts with short tunics of coloured stuff. The men as well as the women wear earrings, the latter generally heavy ones, which weigh down and tear the lobes of the ear. And all go barefooted. It is scarcely necessary to mention that these are slaves. Yet they are not all of pure African descent. Traces may be observed in many of them of an admixture with higher types; and some of them have come from Tanjore, in the south of India."

As might be expected, the Dutch words which are now found incorporated into the Sinhalese language are all words connected with the household, domestic utensils, the kitchen, food, &c.—the legacy of the huisvrouw.

The Sinhalese language owes to the Dutch the words now used for pancake,[1] pastry,[2] schnapps gin,[3] corkscrew,[4] bottle,[5] the names of several vegetables, *e.g.*, potato,[6] bean,[7] the gherkin,[8] wine,[9] and beer.[10]

It is not therefore surprising to find that there are many traces of the Dutch period in the streets and buildings in Colombo of to-day. There is no better specimen of the old Dutch house than the building in Prince Street in the Pettah now used as the Police School, which was formerly the Dutch Orphan Asylum; over its entrance the words—

Psalm CXXVII.

NISI JEHOVA AEDIFICET
DOMUM FRUSTRA LABORANT
AEDIFICATORES
AO MDCCLXXX.

are clearly cut.

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[1] Sinh. Pannekuk—Dutch Pannekoek: [2] Sinh. Pastála—Dutch Pastal; [3] Sinh. Isnaps—Dutch Snaps; [4] Sinh. Koraka-trekkuva—Dutch Kurk-e-trekker; [5] Sinh. Botale—Dutch Bottel; [6] Sinh. Artapal—Dutch Aarden-appel: [7] Sinh. Bonchi—Dutch Boontje; [8] Sinh. Goraka—Dutch Agurkje; [9] Sinh. Vayin—Dutch Wijn: [10] Sinh. Bira—Dutch Bier.

Reference has already been made to many of the Dutch regulations in the Fort, but there were many other decrees published to improve the condition of the town and its streets. Edicts were promulgated ordering the streets to be kept clean (Edicts of 1673 and 1676). Earth was not to be removed from the roads.

Considerable attention was paid to the appearance of the town, and trees were planted for shade and to improve the look of the streets.* It was forbidden to injure the trees on pain of corporal punishment (Edict of 1702), and cutting or lopping branches off the trees in the streets was made punishable by another Edict in 1751.

Messenger Street and Dam Street are to-day two of the busiest streets in the town. Messenger Street is now occupied chiefly by Moors and Tamils, and its buildings are mostly timber and fibre stores and boutiques. Dam Street, owing to its proximity to the Law Courts, has a number of occupants connected with the courts. These two streets are named after the *masaṇ*† and *damba*, or *jambu*,‡ trees, and are still known to the natives as *Masangas-vidiya* and *Jambugas-vidiya*. Bloemendahl Street, which to-day runs through extensive grass fields and marshes, means the street of the vale of flowers. The extensive mills of Messrs. Bosanquet & Co. and many plumbago stores on this road have robbed the name of any present significance, though the surroundings still show how this quarter obtained this name. Korteboam is Dutch for short trees, and was no doubt so called on account of the stunted appearance of the trees planted there, as they were exposed to the sea spray. To-day it is one of the engineering centres of the town—engineering works, foundries, pumping stations, engine rooms, coal and boat sheds, are all built at this spot, and its population is composed almost entirely of Indian Tamils.

Madampitiya, now the centre of the Drainage Works, means the plain or meadow in which there are *mádaṇ* trees,§ and was probably a favourite country resort of the Dutch.

Dematagoda, the plain of *demata*‖ trees, now the longest street in Colombo, with the largest number of houses in it (1,470).

The name of Van der Meyden's Polder still remains in the heart of Grandpass, to recall the fact that it was in Dutch times a model farm. Evidence of other agricultural experiments in this part of the town is to be found in the name of the village Sedawatta, which was the *orta seda*, or silk garden, where experiments were made with silkworms introduced from Japan by the Portuguese. There was also an experimental station in Grandpass, close to the banks of the river, known as *Orta fula*, which became Malwatta, the flower garden.

The "Garden City" of Colombo of to-day has no room for such pleasure resorts as "Paradise" and "Tanque Salgado." Paradise was the name given by the Dutch to a patch of meadow and swamp almost opposite the junction of Silversmith Street and Skinner's Road South. It was a favourite resort of the Dutch residents of Small Pass for bathing

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* "Within the castle there are many pretty walks of nut-trees set in an uniform order, but they bear no fruit, only red and white flowers; the streets are pleasant walks themselves, having trees on both sides and before the houses."—Christoph Schweitzer's "Account of Ceylon" (1676–1682), published in the "Ceylon Literary Register," Vol. IV., p. 156.

† Masaṇ = *Zizyphus jujuba.*

‡ Jambu = *Eugenia aquea.* According to Parker, "Ancient Ceylon," p. 14, in the Sinhalese histories, India is always described as Jambudwipa, or Dambadiva, "the island of Jambu trees."

§ Mádaṇ = *Eugenia jambolana.*

‖ Demata = *Gmelina asiatica.*

and picnics. It is to-day a mooring spot for the rafts and padda boats which ply on the canal in the heart of a busy quarter of the town.

The name Tanque Salgado still survives in a street in Mutwal, now chiefly occupied by fishermen. It takes its name from the salt water swamp, called by the Sinhalese the *Lunu-pokuna*, or salt tank, and translated by the Portuguese into Tanque Salgado—a very different quarter to-day, as it lies alongside and partly built over by the harbour works and graving dock, to the Tanque Salgado described by Christoph Schweitzer at the end of the seventeenth century:—

"And here I met with three of my old acquaintance who on the 23rd took me abroad to a very large orchard, call'd Tang Salgato, where we drank some Suri fresh from the coco-trees. This was in the morning, and about noon we bespoke a hot sort of liquor, called Mussack, which is made in the following manner. They put into a vessel 8 quarts of Suri and to that one quart of arack or brandy. All this boil'd together, and about 20 or 25 eggs are broke into 't which gives it substance and a good colour. Then they add to all this some king's sugar (which they get from some certain trees there) and some nutmeg and mace. All this came to half a rix-dollar. We had some women to wait upon us, which they call Bulliatoses, who diverted us with various leaping and dancing. Their ears are about a span long with golden pendants in them; they saw by my dress that I was newly come from Europe; and I found they had a great mind to converse with me, but I not understanding them made them understand by shaking my head that I did not care for their company."*

Pas Betal Road shows that there must have been a turnpike or toll station here in Dutch times,† while Grandpass—to-day a busy and crowded thoroughfare, through which the tramway runs, but once the fashionable quarter of Colombo—‡ is called after a big dam erected here by the Dutch, as the bank of the river near the bridge of boats was inaccessible from this part of the town except by boats.

The Small Pass connected Kayman's Gate with Hulftsdorp.

It is curious that the name of the most infamous of the Dutch Governors should to-day be preserved in the name of a road, Vuystwijk or Vuystuyk,§ and though this is the only place where his name occurs, there are other memorials of his misdoings. The Alutmawata Road, now one of the longest roads in Colombo, joining Mutwal and Mattakkuliya, was cut on his orders to enable him to get a view of the harbour from the top of the hill near his residence, "Buona Vista." It is said that the stones required for the road were passed from hand to hand from the Fort, as there was no cart road to this part of Colombo in those days.

There is an inscription on a house in Baillie Street, next to the Bank of Madras, which runs—

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* Christoph Schweitzer's "Account of Ceylon" (1676–1682), published in the "Ceylon Literary Register," Vol. IV., p. 76.

† "Pas betal en" means the pass at which you pay.

‡ A drive "round the Grand Pass" was at one time a very favourite afternoon promenade.

§ There are many stories told of Governor Vuyst, who ruled the Dutch Provinces in Ceylon from 1726 to 1729. He is said to have put a patch over his right eye on landing in Ceylon, as he said the left eye was sufficient with which to govern such a small Island. His atrocious cruelties at length reached such a stage that a general petition was sent to the "Raad Extraordinair van Nederlands India" at Batavia. He was recalled and sentenced to be broken alive upon the wheel, his body to be quartered, and the quarters to be burned upon a pile and the ashes thrown into the sea.

"*Door Gewelt Gevelt* / *Door'T Regt Herstelt*"	which means	Destroyed by might / Restored by right.

This is connected with a story of oppression committed by this infamous Governor.*

Hulftsdorf, or as it should properly be spelt Hulftsdorp, commemorates a very different type of Dutchman. The site of the Ceylon courts to-day was the camp of General Hulft at the siege of Colombo, and was called after the hero, who was mortally wounded close to the spot where Kayman's Gate now stands.

Another Dutch officer is commemorated by the Racquet Court, which has acquired so thoroughly English a designation that it is difficult to believe that it is not a name given by a sport-loving race; but it appears to have been originally called after one Bartholomeus Petrus Raket, second in authority in Colombo, the name being anglicized into its present rendering.

Reference has been made already to the canals which the Dutch cut through the city. We read of Governor van Eck's funeral leaving St. Peter's Church, then the Government House,† and proceeding up York Street along the canal, which ran the whole length of the street, and then at right angles as far as the opposite side of the Fort to the Fort church, then on the site of the upper terrace in the Gordon Gardens.

That the Dutch also carried out numerous works in connection with the lake is shown by the stone which may now be seen at the small sluice opposite the Fort railway station bearing the inscription—

De
Beer
Ao 1700

This stone is supposed to commemorate a Dutch engineer who built the spill between the lake and the lotus pond. The largest part of the lake is still known as Beira.

While the Dutch did as much as they could to make their headquarters in Ceylon resemble a Dutch town, they were not unmindful of its defences. Their first measure was to reduce the size of the town and fortify it by bastions‡ and a moat round the Fort. Ribeiro, writing of Colombo thirty years after the siege, says that the steps taken by

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* The story is that the house was occupied by Lieutenant Andries Swarts, who was tortured and put to death because he had given offence to the Governor Vuyst, who, not content with killing the owner, levelled the house to the ground, and erected on the spot a pillar with an inscription warning others of Swarts' fate. On Governor Vuyst's disgrace the pillar was removed and the land restored to the family of the original owner, who caused the inscription, which still remains, to be inserted on the wall of the house erected on the spot.

† It seems probable that the present church is part of what was Government House, as it is known that the Governor's residence was at the spot, and St. Peter's Church has undergone little alteration in the last hundred years.

‡ The oldest Dutch maps show some fifteen bastions in all. Twelve of these, originally built by the Portuguese, were apparently in existence when the Fort was taken by the Dutch in 1656. The other three, Hoorn and Delft on the land side, and Briel on the sea side, were subsequently added. Point Victoria, which was called St. Joan by the Portuguese, and was evidently the origin of the names St. John's Road and Canal, was on the site of Kayman's Gate. From here, making a circuit landwards, the bastions stood in the following order:—Constantia (St. Stevan), Concordia (St. Philippo), Haarlem (os Clergos), Dort (no Portuguese name), Schiedam (Madre de Deos), Rotterdam (St. Jeronimo), Middelburg (St. Anthonio), Klippenburg (St. Jago), Enkhuyzen (St. Augustino), Briel (added by the Dutch), Amsterdam (St. Lorenzo), and Leiden (St. Orons). Hoorn and Delft, which faced the Lotus Pond and Racquet Court, were added when the Dutch threw up a line of fortifications from the Leiden to the Rotterdam bastions and shut out the Pettah from the Castle, or what was known later as the Fort.

the Dutch to fortify the city have made it "now the best fortified position in the whole of India."*

The Fort gates were preserved until quite recent times, and sentries were posted at them. They were closed at nine o'clock, and passes were required to take parcels through the gate. The old main gate—now the Fort police station—gives the best idea to-day of the ancient fortifications. These defences were so complete that the town was capable of making a prolonged resistance when it was surrendered practically without any serious attempt at defending it by the Dutch in 1796.

The history of Colombo since that date has been the history of the port. Its development, as has been shown, has been due to the foresight of those who saw its enormous importance as a port of call and as a trade centre. It is expanding rapidly, and there appears to be no reason why there should not be an equally large increase in the population at the next Census; the increase, as has been shown, does not depend on local birth-rates and death-rates, but on immigration attracted by the commercial prosperity of the town and port. The connection by rail with South India *viâ* Mannar is bound to bring still further business to Colombo during the next decade.

More than half the population of the city is composed of immigrants attracted by the high rates of pay to be obtained in almost every occupation and by the large sums of money daily circulated by a passenger population.

No more valuable lesson can be learned from the Census than these proofs of the great increase in the population of Colombo during the decade.

The history of Colombo can be considered apart from that of the rest of the Island—it is of Imperial importance. There is every reason to suppose that the commerce and population of the town will continue to increase at the same rate as during the past decade; it is therefore essential that every scheme connected with Colombo should be based on an appreciation of its true position.

It is not merely the principal town in Ceylon—it has five times the population of any other town in the Island, and it is immeasurably more important than any other place in Ceylon; it is known to millions of travellers to the East and to the Pacific; its value as a port of call and as a coaling base is patent, not only to the millions who pass through the port yearly but to any person who has even glanced at a map of the world.

Every scheme for the expansion of the town must be based on the knowledge of the increase taking place in its population and the elements of which that increase is composed. The movement of the local population into the town is a comparatively small item in its expansion—the permanent population of Colombo may be said to be the stranger within her gates. The requirements of Colombo are those of a city with a population increasing by a third at least in every decade, due to a constant influx, for which provision has to be made, besides a daily passenger population which makes enormous and increasing claims on the city's sources of supply.

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* Ribeiro's "History of Ceylon" (translation by Paul E. Pieris, C.C.S.), p. 415.

CHAPTER VI.

CHANGES IN MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

Influence of the West upon the East—Prosperity of the decade—Standards of comfort—Sumptuary laws—Houses—Buddhist temples—Furniture—Lighting—Pictures—Cooking utensils—Inventories—Food—Beef—Spirits—Tea and milk—Infants' food—Medicines—Dress of the men—of the women—Umbrellas—Haberdashery—Toilet articles—Jewellery—Hair-dressing—Dress of the children—Sewing machines—Gramophones—Amusements—Toys—Bicycles—Cigarettes—Christmas cards—Weddings—Life insurance—Savings banks—New wants created—Increased cost of living—Influence of education—Manners.

CHANGES in manners and customs are rarely the work of a decade. They are the results of influences which have been at work for years—at first scarcely realized, and only fully appreciated when the changes have actually taken place.

The manners and customs of a minority may have been early influenced by forces with which the majority may not have come into contact. It is only when the habit or custom is being generally adopted, when it has become a fashion followed by all who can afford it, that it can be said that a change is taking place.

Many attempts have been made to express the results of Western civilization on Eastern life and character—the "inscrutable East," has been generally found to be a convenient term to evade the necessity for exact definition. The difficulties are in fact immense, and no one can prophesy what future generations will ascribe to the influence exerted by the West on Eastern thought, religion, and literature.

In dealing with the materialistic side of Eastern life, it is at least possible to show how the East has been *outwardly* affected by Western civilization.

The standard of comfort of the inhabitants of Ceylon has undergone a very great change in recent years, and notably in the last decade. Few Eastern countries have shown themselves more ready to adopt Western ideas, as far as such ideas influence the outward observances of life. From the earliest times the Sinhalese, like their monarch Raja Sinha II.,* have shown a remarkable interest in foreigners and their customs and habits.

Both from inclination and temperament the Sinhalese are ready to imitate and adopt new customs and to appreciate and accept new ideas. The toleration shown by Raja Sinha II. to all religions in his kingdom would no doubt have been generally approved by his subjects.†

* *Vide* Knox's "Historical Relation," pp. 299–302: "It is not out of Profit nor Envy or ill will, but out of Love and Favour, that he keeps them (Europeans) delighting in their Company and to have them ready at his Command .... With these he often discourses concerning the affairs of their Countreys, and promotes them to places far above their Ability and sometimes their Degree or Desert, and indeed all over the Land they do bear as it were a natural respect and reverence to White Men....."

† *Ibid.*, pp. 132 *et seq.*

Opportunities for adopting a higher standard of comfort based on Western civilization have arisen during the period of great prosperity through which nearly every part of the Island has passed during the last decade. The increase of wealth has been very great throughout the Island, and this wealth has been widely dispersed, the result being that the spending capacity of the people of the country has enormously increased.

The notable advances in education during the past ten years have further stimulated this spending capacity and largely influenced its course. There has been a great demand for education, and this demand has been principally met in the town—the wealthy villager who wants his son educated usually sends him to one of the big schools in the nearest town. One result has been that the rising generation has been brought into touch with town life, and that the wants of a town population have been created amongst the rural population.

The basis of all changes of manners and customs is imitativeness—create a fashion and change a people. Provided that the new fashion can be adopted by so many that those who have not the means to follow it feel that they suffer in reputation by their failure, and the fashion has taken root; so are standards of comfort changed.

In considering the enormous quantities of goods which are poured by the West into the Eastern store, the bareness of that store and the extraordinarily few wants of the storekeeper are seldom realized. Comforts amongst an Eastern people have to be created. The villager never possessed any—his hut was of mud, his household goods, including his clothing and that of his family, could be put in a small box which he could carry on his back, his food supply was his paddy stack, he could abandon his house and fly to the jungle with all his possessions on a few minutes' notice. Such conditions in the East do not indicate a state of poverty, but a complete lack of comfort, the absence of which was not felt. If the desire for more things ever entered the head of the ordinary cultivator one hundred and twenty years ago, his attempts to secure them would have had little chance of success.

The chroniclers of the reigns of Eastern monarchs do not concern themselves with the standard of comfort amongst the subject population, for the very good reason that no Eastern historian of those days would have understood what was meant by such an expression, or if he had would have scoffed at the idea.

In the time of the Kandyan kings Knox tells us that "if these people were not discouraged from rearing and nourishing of cattle and poultry, provisions might be far more plentiful. For here are many Jackals which catch their Hens; and some Tigers that destroy their Cattle, but the greatest of all is the King, whose endeavour is to Keep them poor and in want. For from them that have Hens his officers take them for the King's use giving little or nothing for them; the like they do by Hogs; Goats, none are suffered to Keep besides the King; except strangers."* "Such is the Government they are under that they are afraid to be known to have anything, lest it be taken away from them."†

No one—unless he was an Adigar—was allowed to have a house two stories high, nor to build one with windows, nor even to roof the house with tiles, nor whitewash the mud walls, without special permission. "No person of what rank soever under the King's jurisdiction throughout the Island has the privilege of wearing shoes or any other sort of

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* Knox's "Historical Relation," p. 139. † *Ibid.*, p. 51, and *vide* p. 192, *infra*.

covering for the feet, to keep a horse or ride in a pallankeen with an arched bamboo, but the King himself ; and on the Candia side of the River Ganga, no one is allowed to ride even in a Dooley except in cases of extreme illness and when a removal is absolutely necessary."*

The creation of a standard of comfort is a modern innovation. Even in 1818, by a British Proclamation, the privilege of having a tiled house was confined to persons having a Commission for office signed by the Governor, though this concession meant, of course, a very considerable extension of the privilege.

There has been a very great increase in the number of tiled houses during the last ten years, especially in the towns. It is a by-law of most Local Boards that every new house built must be tiled. The whole way along the coast road to Galle large tiled buildings are being erected, and there is no more marked sign of prosperity than the erection of a large tiled house. Imports of bricks and tiles have increased by 66 per cent. since 1901. Out of a total value of imports of Rs. 374,000 in 1911, Rs. 208,500 worth—chiefly Mangalore tiles—came from British India.

Percival, writing in 1803, says : "There is no nation among whom the distinction of ranks is kept up with such scrupulous exactness as among the Cingalese : even in the dimensions and appearance of their house they seem restricted, and a house of a certain size commonly announces its proprietor to have been born in a certain rank."† This is far from being the case to-day.‡ The improvement in their houses is not confined to the Sinhalese. In the Jaffna District it is reported that, "especially in Valikamam West, there are several fashionable bungalows built. In other divisions the old mud wall houses have generally been replaced by two or three-roomed stone-built houses. Upstair buildings are seen in some villages, where ten years ago one or two-roomed houses with low roofs and cowdung-smeared floors were the pride of the owner. The most common round huts in Punaryn have been altered to two-room buildings, with mud walls of course, and a portico in front."

Considerable improvements, too, have taken place in the sanitary arrangements of the native house.

Even in the Buddhist temples, instead of granite slabs for the floor and country tiles, glazed flooring of European manufacture and Mangalore tiles are being used, whilst the pigments employed by the temple artist are all imported from Europe.

Considerable changes have taken place in the *furniture* of the houses inhabited by natives of all classes, especially in the towns. The furniture of an ordinary Sinhalese villager's hut has been for many years very much the same throughout the Island. A cot or rough wooden bed, a few mats, a small mirror hung on the wall, a bench, two chairs—the seats of which are made of pieces of wood roughly fastened together—a brass lamp, a few knives,§ cups and plates, a brass spittoon, a few chatties or earthenware pots, a wooden box known

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* Pybus' "Account of his Mission to the King of Kandy," 1762, pp. 24, 25.

† Percival's "Ceylon," p. 172.

‡ As a Sinhalese proverb puts it somewhat bluntly : බඩ ලොකුඋනා පලියට මුදලියන්නේ නොවේය ; ගේ ලොකුඋනාට වලව්ව නොවේය. *Although his belly may be big, he is not necessarily a Mudaliyar ; and although his house is large, it is not therefore a walauwa* (term used for a Mudaliyar's house).

§ Forks and spoons are seldom used in a villager's house. "*His hand is weary with eating*" (உண்ணக் கை சலித்து இருக்கிறான்). A knife is regarded as a necessary. "*He has neither a cloth nor a knife*" (அவனுக்குக் கப்படாவும் இல்லை வெட்டுக்கத்தியும் இல்லை) is said of one who is utterly destitute.

as a *pettagama*, in which the clothes and such few valuables as the owner may possess are locked up, one or two small brass or German silver spoons,* a betel stand, a paddy pounder, a grinding stone, and in some parts of the country a teapoy or round table.

An inventory taken of a typical villager's house in the Jaffna District is annexed :—

Description ..	An ola-roofed building with mud walls and one door ; a round hut for cooking, thatched round ; and a round hut used for smoking in and receiving visitors, &c.
Furniture, &c...	Chatties, pots and pans, ola mats
	1 small brass lamp (new)
	1 brass water pot (new)
	1 brass water carrier (new)
	1 stone grinder
	1 coconut scraper, 2 knives
	Sami, kurakkan, paddy, manioca, dried roots, small quantities
Live Stock ..	2 bulls, 4 cows, and 2 goats
Agricultural ..	Ploughs and yokes—2 pairs
	1 mamoty, 1 wood-axe, 1 ola mat
	1 paddy scythe
Dress ..	Plain cloths for men and women
Jewellery ..	One tháli, a four-string necklace, and silver finger rings

The houses of the villagers of the Western and Southern Provinces, of the Chilaw District, and of parts of the Kurunegala and Kandy Districts are better equipped, and there are usually a few articles which may still be regarded as luxuries.

In an inventory taken of the furniture in the house of "an ordinary villager" in the Colombo Mudaliyar's Division, nine Buddhistic pictures, two looking-glasses on a table, half a dozen wineglasses, a clock, a satinwood almirah, two easy chairs, and jakwood beds were included.

In a house of a villager in the Three Korales similar articles are found, with the addition of a sofa.

The Mudaliyar of the Kalutara totamune writes : "I visited an ordinary village house this morning (April 17, 1911) and took a rough inventory of the furniture, &c., in it. There were two camp beds, one roughly-woven cot, two chairs, three rough stools, two tables, a teapoy for placing the betelstand upon, two rough tumblers, an old-fashioned wineglass, a small looking-glass and a brass betelstand, two pictures of Buddha in a sitting position—sent out by the Mellin's Food Company as an advertisement of their foods—a portrait of the late John Kotalawala, and an illustrated almanac, 'Granthaprakasa Lita.' These pictures are to be found in many village houses in my division nowadays. Besides the articles mentioned, there was a sufficient supply of plates, large cups, two sets of cups and saucers, an earthen spittoon, and the cooking utensils which are found in ordinary houses. Four German silver spoons completed the inventory."

All the houses above described are those of typical village cultivators, who are occupying the same position as they did ten years ago, except that they are getting more money for their produce, especially if they happen to own a few coconut trees ; they may also be earning pay on rubber estates ; but at the same time they have to pay more for many of the necessaries of life. These villagers cannot yet afford to purchase

* See note § on p. 159.

articles of luxury, but such changes as have taken place denote the new fashions coming into use, and the luxuries of to-day are the necessaries of to-morrow.

In one respect there has been a very general change throughout the country during the decade—in the means of lighting. Kerosine oil is used everywhere. The old brass coconut oil lamp is now seldom found in any town or large village, or only in the boutique of the Chetty. The large " globe " lamps which were bought by the wealthier villagers a few years ago have quite gone out of fashion. As kerosine oil is in general use, kerosine oil lamps of various shapes and different lighting capacities are found everywhere. Small tin lamps are in great demand, and small glass kitchen lamps from Japan can be purchased for six cents. The change is a beneficial one, for the lighting of the villagers' houses has been greatly improved, and at no increase in cost to the villager in most parts of the Island. The price of coconuts rose so high during the decade that coconut oil has become an expensive commodity, while kekuna oil, which was largely used by the poorer villagers, is now rarely obtainable, owing principally to the use of kekuna trees in the manufacture of tea chests. Margosa and illuppai oil, which were used in Jaffna, have increased in price by 50 per cent. A bottle of kerosine oil purchased from the oil carts which go round all the villages costs from 12 to 14 cents, and can be made to last for nearly a month by the villager, who has his meals by daylight, and goes to bed very soon after the sun. The imports of kerosine oil have increased by two million gallons during the decade, in spite of an increase in duty from 25 to 30 cents in the middle of the period.

Ten years ago the total number of lamps imported was 75,000; in 1910 the number was 219,000, or three times as many; the imports during 1910–1911 were 25 per cent. more than between 1909–1910.

The increase in the number of pictures in native houses is also noteworthy. These pictures are usually religious: in the houses of the Roman Catholics pictures of the saints, of the Virgin and Child; among the Buddhists, the birth and renunciation of Prince Siddhartha are favourite subjects. Pictures of the King and Queen and European sovereigns are also popular. These pictures can be purchased even in boutiques in interior villages. The value of imports of pictures has increased by 70 per cent. in the last ten years. Cuttings from English illustrated papers are frequently to be seen nailed up on the walls of native huts, and almanacs and calendars are in great demand.

A more practical improvement in the villager's household equipment is the change which is gradually taking place in his cooking utensils. "*When the chembu (brass vessel) comes in the potter goes out*,"* is a Tamil saying. There is a marked demand for better pots and pans for cooking purposes, and the villager has found it to be more economical in the end to use more durable articles. Earthenware pots and chatties are being displaced by plates and saucepans. Cheap china cups, saucers and plates, and glassware are beginning to take the place of leaf plates, coconut shells, brass cups, brass plates, and brass and bronze *lotas* (bowls). The chatty was regarded as so essential for cooking purposes that the Tamils have a saying, " *Everything wanted is in the box, but there is no chatty in which to make a curry*,"† implying

* செம்பு நடமாடக் குயவன் குடிபோகிறான்.

† எல்லாமிருக்கிறது பெட்டியிலே, இலைக்கறி கடையச் சட்டியில்லை.

that there was a great display of preparation for the meal, when in fact the host had nothing in the house, or only an excuse that he had lost the key of the box! *

Amongst the poorer villagers changes must be very gradual, but amongst those who have made money during this period the signs of wealth are conspicuous in their houses.

The following inventories of the houses of—

(*a*) A man of small means in the Jaffna District ;
(*b*) A headman in the Matara District ;
(*c*) A headman in the Colombo Mudaliyar's division ; and
(*d*) A Moor villager in the Kalpitiya division of Puttalam—

illustrate the standard of comfort to-day in the villages, and the differences in various parts of the Island.

(*a*) House of a Man of small means in the Jaffna District.

Description ..	Building of two rooms ; mud-walled ; separate kitchen, thatched walls ; separate portico (தலைவாசல்), thatched ; a round hut used for smoking in, receiving visitors, &c. ; and a cattle hut ; all ola-roofed and cadjan-roofed.
Furniture ..	1 table (new) 1 easy chair (new) 2 plain chairs (new) 1 stool 1 wooden cot 1 wooden box, small size
Stores ..	Wooden platform on which are stored kurakkan, sami, paddy, manioca, dried roots, palmyra roots (dried), in bags, baskets, &c. 1 brass water pot 2 brass chatties, 2 brass water carriers 2 brass lamps (new) 1 copper cauldron (new) 1 stone grinder 1 coconut scraper 1 mortar and pestle Knives, ola baskets of various kinds
Agricultural tools, &c. ..	2 ploughs and yokes 2 mamoties 1 alavangu (crowbar) 1 wood-axe 4 ola mats for threshing grain, large size
Live stock ..	2 bulls, 8 cows, and 40 sheep (two cattle pens)
Dress ..	1 silk cloth (wedding present), ordinary cloths, vetty and shawl, &c.
Jewellery ..	Gold ear studs, ear studs inlaid with rubies, ear ornaments, bracelets, necklace (gold), ankle ornaments

(*b*) House of a well-to-do Village Headman in the Matara District.

Outer verandah ..	6 chairs 1 couch 1 bench 1 table 2 coir rugs 1 hanging lamp

* The Tamils have another saying with the same significance, "*Milk and fruit were offered*" (பால்பழஞ் சாப்பிடச்சொல்லிக் கஞ்சியும் மிளகாய்ப் பழமுங் கொடுத்தல்), implying that the milk was conjee without rice and the fruit a chilli.

Visiting room ..	2 easy chairs 2 round tables 6 ebony chairs 1 ebony couch 1 jakwood couch 12 chairs 4 flower vases 2 teapoys 2 hanging lamps 2 table lamps 4 pictures (photographs of members of the family) 4 pictures (Buddhistic) 10 pictures (royal families of Europe) 4 pictures (Indian religious pictures) China matting laid on the floor 2 ebony brackets for pictures 1 large mirror 1 clock
Dining hall ..	Coir matting laid on the floor 1 large table 24 chairs 1 whatnot 1 sideboard 3 lamps 2 flower vases (glass and electroplate) Dinner set, with forks and knives for 24 people 1 clock
Five bedrooms ..	7 beds 5 curtains 3 washhand stands 3 chamber and toilet sets 3 toilet tables 1 iron safe 3 clothes horses 2 carpets 7 spittoons (brass) 5 bedroom lamps 5 teapoys 3 almirahs
Bathroom ..	1 large tub (wooden) 1 mirror 1 bracket for hanging clothes 1 washhand stand 1 candlestick stand
Room set apart for religious purposes	1 platform on which flowers are offered 1 glass almirah 1 karanduwa (casket) 1 image of Buddha 12 doors and 10 windows are furnished with curtain hangings
Office room ..	1 pigeon-hole desk 1 almirah 4 chairs Coir matting laid on the floor
Storeroom ..	2 meat safes 1 table
Kitchen ..	Usual stock

(*c*) House of a Headman in the Colombo Mudaliyar's Division.

Outer verandah ..	2 wall bracket lamps (kerosine oil) 1 hurricane lamp shaped like gas lamp (kerosine oil) 2 loungers 15 chairs of different patterns
Hall	1 chandelier with four lights (kerosine oil) 2 globe lamps (coconut oil) 2 clocks 6 glass and plate flower vases 2 large looking-glasses on table 1 mirror on wall 1 whatnot 24 chairs of different patterns 1 old nedunwood almirah inlaid with ebony 1 flowered satinwood almirah inlaid with ebony 1 jakwood almirah (ordinary) 3 beds (single), in rooms 2 loungers 1 picture of Prince Siddhartha crossing the river Nerañjará 1 picture, "The birth of Buddha" 1 picture, "The death of Buddha" 1 china cup
Upstairs ..	1 tree made of paper, with flowers, on stand 1 picture, "Sewalin Istawirayan" (Buddhistic) 1 picture, "Marriage of Prince Siddhartha" (Buddhistic) 1 picture, "Mantri Devi" (Buddhistic) 1 picture, "Birth of Siddhartha" (Buddhistic) 1 picture, "Memories" (English) 1 picture, "A Stag in the Jungle" (English) 2 pictures, King and Queen (royal family) 2 hanging lamps (kerosine oil) 1 large ball made of glass 1 globe lamp (coconut oil) 2 wall lamps, with two lights each (kerosine oil) 1 lounger 1 calamander almirah 2 beds, one iron, one jakwood 5 chairs of different patterns 2 cruetstands (electroplate) 2 dozen wineglasses 4 dozen plates of different kinds 2 dozen cups and saucers 1 dozen spoons, large and small

(*d*) House of a Moor Villager in the Kalpitiya Division of Puttalam.

2 satinwood loungers
1 satinwood low armchair
1 nedunwood armchair
1 satinwood armchair
1 nedunwood lady's chair
1 jakwood lady's chair
2 jakwood teapoys
1 child's satinwood lounger
1 uyilwood sofa
1 round table
1 satinwood almirah
2 jakwood almirahs

1 large satinwood bed
1 jakwood bed
1 large jakwood box with drawers
1 satinwood taila box (small)
2 satinwood tables (old)
2 kerosine oil hanging lamps
3 kerosine oil ordinary hanging lamps
1 hurricane lantern
1 large mirror
1 framed picture—the figure of a horse said to have been used by the Muhammadan prophet " Nabinayagam "
1 curtain pole
2 cloth screens
1 copper cauldron
2 brass standing lamps
4 brass spittoons
2 brass betel plates
1 cut glass plate
1 glass decanter
12 glass plates
1 glass cup
1 brass cup
2 dozen china dishes
2 single-barrelled breech-loading guns
6 china cups
3 pairs china cups and saucers
2 kettles
2 teapots
2 cutting knives
2 axes
1 mamoty
1 grinding stone and roller
1 rice pounder
3 pestles
1 coconut scraper
20 grass mats
2 cotton mattresses
12 pillows
2 galvanized iron buckets
1 galvanized iron bathing tub
2 brass pots
2 brass chembus
1 small brass plate
1 brass chunam box
1 arecanut cutter
1 wall bracket
1 meat chopper
4 pairs deer horns*
Pots and chatties (earthenware)

These inventories have been selected from a large number taken in all parts of the Island, as typical of the prosperity of the well-to-do villager. These are not exceptional cases, and many of the lists sent in show a larger variety of belongings.

It is noticeable that the Tamil villager is considerably behind the Sinhalese and Moorman in the standard of comfort shown in the furniture of his house.

* There is a great demand for elk and deer horns and antlers for decorative purposes, and these are commonly found in the houses of well-to-do Sinhalese, especially in the North-Western Province.

The greatest display of wealth is in the house of the headman in the Matara District—a Vidane Arachchi—but that this is not an exceptional case is evident from the report of the Mudaliyar of the Kalutara totamune, who describes the houses of three of his Vidane Arachchies : " In these three houses there are up-to-date furniture, from double and single bedsteads to a drawing-room cheffonier, glassware, and crockery, and also a sufficient supply of cutlery for the use of any visitors. These headmen are Buddhists, and have a number of well-framed Buddhist pictures, such as 'The Great Renunciation,' &c. The first has a number of Japanese pictures painted on glass, and some pieces of old china fixed to the walls. Each has toilet tables in the bed-rooms, with combs and hair-powder boxes, &c., on them. The third has a room upstairs for visitors ...... The first has no equipage ; the second has a pony, two-wheeled dog cart and pony, Victoria phæton with two Beruwala ponies for his use ; while the third keeps two buggy carts and bulls. Roman Catholics of this class keep well-framed pictures of the Crucifixion, of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, and of their patron saints, or of the Holy Family, in their outer verandahs. In their oratory they keep a crucifix and some statues, generally in a small wooden case, in which they keep their rosaries, and some holy water in some receptacle fixed to the wall near the statue case."

Even in the most isolated and backward parts of the Island there is the same noticeable improvement in the houses of the headmen and well-to-do villager.

A Chief Headman in the Batticaloa District thus describes " an average well-to-do headman's house " : " There is generally a front bungalow, where he has a table with or without pigeon-holes, a chair, a kerosine oil table lamp. From here he transacts official business surrounded by villagers, who sit on mats. He has an unenviable (*sic*) position of using a lounging chair also. From his frequent contact with the townspeople one or two almirahs and a few trunks also can be seen in his house. His manners and costumes, and those of his wife and children, present a striking contrast with the other villagers and village women."

" Their Furniture is but small. A few earthen pots which hang up in strings made of Canes in the middle of their houses, having no shelves ; one or two brass Basons to eat in, a stool or two without backs. For none but the King may sit upon a stool with a back ...... Tables they have none, but sit and eat on the ground," wrote Knox.* To-day the demand for bentwood furniture is very large, and there are few native houses in the Low-country where a chair with a back may not be found. " *In adversity,*" say the Tamils, " *a fan is a luxury—in a time of prosperity furniture made of acha* (*ebony*) *and teak becomes a necessity.*"†

A noticeable change in the decade is the use to which " luxuries " are now put. A few years ago it was quite common to see the bed and the almirah in the hall or open sitting-room, a looking-glass placed on a round table in the verandah as its principal ornament, a toilet set put out on a sideboard. The uses of these articles are now fully appreciated : they cease to become luxuries, and as the necessaries of one grade in society they become the aspirations of those who cannot afford to purchase them.

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* Knox's " Historical Relation of Ceylon," p. 138.
† வேனிற் காலத்திற்கு விசிறி ஆனா காலத்திற்கு ஆச்சாவும் தேக்கும்.

Almirahs and safes are taking the place of the *pettagama*, or wooden box; steel trunks are replacing the *kattuppetti* (கட்டுப்பெட்டி), baskets made from the palmyra.

It was considered ten years ago "a distinguishing mark of respectability" to be able to offer a friend a glass of liquor on a shining embossed tin tray which costs from 20 to 50 cents. To-day the same class of persons would produce German silver trays, which also serve as wall ornaments.

The Tamils have a saying, "*Money spent on silver ornaments and on firewood is money lost in the spending.*"*

While these changes are taking place in the furniture of the house, it is only to be expected that European fashions would be copied in other ways in which money can be spent.

There is no more remarkable change than that which is gradually taking place in the *food* of the people. While rice remains the staple food of the people of the country, there is an increasing demand for a meat diet. The change in the prejudices and tastes of the Sinhalese in this respect is complete, and the change has occurred in quite recent times. As Knox tells us: "The worst word they use to Whites and Christians is to call them Beef-eating slaves." "Beef here may not be eaten, it is abominable." † Sinhalese literature, folk-lore, proverbs, all express the national abhorrence of the foreigner who eats beef. "And why do the gallant men of Lanka who are of us from of old cleave to this beef-eating host? ...... The worthless Kaffirs, like mountain cats fattened on beef, and steeped in drink ...... These country born Tupassis,‡ who feed on beef and ape the Senhors in their trousers." § "*Although you eat beef, is there any necessity for you to hang it round your neck?*" || say the Sinhalese; and the Tamils have a similar saying: "*Must one wear a necklace of bones because one eats flesh?*" ¶ The Tamils—as is natural amongst a Hindu people—express themselves in still stronger disapproval. "*Is a beef-eater accustomed to decent words?*" ** There were 952 butchers and meat sellers enumerated at the Census of 1911, compared with 738 in 1901. The trade of butcher seems no longer to be held in the same abhorrence as it was quite recently amongst a population which is mainly Buddhist.

The large increase in cattle stealing throughout the Island and the increased difficulty in securing convictions at the beginning of this decade were attributed to cattle being stolen and slaughtered for food. Only a few years ago many Sinhalese would not have partaken of food at a table at which beef was eaten. To-day there are few wedding feasts amongst even the poorer classes in the towns and the well-to-do villagers where meat is not provided. With a meat diet there has also been a marked increase in the consumption of spirits, not only amongst the Sinhalese, but also amongst the Tamils. Imports of gin have increased in value by 130 per cent. and in quantity by 160 per cent. in the decade, while imports of brandy and whisky have increased in value by 55 and 20 per cent. The imports of gin in 1910–1911 were valued at Rs. 871,000, an increase of 29 per cent. on the imports of

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* வெள்ளிக்குப் போட்டதும் கொள்ளிக்குப் போட்டதும் சரி.

† Knox's "Historical Relation," pp. 171 and 138; *vide* also p. 124.

‡ *Vide* note on p. 179.

§ "The Parangi Hatane," verses 388, 396, 405, printed in "Ribeiro's History of Ceylon" (translation by Paul E. Pieris, C.C.S.), pp. 265–267.

|| ගෙරිමස් කනත් කරේ එල්ලාගෙන කන්ට ඕනෑද?

¶ இறைச்சி தின்றாலும் எலும்பைக் கோத்துப் போட்டுக்கொள்ளலாமா?

** மாடு தின்னிக்கு வாக்குச் சுத்தம் உண்டா?

is becoming more and more assimilated to the fashions of the West. Particularly is this the case in out-of-door wear, when the convenience of the European costume is generally recognized.

The combination of trousers and a cloth, which was fashionable a few years ago, is now rarely seen. Amongst those who can afford to dress in European fashion the full European men's dress is worn; a great change from the days when a native gentleman was refused admission to the kachcheri on account of his wearing shoes and stockings, and on the matter being referred to the Governor, the following decision of Government was conveyed to the Collector: " His Excellency would not sanction the adoption of the most comfortable portions of the European and native costumes, the interpreter must therefore choose one or the other."*

Amongst the Tamils the *veddi*—cotton cloth (a cloth about eight cubits long and three cubits broad)—and shawl are being gradually replaced by coat, shirt, and banian, especially amongst the younger men. " The villager who felt quite nice and comfortable with his veddi and shawl dons the serge or the tweed coat and puts on the traders' ready-made turban, with which he sweats fearfully and cuts a sorry figure." The thin drill coat and hand-made turban are now being found more suitable, and a shawl is often worn folded across the coat. Ordinary native-spun and Indian calico cloth have been replaced by imported soft bleached cloth of finer texture. " The lower classes who were content with a cloth and tundu (scarf thrown over the shoulder) now wear soft white and dyed cloth with fashionable shawls."

The Sinhalese saying, " *You can know the sinno by his hat*,"† has no point to-day, when sola topies, bowlers, and straw hats are common wear, and at village weddings the bridegroom frequently appears in a high hat. The value of imports of hats and bonnets increased by 141 per cent. during the decade ; the value imported in 1911 was over Rs. 300,000 worth.

In the time of the Sinhalese kings there were strict regulations as to the dress to be worn by natives of different castes. No low caste man could wear a coloured cloth or a cloth embroidered with a coloured thread within the precincts of Kandy town; and the use of coats, jackets, jewellery, umbrellas, and slippers were confined to certain classes. Lord Valentia records in his " Travels " that " a poor tailor whose love of finery led him to be married in a scarlet jacket was nearly killed at the church door." Caste restrictions on dress have now been practically removed, though there have been affrays in recent years in the Jaffna District on account of jewellery of a kind considered above their station being worn by low caste people at weddings.

There has been a very marked change in the attitude of Sinhalese women towards European dress, and it is no longer considered unfashionable for a Sinhalese lady to wear her own national dress. Changes have, however, taken place in the form of dress worn by the Low-country Sinhalese and the Kandyan women. The dress of the Low-country Sinhalese women in some parts formerly consisted either of a jacket made of white cloth with a round neck, with or without lace, and long sleeves, or a *kabakuruttuwa* (a bodice with an opening in front only), fastened by pins and buttons, usually made of some coloured stuff. A *choliya* made of thick white cloth, like drill,

* Bennett's "Coylon and its Capabilities" (1843), p. 100.
† සිඤ්ඤාගෙ හැටි තොප්පියෙන් පෙනෙයි.

served as stays. Silk flowered cloths and comboys were worn on special occasions. The only footwear was called *chinela* (a shoe with front uppers and low heel). The head dress was a tortoise-shell comb—silver or gold comb in the shape of a half moon—sometimes studded with gems, and four hairpins made to match the comb. Jewellery might consist of a gold or silver chain or string of beads, *ètavela*, worn round the neck.

The bodice is being superseded to some extent in the Low-country by what is known as the Aryan dress—a compromise between the Kandyan *ohoriya*, or draped cloth, and the Tamil shoulder *sela*. In some parts of the Western Province the use of the *ohoriya* is reported to have been " adopted by the upper middle classes of the villages, and at festivals the others affect it." A Kandyan Ratemahatmaya points out that many of those who are using " the cloth toga-wise, not knowing how to do it, are suspending the cloth at the shoulder by pinning it to the jacket, and the beauty of the ohoriya is thus spoilt." In some parts of the Ratnapura, Kegalla, and Badulla Districts it is reported that the Kandyan women are adopting the dress of the Low-country Sinhalese, " wearing jackets with laces and frills, chintz cloth, comboys, &c., and carrying shawls."

Amongst the Tamils it is reported from Jaffna and Batticaloa that the primitive fashion of wearing the chela cloth is being abandoned, and that the fashion now adopted, called *pavadai-thavani*, is a separate skirt and chela cloth. " Women who were content with a portion of their cloth over their breast and shoulders now put on coloured silk and velvet jackets."

The tendency is to copy what is regarded as nearest to civilization. Where education spreads there is an increase in self-consciousness, and while the inappropriateness of European dress is generally recognized, there is a desire to adopt a costume more in keeping with modern ideas of clothing, hence the addition of supplementary articles of English clothing, the draping of the bodice, and the adoption of the so-called Aryan dress.

The value of imports of made-up apparel have increased in the decade by 175 per cent., of boots and shoes by 105 per cent., and of perfumery by 75 per cent.

Indian and Japanese silks are in most demand, but the use of silk materials of any kind is reported to be decreasing. A mixed material of silk and wool is more in demand, as also expensive cottons. There is a large sale for embroidered muslin at Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 a yard. The increase in the sale of lace and trimmings, especially in improved qualities costing from Re. 1·25 to Rs. 2·50 per yard, has been very great. The value of imports of cotton lace and net increased from Rs. 71,000 in 1901 to Rs. 266,500 in 1911, or by 275 per cent.

The value of imports of silk lace increased from Rs. 11,500 in 1901 to Rs. 17,500 in 1911.

Boots and shoes are now commonly worn in the towns by Sinhalese women, and there is a large market for the cheap ready-made black and tan leather boots and shoes and " patent leathers " for weddings, &c. The value of imports of boots and shoes in 1901 was Rs. 166,800, in 1911 Rs. 365,700, an increase of 119 per cent. The average prices of the class of articles most in demand is from Rs. 4·50 to Rs. 5. This is an article which is being bought now for use and not merely for ornament, the result being that the demand for cheap patent leather boots has fallen off, people who use boots and shoes finding it advisable to buy them of a more lasting quality.

An umbrella is no longer regarded as a necessary mark of respectability. "*An umbrella in the hand and slippers on the feet are essential*";* "*If a low caste man obtains wealth he will carry a sunshade at midnight*,"† are old Tamil sayings. In the last decade Chinese paper umbrellas were commonly used; these have quite gone out, and have been replaced by cotton, merino, and silk umbrellas. In an interior village the sign of the village "dandy" is the *pata-kude*, or silk umbrella. The value of the imports of umbrellas has increased by 127 per cent. in the last decade, but the number imported has not increased during the last few years. 24,530 dozens of umbrellas were imported in 1902, as compared with 22,057 dozens in 1910. In the towns umbrellas are less in demand, owing to the increased use of trains, trams, and rickshaws.

Cheap watches and clocks are now fairly common, and the value of the imports of watches during the decade has increased by 80 per cent. Over Rs. 200,000 worth of watches were imported in 1901.

Highly perfumed soaps are in great demand, and even in the interior villages "Cherry Blossom" and "Famora" soap and powder are to be found in the boutiques, and command a large sale. The value of the yearly importation of toilet soaps and perfumery amounted in 1911 to Rs. 523,000. These scented soaps are usually sold at 35 cents a cake, and the toilet powders at 40 cents a tin. Another popular perfumed powder is "White Rose," of which there is stated to be an average sale of about 5,000 tins a month at 35 cents a tin. The Tamils have a saying which, translated literally, means "*A quarter fanam for sweet-scented powder over and above the expenses already incurred.*"‡ The point of the saying is that if a person has already incurred great expenses, he may as well indulge in every luxury. To-day even amongst the Tamils the purchase of sweet-scented powder is far from being regarded as an indulgence in an expensive luxury.

While there is a greatly increased demand for cheap haberdashery and articles of toilet amongst the Sinhalese and Tamil women, there has been a noticeable change in the amount of jewellery worn, especially amongst the Tamils; while the quantity of jewellery worn is less, the quality has probably improved.

The purchase of jewellery is always regarded in the East as a means of banking one's capital in a convenient form for disposal if necessary. Besides its use for ornament, it serves to indicate the wealth its possessor has at command. "*A jewel worn as an ornament may aid in adversity.*"§ The lowest state of poverty for a woman is described as "*Not having a bone to pick nor an ear ornament to polish.*"||

"*Are toe-rings required when a woman is removed for cremation?*"¶ Every married woman must wear them during her lifetime.

It is now becoming the fashion in Jaffna for a Tamil lady to wear, besides the *thali*, or wedding necklace, only a pair of bangles, a pair of ear ornaments, a single head ornament, and another necklace.

Another change which is taking place is in the wearing of the hair. At one time there were signs that combs were going out of fashion, and this distinctive mark of the Low-country Sinhalese—the crescent-

* கையிற் குடையும் காலிற் சோடும் வேண்டும்.
† அற்பனுக்கு ஐஸ்வரியம் வந்தால் அர்த்தராத்திரியில் குடை பிடிப்பான்.
‡ செலவோடு செலவு கந்தப்பொடிக்குக் காற்பணம்.
§ அழகுக்கு இட்டால் ஆபத்துக்கு உதவும்.
|| கடிக்க ஒரு எலும்பும் இல்லை, காதில் மினுக்க ஓலையும் இல்லை.
¶ கட்டைக்குப் போகும்போது காலாழி பீலியா ?

machine, and the increased demand for hand-sewn frocks, &c., in the villages soon makes the investment a profitable one.

A few years ago the possession of a gun and a cart or hackery was regarded as the sign of the well-to-do villager. "To-day," says a Chief Headman, "sewing machines and gramophones are the hallmark of respectability and wealth in the villages." The gramophone is to be heard everywhere, and has completely taken the place of the *rabana* (tambourine). The cheapest gramophones imported cost Rs. 10, but those most in demand cost from Rs. 40 to Rs. 60 each. There has been a great improvement in the quality of the gramophones sold, and a better instrument can be procured to-day for Rs. 40 than could be purchased for Rs. 150 ten years ago. The Talking Machine Company alone sells 400 different sets of records in Sinhalese and Tamil.

There is no doubt that the gramophone is playing a very important part in the education of the people. The Buddhists early appreciated its value as a disseminator of instruction and information—records of the addresses or readings by well-known Buddhist priests are in great demand, especially in the interior villages. It is a common sight to see a crowd gathered round a gramophone in a village, and listening attentively to records in the vernacular of a religious, historical, satirical, or amusing description. Extracts from the plays of Mr. John de Silva are in great demand. These are mostly historical works: the History of the Renunciation of his Kingdom and his Life by King Siri Sanga Bo, the Reign of Sri Wikrama Raja Sinha, the last king of Kandy, the tragedy of Ehelapola, and translations of the great Indian dramas—the Ramáyana and Sakuntalá—are popular favourites.

There is a satirical play or comedy by this author which is frequently played, as well as forming several gramophone records—the "Sinhala Parabhawa Natakaya," which means literally, "The Drama of the Decline of the Sinhalese Race." The object of this play is to satirize the adoption by the Sinhalese of European customs, especially the adoption of European dress, food, and drink. The moral of the play is expressed by one of the characters who represents "The old type of Sinhalese." "As the swan (hansaya) when it is given milk mixed with water drinks only the milk and leaves the water, so should the Sinhalese adopt only the best parts of Western civilization." Translations of selections from "Hamlet," "Othello," and "Romeo and Juliet"* are also in demand. Popular songs—usually comic—are in great request, as are dances, notably the "Kafirinhe," the favourite dance of the Portuguese mechanic.

The cinematograph exhibitions, which draw very large crowds in Colombo, have also done much to widen the outlook of the native of the country, and to popularize ideas of Western life and civilization.†

There is considerably more intercourse to-day between people of different Provinces, Districts, and villages. Railway travelling is very popular, and the big Roman Catholic pilgrimages‡ attract large gatherings. There has also been a marked increase in village fairs and Sunday markets, when villagers from different parts of the District meet and barter their goods. Village agricultural shows have also been held with great success.

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* Records from the well-known drama, "The Training of the Shrew" (*sic*), are advertised by one of the leading firms in Colombo.

† Such is apparently recognized by the Ceylon Customs, as cinematograph films are passed free of duty as "educational matter."

‡ *Vide* Chapter IV., pp. 76 and 100.

There have been considerable changes in the amusements of the people during the last ten years. Cricket and football* and other English sports are increasingly popular, and many of the old native games seem to have died out altogether, or are only revived for an agricultural exhibition.

Bicycles are now used everywhere, and, according to one of the Kandyan Ratemahatmayas, " manual labourers with bare bodies can be seen riding bicycles on village roads." The bicycle most in demand costs about Rs. 125, but cheap " no name " bicycles are sold at prices ranging from Rs. 60 to Rs. 90. Parts of bicycles are also largely bought by native artisans, who make them up into cheap bicycles.†

Cigarette smoking has very largely increased, and tins of American cigarettes can be purchased at any village boutique. The cigarette most in demand costs from 10 cents a packet of ten. In 1909 an Ordinance, which was introduced by the Hon. Mr. T. B. L. Moonemalle, the Kandyan Member, was passed to prevent juvenile smoking.‡ The value of imports of cigars and cigarettes have increased by 327 per cent. in the decade, and in quantity by 416 per cent. Over 250,000 pounds of cigars and cigarettes were imported in 1910-1911. Figures for cigarettes only were kept separately at the Customs from July, 1911, and up to the end of the year the value of *cigarettes* imported was Rs. 262,500 worth. The total value of *cigars and cigarettes* imported in 1901 was Rs. 155,600.

The value of imports of toys in the last ten years has increased by 75 per cent. " Even the village urchin has his coloured rubber ball and humming top, and the poorest family can without any severe deprivation expend a trifle in procuring a toy." The first so-called toy shop or shop at which toys were sold in any quantity was opened in Colombo in 1870 by an Arab merchant. In 1911 Rs. 92,000 worth of toys were imported into Colombo.

There has been a very large increase in the use of Christmas cards of recent years, and the Buddhists have now adopted the custom of sending cards during the Wesak celebrations.

The beautiful native decorations—the graceful arches of coconut leaves, the *relipanawa*, or folded coloured cloths—are rapidly giving way to paper decorations and Japanese paper lamps.

Changes in manners and customs and the increased spending capacity of the native are most conspicuous at their festivals and on such occasions as a wedding. The changes which have taken place at the celebration of a native wedding amongst all classes are noteworthy. Amongst well-to-do villagers in the Low-country and in other prosperous parts of the Island cards of invitations are sent out, friends are invited, as well as close relations whose presence alone formerly would have been desired; the guests are welcomed with hand shaking, they sit down together, men and women, round a table, and are served with wedding cake, biscuits, and in many places liquors, instead of milk rice and country sweets and cakes. The force of the comparison in the Sinhalese saying, " *Like returning from the wedding house without*

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* " Football and cricket matches are so frequently indulged by native students and others that dislocations and fractures are sometimes the order of the day," writes a Batticaloa headman.

† The increased use of bicycles and the amount of travelling now done by the natives of the country is shown by 6.786 more bicycles being conveyed by train between July, 1910, and June, 1911, than in the year 1909.

‡ Ordinance No. 21 of 1909. " An Ordinance for the Prevention of Smoking by Juveniles."

eating rice cake,"* is being rapidly lost: the substitution of plum cake for rice cake would be more to the point. Cigars and cigarettes are offered instead of betel. In a list of expenses incurred at a wedding at the house of a Low-country Sinhalese boutique-keeper in a small way in a village near Colombo the following items appeared :—

Rs. 30 for "music," gramophones, fiddles, tom-tom.
Rs. 100 for "horse carriages."
Rs. 72 for "cakes from bakery."
Rs. 11 for pork.
Rs. 10·75 for beef.
Rs. 12·50 for mutton.
Rs. 27 for aerated waters, cream soda, and kola champagne.
Rs. 7 for kerosine oil.

These items are taken from the list of expenses at a house where "foreign" liquors were not offered, and where old traditions and customs are still preserved, the expenditure incurred on the items given above being regarded as necessary, in view of the position of the giver of the feast and the recognized standard of living. A heavy expenditure is also incurred at native weddings in the hire of dresses. The village bride is decked out with long train, tulle veil, orange blossoms, gloves, and boots. A complete wedding outfit can be hired for from Rs. 30 to Rs. 50, and many persons find a profitable occupation in providing dresses for such occasions.

While the spending capacity of the native of the country has found outlets in increased expenditure on houses, furniture, food, and dress, there has been an increase in his saving capacity. He has not been slow to recognize the value of Western institutions in these respects. There has been a very large business done in life insurance during the last few years, and agents of several life insurance companies have found a considerable field for their labours in Ceylon. There has also been a large increase in village savings banks, or *sittu-pettiya*, in some parts of the country. Deposits in the Government and Post Office Savings Banks have increased by 9 and 11 lakhs respectively during the decade. Deposits in these two Savings Banks now amount to Rs. 6,700,000, and the sum now in the Post Office Savings Bank to the credit of depositors is double what it was in 1901. The number of native depositors in the banks in Colombo has also very largely increased.

Reference has already been made to the increased price of land in many districts, and considerable sums have been invested by the natives of the country in house and landed property.

In dealing with the subject of changes in manners and customs, it must be recognized that what may be true of one part of the country and of one class of villagers may not apply to other districts or to the same classes in other parts of the Island. But it may be fairly assumed that the present demands of the most prosperous of the community are at least likely to serve as indications of the future demands of the whole race. It is the spending of the people which is in many ways the best indication of their material prosperity and their moral progress.

The preservation of all that is best and most beautiful in ancient civilization is a high ideal and one of education's greatest responsibilities. But it must at the same time be recognized that there must be a *natural* demand for the wants which civilization supplies and education creates.

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* මගුල්ගෙදරත් ගොසින් කැවුම් නොකා ආවා වගෙයි.

It is too late to deplore changes in manners and customs which are the fruits of a modern spirit and modern education: the clock cannot be put back. Education cannot disclaim responsibility for its offspring; it may regret the past, but it must adapt itself to the present. It is unfortunately useless to expect arts and crafts for which there is no market to survive amongst those whose life problem is one of supply and demand; at the same time every effort should be made to preserve those ancient industries which can meet a demand, aroused by education and by a higher standard of taste. It must, however, be realized that it may be necessary to support the workers—if their work is worth preserving—until such time as they can live by their craft.

It is quite possible to improve taste and to preserve what is best and most beautiful, while at the same time recognizing the altered conditions of life. It is far better that new wants and new luxuries should be created, if the desire for them is so great as to compel those who want them to work for them.

The prosperity of the past decade has undoubtedly added largely to the list of what are now regarded as necessaries; the spending capacity of the people has been considerably increased, but at the same time the cost of living is very much greater. The result must be that there will either be more workers, wages will no doubt increase, but so will the number of persons who must work to live, or the poorer classes will abandon the attempt to obtain a higher standard of comfort and to emulate their richer neighbours. In the latter event the poorer villagers will fall back into their former condition, in which they will be worse off than before, for the cost of living is likely to continue to increase, and the difference in their lot and that of their well-to-do neighbours will every year be more marked.

The account of the changes in manners and customs given in this chapter show them to be so considerable and so widely spread that it seems unlikely that there will be any falling off in the demand for an improved standard of comfort.

It lies now with education to create a standard which shall preserve all that is best in the ancient civilization, with the comforts and securities of modern life.

Industrial and commercial progress do not necessarily involve revolutionary changes in the home life of the East. Changes in manners and customs due to increased prosperity must, however, be accompanied by changes in social position. Distinctions of rank and caste are considerably weakened, but the old adage, "Manners makyth man," is a truth which no people who wishes to preserve its self-respect can forget.

It was the boast of the East that it needed no lessons from the West in manners. "Take a Ploughman from the Plough and wash off his dirt and he is fit to rule a Kingdom. Spoken of the People of Conde Uda ...... and because of the Civility, Understanding, and Gravity of the poorest Men among them."*

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* Knox's "Historical Relation," p. 171.

CHAPTER VII.

NOMENCLATURE.

Caste—Conservative spirit of the East—Importance of names amongst the Sinhalese—Gé names—Change of names—Petitions—Name-giving ceremonies—Naming of Prince Gamini Abhaya—Tamil names—Moorish names—Names in common usage—Adoption of surnames—Place names—Ancestral names—Patabendi names—Registration of gé names—Specimen gé names—Portuguese and Dutch surnames—American names in Jaffna—"Christian names"—Names adopted from Portuguese, Dutch, and English—Title Don—Honorific titles—Name terminations—Names of Buddhist Priests—Mention of names disrespectful and unlucky—Different kinds of villages—Force of tradition.

Caste is a subject on which information is not directly obtained at the Ceylon Census. The advisability of requiring caste particulars to be given in the Ceylon Census schedules has been considered at previous Censuses, when it was decided that as caste does not play in Ceylon the important part it does in India, where it is the basis of the whole social fabric, information on this subject should not be obtained. In India great importance is attached to caste classifications, and considerable portions of the Census Reports are devoted to this subject and its influence on Race, Religion, Occupation, Civil Condition, and other matters with which the Census is concerned.

It is impossible in dealing with such subjects—if they are to be treated in any sense historically—to ignore the importance of the social regulations of the past, whether they are to be termed caste distinctions or known by any other name. However radical the changes may be which are taking place in the manners and customs of the country, any attempt to understand the character, prejudices, and outlook of an Eastern people must be based on a realization of the innate conservatism of the East.

The significance of such changes can only be appreciated when the strength, not of active opposition, but of passive resistance which they must encounter is understood.

In no Eastern country perhaps have the barriers of caste been more rapidly pushed aside than in Ceylon. The abolition of *rajakariya*, or compulsory labour, in 1832 was the destruction of the Commandment Tables of the caste system in Ceylon.

There is no intention of discussing the relative position of the castes in Ceylon in this chapter, nor is it in any way desired to perpetuate or revive caste distinctions which may be dying out. But in dealing with the subjects with which this report is concerned, it must be realized that changes in occupations, in distribution of races, in movements of population, in manners and customs, in education, and in many other branches of life can only be effected gradually.

Progress and civilization form the theme of almost every chapter of this report ; every combination of figures gives results expressed in these two terms.

There is the risk that history may be forgotten, and that the strong and essential elements of Eastern conservatism may be overlooked. If progress is to be solidified and modern education and civilization securely established, the basis of the fabric on which the new structure is being raised must be carefully examined.

Ceylon has practically escaped the worst tyrannies of caste, the iron-bound distinctions, the unbending laws which shut out millions of men from any social intercourse with others of the same nationality but different caste ; at the same time distinctions do exist, and exert influences so important upon all branches of the life of the country that they cannot be neglected. The attempts to break through ancient customs afford the best evidence of their resisting power.

To a very large number of the natives of Ceylon the most important question in the Census schedules was the first one put them : " What is your name ? " In the house lists against each house the name of the garden in which it was situated and the name of the occupant of the house were entered. In these lists the full gé name was given ; in the Census schedule all that was required was the name by which the person entered was usually known.

For the compilation of the Census returns the name was not required, and the entry of the name was only necessary for identification purposes—to trace an incorrect or incomplete entry, &c.

To the Sinhalese his name and the names of his garden and property are matters of the greatest importance. These names are indications of his ancestry, his family history, and his social position.

Knox records the value attached to names : " This people," he writes, " are very Ambitious of their Titles, having but little else that they can boast in : and of Names and Titles of respect they have great plenty in their Language."*

Ribeiro writes of a Sinhalese Mudaliyar, who was Captain of the Guard of the King of Kandy : " One could write many volumes regarding this Captain who was no less courageous and no less modest than a Christian ; indeed it was said of him that he never mentioned his parents, and at his registration he gave the grass as his ancestors —a characteristic so different from what is usual among this people where every one claims to be descended from the Stars."†

The *gé name* is a surname used before the personal name—a *prænomen*—and is so called because of the ending gé‡ generally§ affixed to such surnames. The words *varigé* (from the Sanskrit *varga*, " class," " family ") and *vásagama* (probably from the Sanskrit *vasa*, " dwelling ") are also used to express these surnames. Of all the parts of a Sinhalese name the *gé name* is the most important, as it usually reveals the name, rank, occupation, residence, native place, or some particular characteristic or achievement of the original ancestor of the family bearing this gé name.

* Knox's " Historical Relation," p. 151.

† Riboiro's " History of Ceylon" (translation by Paul E. Pieris, C.C.S.), p. 222.

‡ The form *geyi* is also used. In the Up-country the word *gedara*, " house," " home " ; *gé*, " house " (Sk. and Pali *géha*), *dara*, *dora*, " door " (Sk. and Pali *dvára*), is also used for *gé*. Here *gé*, *geyi*, and *gedara* are all in the genitive case. *Gé* is sometimes corrupted into *yé*. In the Up-country *gé* (which corresponds to the genitive suffix in Sinhalese) is sometimes corrupted into *ga* (identical in form with the Vedda genitive suffix), as in " Ratnekamudiyanséläga " and " Heratmudiyanséläga." This *ga* is sometimes again corrupted into *ya*, and *ya* into *é*, as in " Siyamudalividánéláya " and " Vírasúriyamudiyansélé."

§ The ending *gé* is not affixed to surnames of the Salagama people. These are, however, used in the sense of the genitive case, like parts of most surnames to which *gé*, *gedara*, &c., are affixed.

The term "gé name" is loosely used to cover village names, *patabendi* names (*vide infra*), and *house* names, which may be subdivided into names actually referring to the place or house from which the person came or where he resided, and names derived from ancestors.

So fully is it realized throughout the country that the name is an index of respectability and position that petitions to Government for permission to change names are very frequent.* Notices can be seen every week in the newspapers, especially in the native papers, advertising the adoption of new names. It is becoming common to add some ancient high-sounding name as a surname, a name to which the person adopting it has commonly no claim. There are now few notaries in the country who have not advertised such additions to their names—to add "to the dignity of their office."

Gé names are very frequently changed by transposition with the names succeeding them, when the ending *gé* is dropped. Thus, Kodituwakkugé Andiris and Ratnayakagé William are changed into Andiris Kodituwakku and William Ratnayaka.

Gé names are also frequently metamorphosed by dropping a syllable, or adding a word, or transposing letters, which completely alter the meaning of the name. Such a change, for example, would be that of the gé name Tuppahigé to Tuppahi-Mudaligé, which would amount to a claim that the bearer's original ancestor was an Interpreter Mudaliyar and not a "Tuppasi," or half caste,† as Tuppahigé would probably indicate.

An instance of a syllable being dropped would be the conversion of Bentarahunugé, which would indicate the caste, viz., lime burners, to Bentaragé, which simply shows the village from which the person came. It sometimes happens that a person descended from a family servant, whose gé name indicates his origin and the service performed by his ancestor, will drop the syllable which shows the occupation followed, and so adopt the same gé name as that of the family in which his ancestor was a retainer. Such, for instance, would be the omission in a name of a component part such as *pedi* or *rada* or *panikki*, which would show that the person was a descendant of the dhoby or barber of a certain family; by dropping this part of the word the original significance of the name is lost, and it becomes that of the family for whom the service was originally performed.

The tendency to-day in the towns is to drop the gé name altogether and to adopt surnames after the English fashion. In the interior and in the villages the gé name is scrupulously regarded.

As showing the importance attaching to the ancient names, shortly after the Census was taken a petition was received from a Kandyan, who stated that the Arachchi of his village, who "is in angry terms with me, has deliberately described my residence in the Census house list as Yaddessalagéwatta" (the correct name being a place name having no derogatory meaning, as would be implied in the name substituted). "The name Yaddessalagéwatta," continued the petitioner, "means the garden of a tom-tom beater (a very low caste among Sinhalese),

* The authority of Government is not required.

† Tuppahi—interpreter, Topas (Port. Topaz). It is probably from Tuppási, the Tamil form of the Marathi Dubhashi, "one who speaks two languages," "interpreter." Topas is explained by Professor H. H. Wilson as "a native Christian sprung from a Portuguese father and Indian mother in the South of India. In the early history of the Company these people were extensively enlisted as soldiers, hence the term came to be applied to the Company's native soldiery generally in the peninsula; it is now obsolete." In this sense it is now applied in Ceylon to mechanics of Portuguese descent.

which is a name probably coined by the Arachchi in order to degrade me and my family in society."

A petition was recently addressed to Government by some villagers who endeavoured to prove that they were residents of a village bearing a different name from that of the village in which they were entered as inhabitants, as the people of that village were "an inferior class of people"; in another case the villagers objected to the hamlet in which they lived bearing a separate name from the adjoining village to which they claimed to belong, as the name of the hamlet had a meaning which connected it with pingo-carrying, and would imply that they were of a lower caste, and as they said "would bring us loss and difficulty. Our sons and daughters will meet with impediments in securing suitable marriages."

These instances show that the importance of names is still fully recognized in the country, though at the next Census it will probably be found that the tendency to drop the gé name has spread, except in those cases where the name is associated with some notable ancestor or achievement of the past. It is therefore of interest to record the different stages in the history of nomenclature in Ceylon amongst the Sinhalese.

Name-giving was formerly a very important ceremony amongst the Sinhalese. In ancient days the ceremony of *namakarana* was a religious rite performed by the Buddhist bhikshus.* The priest would be invited to the house on an auspicious day. It is said that the naming of the child took place ten days after birth for princes or members of the royal family,† twelve days among the Brahmins, sixteen days among the Govigama caste, and thirty-two days for persons of all other castes. After the priests had been fed they would chant *pirit*. The father holding the child before them, the chief monk present would touch the forehead of the child and call him by a name which he had selected after consultation with his brother monks.

There was another important ceremony called the *Batkavana-mangalyaya*, or the ceremony of feeding with rice, which was the first occasion on which the child partook of solid food.

An account is given in the *Mahawansa*‡ and *Saddharmalankaraya* § of the naming of Prince Gamani-Abhaya, afterwards the famous monarch King Duttha-Gamani.

The description given in the *Saddharmalankaraya* is as follows:—

"And for seven days from the date of the birth of his son the king (Kakavanna Tissa) held high revelry and feasts of great rejoicing amidst the noblemen of his palace and elsewhere, and amidst his subjects from the villages far and near.

"Thereafter, having given alms to sixteen kinds of beggars the king invited 12,000 Buddhist priests, and thus wished in his meditation: 'If my son here present is destined to conquer the Tamils throughout the Island, to bring the whole of Ceylon under his sway, and to cause the Buddhist religion to flourish, let at least 1,008‖ priests well robed and extending their begging-bowls (for offerings) appear, and let them

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* The ceremonies were variously performed in different districts. In the Low-country the priests do not appear ever to have taken so prominent a part in the name-giving ceremony.

† But *vide* extract from the "Saddharmalankaraya" (*infra*), from which it would appear that seven days was the period for a king's son.

‡ "Mahawansa" (translation by L. C. Wijesinha, Mudaliyar), p. 89.

§ "Saddharmalankaraya," p. 452.

‖ According to the "Mahawansa," 8,000.

enter the threshold with their right foot first. Let the Thero Gotama hold my son by his hand and impart 'Sarana Sila.' "* All these wishes were fulfilled.

"The king, who greatly rejoiced at seeing his wishes realized, caused the priests to be seated, and presenting them with sweet milk-rice, addressed them thus: 'Swamini, Be so good as to give a suitable name to my son.' Thus requested, the priests named the prince Gamini-Abhaya, a name signifying the chief of a village, and including a part of the parent king's name."†

That this ceremony was distinct from the rice-feeding ceremony is shown in the continuation of the narrative in the *Mahawansa:* "On the day of the festival of ‡*piercing the ears of* the two princes (Gamani-Abhaya and his brother Tissa), this affectionate parent again bestowed the alms of milk-rice on five hundred priests. The monarch, assisted by the queen, having collected into a golden dish a little from each of the partially consumed contents of the priests' dishes, and bringing this collection to the princes he put a handful thereof in the mouth of each, and said: 'My children, if ye ever become subverters of the true faith, may this food, when admitted into your stomachs, never be digested.' Both the royal youths, fully understanding the imprecation addressed to them, accepting the milk-rice, as if it had been heavenly food, swallowed it."

The earlier religious rite of naming the child seems to have fallen into disuse, and the two ceremonies were combined at the "rice ceremony," which was made the occasion for an entertainment in the child's honour, at which the name was given. This ceremony took place on a day carefully chosen by the astrologer, when the child was six, eight, ten, or twelve months old if a boy, seven, nine, or eleven months if a girl, but the date depended on the horoscope of the child.

The day being fixed, the close relatives and friends were invited to be present, and at a fixed auspicious hour the child was placed on a table, near which was a lighted lamp and jewellery and other bright and valuable articles. Milk-rice was put on an ash plantain leaf near the child, and rice cakes, curd, honey, fruit, and flowers were also placed within his reach. All paddy used for this ceremony must have been in the house at least a day more than the age of the child.

The child was allowed to choose anything he liked, and his choice was watched with anxiety, for it was believed that it would indicate his future career. The name was sometimes chosen from the article the child had selected: if a flower, the name *Malhamy* (mal—flower) might be given; if rice, *Suduhamy* (sudu—white); if a sweet-smelling object, *Suwandahamy;* and similarly as regards the other articles.

"*What does it signify,*" say the Sinhalese, "*to be called Hetuhami (or the fortunate one) if one cannot procure a single meal?*" §

"*Her name is pearl necklace, yet on her neck she has not a black bead,*" ‖ is a Tamil proverb.

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* The translation given in the "Mahawansa" is: "Let him inculcate in him the life of righteousness which leads to salvation."

† The "Mahawansa" says, "uniting in one the appellations of *Mahagama*, the seat of his Government, and *Abhaya*, the title of his own father, he called him *Gamini-Abhaya.*"

‡ Translator's note to the "Mahawansa," p. 90: "'giving rice to.' Alluding to the ceremony of weaning and making the child swallow a few mouthfuls of boiled rice as solid food."

§ හේතුහාමි කිව්වාට මොකද වේල කන්ඩ නැත්නම්. There is another Sinhalese proverb, කප්පරුහාමි කීවාට මොටද කට ගඳගහනවානම්.

‖ கழுத்திலே கரிமணி இல்லை, பெயர் முத்துமாலை.

The most fortunate choice the child can make is the milk-rice.

A cord, which has been sanctified, to which rings are fastened according to the number of months of the child's age, made of an alloy of five metals—gold, silver, brass, copper, and iron—is tied round the child's waist to guard him from evil spirits.

A chain with a pendant, called *panchayudaya* (set of five weapons), is put on his neck. The pendant is a round disc, on the obverse side of which the set of five weapons—sword, bow, trident, hoop with sharpened edges, and shield—are embossed; bangles may also be fastened round the child's arms and ankles to furnish further protection against evil influences. Presents are made to the child by his relatives.

The naming ceremony then takes place, the maternal uncle or close relative holding the lamp in his hand gives the child, who should face east, milk-rice, and at the same time whispers the name selected into the child's ear.

The greatest care is taken in the selection of the name. It is chosen according to the *nekata*, or constellation under which the child is born, and by taking certain characters of the alphabet assigned for the asterism occupied by the moon at the time of the child's birth. The name is formed out of a selection of these characters, in accordance with the sound composing a foot called *gana* (formed by trisyllables), so as to accord with the *nekata*.

Such importance is attached to the relationship of the person who names the child that it is a common retort amongst the Sinhalese, "Did you name me?" when it is considered that a person has presumed on an acquaintance or claimed social equality to which he is not entitled. Similarly, the question, "Is it you who fed me first with rice?"* is sometimes put.

The name given on this occasion is usually known as the rice name (බත් කවාපුදා තැබූ නම).

Similar customs prevail amongst the Tamils, but the *namakarana*, or naming of the child, usually takes place soon after birth, and not on the occasion of the feeding of the child, which is called the *annaprasana* ceremony (literally, rice-feeding ceremony). The name given is almost invariably a family name or connected with the family gods. A Tamil always bears his father's name as his first name.

These naming ceremonies are now rapidly falling into disuse, owing partly to the Registration of Births Ordinance. It is found more convenient to name the child when its birth is registered, and the day when this takes place may be observed as an occasion for entertainment, but the elaborate ceremonies described are dispensed with. In interior villages, however, the old customs still continue.

Amongst the Moors of Ceylon, after the father has received the child from the midwife he recites *Azan* (call to prayer of the Muslims) with his mouth as near the child's right ear as possible, into which he blows gently at the conclusion. He also recites *Ikamet* (the second call to prayer), and blows likewise into the left ear of the child. After *Azan* and *Ikamet* have been received, he calls the child, if a male, Muhammad, or if a female, Fatima. This name the child is called by the inmates of the house till the fortieth day, on which it is given the name it will bear for life. Sometimes this name happens to be the very name given by the father on the day of the child's birth, but in most cases different names are given on the fortieth day. In the case of a male child the name is coupled with

* මගේ කටේ බත් තැබුවේ උඹද.

either Muhammad or Abdu, such as Muhammad Kasim or Abdul Rahiman. On the fortieth day, when the name-giving ceremony takes place, the child's head is shaven for the first time, by a barber in the case of a male child, or by a barber-woman in the case of a female one. Handsome gifts are given to the barber by the parents of the child on this occasion. This head-shaving ceremony takes place in the morning. At noon, or more generally in the night, the *Maulúdu* is recited, and at the conclusion of it the name is given to the child by a Sheiku, Mowlana, Álim, or Lebbe, who among the Muslims is holding the position of a priest. On this occasion, too, the name giving is preceded by the recitation of the *Azan* and *Ikamet.*

There is no connection between the naming of the child and the feeding it for the first time. In parts of Batticaloa it is customary, if the child is born on a Friday, to give it one of the names of our first parents.

The "rice name" was often of so high-sounding a description, or so singularly inapplicable to the condition of life or character of the person who bore it, that it was dropped.

The Sinhalese, like other Oriental peoples, have a talent for inventing nicknames, and they called their children by "pet names," or names which referred to some physical peculiarity, position in the family, &c. Adjectives such as *Loku* (big), *Punchi*, *Dingiri* (little), *Kalu* (black), *Hín* (lean), *Medduma* (middle), *Sudu*, *Ratu* (fair), *Tikiri* (small), *Ukku* (milk), *Ran* (gold), *Bandi* (pot-bellied), *Mutu* (pearl), *Kiri* (milk) were used with suitable endings, such as appu, banda, hami, &c.*

In course of time, as the number of persons bearing the same name increased, it became customary to give the father's name before the personal name.† From earliest times a person was no doubt known as the son of So and So, and this is probably the oldest form of a second name, but it was not until population largely increased that the need for a second name for identification purposes was recognized. The practice of prefixing the father's name lasted until recently, especially in connection with legal documents.‡ But this name, of course, was only carried on from one generation to another; it was not a family name. Subsequently the father's name was adopted by some people as their gé name or as an additional name, borne by all his descendants, especially when he was a man of importance or reputation.

"In their Infancy they have Names whereby one may be called and distinguished from the other. But when they come to years it is an affront and shame to them either Men or Women to be called by those Names. Which they say is to be like unto Dogs. Then they change

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* Amongst some of the Veddas, children are not called by their names until they are at least four or five years old. Until then they are known as Tuta (male) or Tuti (female), *i.e.*, "little one," and these names are sometimes preserved throughout their lives. Professor Seligmann gives the following instances of nicknames used by Veddas :—Ukusa, because the hair appeared ruffled like the feathers of an eagle (Kusa), Mahakata (big mouth), Nemena (bent), Kankuna (sore ears), Lokoupalu (loud speaker, or literally one who yells). Professor Seligmann also notes how few names are found amongst the Veddas, the same names being used over and over again, owing to personal names being little required in the small communities in which the Veddas are found, the members of which are all related and call each other by terms of relationship. (*Vide* "The Veddas," by Professor and Mrs. Seligmann, pp. 59, 62, 103, 104.)

† A similar practice prevailed in Europe in early times, *e.g.*, "Thomas, John's son," "John, Harry's son."

‡ In old school tombus nearly a hundred years old such names as Kapugeyi Don Migelgé Adriyáná and Vil-Arachchigeyi Vijayasinha Gunatilaka Don Pilip Koralagé Don Kornelis, Gunatilaka Vidana Arachchi, appear, the names preceding the possessive gé being in each case the name of the father.

their Names into Titles according to the Town wherein they were born or do dwell. Also they have other Names which may be compared to Coats of Arms, properly and only belonging to that Family: by which likewise they are called."*

Place names are a very prolific source from which gé names are derived. There is scarcely a town, village, or hamlet which has not given its name to some family. In the Up-country members of the chief family of a village and their descendants adopted the name of the village as their surname, and affixed it to their personal names. The owner of a village or hamlet generally adopted the name as a surname, and this practice gave rise to such surnames as Dunuvila, Ehelapola, Madugalla, and Ratwatta, which are really territorial names. The patabendi names were regarded as marks of honour and as titles; the place name as originally used proclaimed the possessor of large estates or villages. The name was borne by the head of the family. As members of the clan went out into the world they kept the name as a gé name to indicate their origin, or else took the name of the place where they settled or acquired property.

Under the Sinhalese kings the class of surnames—already referred to—called *Patabendi-nam* came into use. These names were originally conferred by the Sinhalese kings as titles on account of some act of particular merit, &c., and were subsequently extended by their being conferred on persons on investiture with a native rank or office. In such cases the new name was given in the Government act of appointment. When one of these *patabendi-nam*, or titular names, was conferred, an investiture was held, at which the sovereign tied a piece of beaten gold or embroidered silk—on which the title was inscribed—on the forehead of the recipient of the title. From this ceremony the title *Patabendi* was derived: *pata*—a piece of thin metal plate or silk, and *bendi*—tied.

The names given bore such meanings as Lion to the Enemy, Chief of Ten Villages (the villages probably being given with the title), Diadem of the Moon, Gem of Good Qualities, Charming on account of Victory, Pleasing Lion, Diadem to the Pundits, Bestower of Victory, Lion to the Tiger, and Powerful Sun.

The Portuguese,† Dutch, and English, in the earlier days of the British occupation, followed this custom, and conferred these titular names on native public servants on their appointments to important offices under Government or on their obtaining ranks.

Patabendi names according to Knox were not hereditary. "Among the Noblemen may be mentioned an Honour that the King confers like unto Knighthood; it ceaseth in the Person's death, and is not Hereditary. The King confers it by putting about their Heads a piece of Silk or Ribbond embroidered with Gold and Silver and bestowing a Title upon them."‡ Such names were, however, taken by the descendants of the persons upon whom they were conferred, and by whom they were jealously preserved.

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* Knox's "Historical Relation," p. 151.

† *Vide* the "Kostantinu Hatano," which gives an account of the defeat of Barrato and the rebels by the army of Dom Constantino de Sa in 1619 (vv. 181, 182, 183). "And two by two they were led in triumph by the rejoicing host before the General Kustantinu de Sa E. Neroñho. Who in joy showered on his men the freshening shower of gifts to quench the drought of their hearts. Allotting them lands and villages according to their merits, *fastening on their brows the honoured band of rank.*"—Ribeiro's "History of Ceylon" (translation by Paul E. Pieris, C.C.S.), pp. 219, 220.

‡ Knox's "Historical Relation," p. 107.

It appears that from the earliest times, whilst the Sinhalese attached the greatest importance to these names, they were preserved rather as family records than for use, and were subsequently tacked on as family names. Thus, the descendants of a man who was honoured with the honorific name *Jayawíra*—meaning strong and victorious, or mighty in victory—or the title *Jayawíra Mudiyanse*, adopted *Jayawíragé* or *Jayawíra-mudiyansélágé* as their gé name. Several patabendi names sometimes occur in the name of a descendant of a family who can boast of an ancient and distinguished lineage and of ancestors who held several ranks or posts of distinction. The original value of these titles has been considerably impaired by the assumption at the present day of high-sounding titles and names by persons appointed to any petty office.

The general population could not have adopted place names for some time. As no doubt originally connected with large landed properties, they were practically confined to the " landed gentry." Similarly, patabendi names were conferred on comparatively few. As time went on, however, each villager found it convenient to adopt a gé name which would distinguish him from his neighbours, by indicating at the same time his place of residence, his caste, and his occupation. Gé names were then taken connected with the service due from the bearers of the name, their occupations, and the name of the garden or land possessed by them. If a villager distinguished himself in such a way as to bring himself before the notice of the king, it was probable that a name would be given him commemorating the event, and this name would henceforth become a family name—borne by all his descendants to the glory of their ancestor who had won the distinctive name. There were no doubt many such cases. As an instance may be quoted the story of Andree Bernado.*

As Raja Sinha, King of Sitawaka, accompanied by his wrestler, was one day travelling across the village, now known as Madagammana, in the Kegalla District, a man called Andree Bernado, who dwelt in a rock cave, was working in a field alongside the king's path. The king saw the man taking shelter from the rain under cover of the mamoty he had with him, and noticing his well-built figure asked him, " Can you wrestle with my wrestler ? " He answered " Yes," and began to wrestle with the king's wrestler. The latter was overpowered and fell in the mud, where he was kept down by Andree Bernado with his knee. The king, who was standing on the rock and witnessing the wrestling, was well pleased, and gave the sword which he had in his hand to Andree Bernado. After this the place was called Madagammana, *mada* meaning mud, or low-lying ground. The descendants of Andree Bernado still bear the name Madagammana affixed to their own, and possess the sword said to have been given to their ancestor by the king. Further instances of such names are given in the list of gé names given below.

The Dutch early recognized the utility of a distinctive system of nomenclature, and one of the first acts of the Dutch Government was to appoint registrars throughout the maritime districts for the registration of people, according to their station, occupation, and other circumstances, in the " Thombuwa," or Doomsday Book of the time, by gé names—a very large number of gé names were no doubt thus created.

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* The account here given is a paraphrase of Sinhalese stanzas written to commemorate the event.

It may be noted here that among the Sinhalese the wife does not assume the surname of her husband, but uses the gé name and patabendi names of her father. Many of these titular names and gé names have been preserved, and are of considerable interest from the light they throw on the history of Ceylon, the court of the Kandyan king, and the nature of the occupations followed in ancient times. As instances may be quoted the following gé names and their suggested derivations :—

Alagiyahandi. — Of Alagiya's handi; *handi* — "that which is made by joining pieces together," was used for a bundle of cinnamon quills prepared by a cinnamon peeler. These bundles were given the names of the peelers who had prepared them, and the title on the label became by common use a species of gé name, giving the name of the peeler and showing his occupation.

Alutgama-gurugeyi.—Of the house of the schoolmaster of Alutgama. Guru is a Sanskrit word meaning teacher, usually a religious teacher, and its combination with gé names appears to have originated in the time of the Dutch Government, when every village or hamlet within the Company's territories was provided with a school. The schoolmaster, who was generally known as Palliyegurunnanse, was also registrar of births and marriages.

Banakiyanagé.—Of the house of the preacher of Bana. In the time of some of the Sinhalese kings there was a person specially appointed for each group of villages to preach Buddhism to the people.

Chakkrawarti-lokupanikkigé.—Of the house of the senior or elder barber to the king.

Etuldura-achchigé.—Of the house of the arachchi on duty in the inner city (or in the interior of the palace).

Halamba.—Of the keeper of the halamba or tinkling rings worn by the goddess Pattini.

Hanvedigé, or Hannedigé.—Of the house of the chief fisher. Hanvedi is the original form of hannedi, a term applied to the chief of a fishing boat. In Dutch times he was required "to steer dhonies and to do other duties on board them at sea or in rivers; they must carry lights in the villages to which they belong, for travellers."

Idan-duragé.—Of the house of the *durahé* (or headman) of an *idama* (a building in a village where visitors of rank are lodged).

Nanayakkarawasan-alisandravidanalagé. — Of the house of the Vidane Alisandra belonging to the service of secret emissaries.*

Nayiyadikara-nekatigé.—Of the house of the astrologer (tom-tom-beater) who was a buffoon.

Pinumkara-nekatigé.—Of the house of the astrologer who turns somersaults.

Ranholu-pedigé.—Of the house of the washer of the gold cloths, viz., the cloth woven with gold thread (worn by kings and Brahmans, &c.).

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* There is considerable doubt as to the meaning of Nanayakkara. Clough's Sinhalese-English Dictionary, revised edition by Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara, gives the meaning of Nanayakkara as "disguised emissary or informer." The term is, however, used for the chief persons of a village, who are so addressed: *cf.* the Dutch *Nanayakkara* Thombo of Matara for 1682.

Talapata-wadanagé.—Of the house of one who holds the talipot leaf umbrella belonging to the king (or to the temple).

Udugoda-sudda-vidda-kapana - kotana - pichchamal - pinidiya - apra tapa-mudiyanselagé.—Of the house of the Mudaliyar Apratapa of Udugoda, who was garlanded with *pichcha* (jessamine) flowers and bathed with scent for having shot and cut off white men. It is said that this name was conferred on the original ancestor of the family for having by a stratagem destroyed a Portuguese army which had occupied Kandy.

Vahala-viruduvalagé.—Of the house of the viruduva of the king's palace. *Virudu* was a laudatory poem recited by a bard upon state occasions, festivals, &c., which had to be delivered impromptu on a subject selected at the moment. The man who recited such poems was called a viruduva. These viruduvas were, it is said, so skilled in composition that a stanza consisting of four lines would be improvized instantly, even by four bards, each reciting a line, or by two, each reciting two lines in succession, so that the whole would be perfect in sense and composition. They were the court minstrels, the almanac makers, the chronologists, the astrologers, and the genealogists of their time. It is said of them that they occupy the exact position of the bards of Europe, inciting to peace, to war, to love, to generosity, as occasion demanded.

As illustrating the value of gé names in tracing the history, not only of families in Ceylon, but also the history of the country, it may be mentioned here that there are people in the Hewagam korale in the Western Province with the gé name *Pransakara-tanapatigé*, which means "of the house of the French Ambassador."

In a case brought in the Court of Requests of Colombo in 1889 the defendant was called "Amarasinghe Mudelige *Duky de Lancrol* Bastian de Lye Appuhami," and in the same case a decree of the Provincial Court of Colombo in 1813 was produced, in which reference was made to "*Dorkiedoe La Nerolle DeLeyFranse Mohottige* Don Samuel Appuhamy."

All these persons claimed, and in the case of the last two mentioned proved their claim, to be descendants of the French Ambassador the Duke (or Count ?) Laisne de Nanclars de Lanerolle, who was made a prisoner at Kandy, where he went on an embassy to Raja Sinha II. in 1672. An account of the French Ambassador's conduct, which enraged the King of Kandy, appears in chapter XIV. of Knox's "Historical Relation of Ceylon."*

Many surnames adopted from the Portuguese and the Dutch, generally called *Alukunna* (Port. Alcunna), came into existence during the periods of their rule in Ceylon ; for instance, such names as Abrew, Alwis, Costa, Dias, Fernando, Fonseka, Gomes, Livera, Mel, Mendis, Peiris, Pereira, Rodrigo, Silva, Soysa, Zoysa, Zylva ; Jansz, Van Rooyen, Van Felse, &c.

De or Da,† a Portuguese word meaning "of," "from," was prefixed to the Portuguese names. These surnames were originally the names of sponsors at the baptism of those who embraced Christianity, and their adoption was encouraged by the Portuguese with religious zeal. It became the fashion to use such names, and they are found amongst families who did not necessarily become Christians.

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* Knox's "Historical Relation," pp. 295 *et seq.*

† Written "Da" in Sinhalese.

Comparison may be made with the American names used to-day by Jaffnese who have been educated in Jaffna in Congregationalist schools maintained by American funds. Such names as Arnold, Bailey, Curtis, Chambers, Cleveland, Emerson, Fairchild, Gould, Hudson, Howell, Lee, Sherman, Shaw, Taylor, Winslow, appear in the Census schedules of Jaffna borne by Jaffna Tamils.

Similarly, " Christian names " have been readily adopted from the Portuguese, Dutch, and English. As the family names of Portuguese and Dutch sponsors were taken by those who accepted Christianity, the " Christian names " of the invaders became popular in the maritime district. Names of saints were also readily adopted by Christian parents for their children, who were often called after the saint on whose day they were born. In many cases these names underwent changes the better to shape them for Sinhalese use.

For example, the following names appear to have been taken from the Portuguese: Abaran from Abrahao; Ago, Agostinu, and Ugas from Augustino; Andare from Andre; Antoni from Antonio; Bastian and Bathiya from Bastiao; Istakku from Eustacio; Istevan and Isthegu from Estevao; Isan from Ignatio; Juan, Justina, Jokino, from Joachim; Karalina from Carolina; Karlu and Karo from Carlos; Mariya from Maria; Miga and Migel from Miguel; Peda and Peduru from Pedro; Pila from Felippe; Purappu from Francisco; Santiago from Sant. Jago; Ugu from Hugo; Visenti from Vicente.

From the Dutch: Arnolis and Ará from Arnoldus; Bastiyan and Baiya from Bastiaan; Davit from David; Girigoris from Gregorius; Harmanis from Hermanus; Juvanis from Johannes; Mattes, Matha, or Mathes from Matthew, Mattheus, and Mathias; Rapiyel and Rapiya from Raphael; Siadoris from Theodorus; Velun and Weluma from Willem.*

The Census schedules show that English names are now being widely adopted, even in the villages, favourite names being diminutives and names ending in *ie*; Baby, Charlie, Jimmie, Sonnie, Johnnie, Dottie, Richie, and Aggie are frequently met with.

About twenty-five years ago an attempt was made by some of the Buddhists to re-introduce native and Indian names, as, for example, such names as Dharmapala, Jinadasa, &c., in place of these foreign names. The attempt has been partially successful, but amongst the general population there is an increasing tendency to adopt English names.

A further title or addition to the names which the Sinhalese adopted from the Portuguese are the words "Don" and "Dona," which are widely used, especially in the Low-country, after the gé name. They are corruptions of the Portuguese words "Dom" and "Donna" respectively. When the title was first granted by the Portuguese, it was conferred only on noblemen and Sinhalese of the highest rank, but it seems subsequently to have been adopted as a matter of course by any person appointed to an office under Government.

Amongst the Tamils, according to Wolf, the title was used by the Portuguese, and later by the Dutch, as a source of revenue.

" This Malabar nobility first originated under the dominion of the Portuguese, having been idly invented by these latter in order to

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* It is difficult to say in many cases whether the name is derived from a Dutch, Portuguese, or even English source. Though the ending *is* may usually be taken to be an indication of the name being derived from the Dutch, being substituted for the Dutch termination *es* or *us* in the Latinized form, it does not always represent part of the original word, but may have been added as an honorific.

squeeze a little money out of them; the Portuguese having suggested to them that it was not fitting for one Malabar to be set over others, as head or overseer, without some peculiar distinction; that therefore every head or bailiff of a village ought to be ennobled. This took with the simple Malabar, who asked how much the letters patent of nobility would cost? He was informed, "A few hundred dollars only." Such as had the money by them pressed forward immediately to receive the honour first, which was accordingly conferred in the following manner: the Governor took a thin silver plate, on which the name of the Malabar who wished to be ennobled was written, with the title of Don prefixed to it; this he bound with his hand on the forehead of the Malabar (who was all the while in a kneeling position), and, laying his hand on his shoulder, said, "Don thou art, Don shalt thou live, and Don shalt thou die." Thoroughly satisfied with this, the new created nobleman would walk off, coming again another time, when he wished to be appointed head of the village, for which purpose he must take care to bring another purse. By this contrivance the Portuguese got an immense sum of money from the Malabars; for every one that could scrape together the sum fixed upon got himself ennobled. The Dutch afterwards made still sorrier work of it, and sold the title of Don for fifty, five and twenty, and at last even so low as ten dollars." *

Again, to quote Knox: "Their language is Copious, Smooth, Elegant, Courtly, according as the People that speak it are, Who are full of Words, Titles, and Complements. They have no less than twelve or more Titles that they use when they speak to Women according to their ranks and qualities ...... The men also have various Titles tho not so many as the women. People give to them these Titles according to the business they have with them. If they come for some favour or kindness to be done them, they bestow the better sort of Titles upon them." †

This is as true to-day as when it was written (230 years ago), but the distinction between the terms used is no longer strictly observed, and the honorifics are applied quite outside the castes to which they were originally confined.

There are euphemistic titles in use amongst all castes. These alternative terms of address are usually honorifics or titles, and their use is a form of compliment to the person addressed, assuming that he is a chief amongst his own people, or that he holds an office or rank. In some places a Moorman is addressed as Muhandirama (this term is also applied to gold and silversmiths), and the title Vidane is given to persons of several castes. These honorifics or euphemistic terms of address are of interest, as they often throw considerable light on the past history of the caste as well as on the ranks within the caste.

Achari (the blacksmiths) may be addressed as Gurunnehela, which means literally teachers. In Southern India a similar word is used for members of any of the five artisan classes, who claim to be descendants of Brahmans, to whom the term teacher is usually applied.

Badahela (potters) may be styled Panditayo, or literally scholars, wise men, possibly in reference to the story that the Pandit Mahaushadha, the king's minister, disguised himself as a potter to escape the king's wrath.

Hakuru (the jaggery caste) are termed Vahumpurayo, or Devayo (workers in the kitchen), or Kande-minissu (literally, hill men).

* "Life and Adventures of John Christopher Wolf" (published in 1795), pp. 253–255.

† Knox's "Historical Relation," pp. 167, 168.

A Berawaya (tom-tom beater) may be personally addressed as Panikkiya, which is equivalent to assuming that he is the headman of his caste, or as Nekatiya, literally astrologer, as people of this caste have usually some knowledge of astrology.

The dhoby (Radawa) is more politely termed a Henaya, literally a cleaner.

The lime burner (Hunna) may be addressed as Panividakaraya or Payinda, literally messenger. Persons of this caste may have been once employed as messengers on some important occasion, or the term may simply denote a minor headman.

An Oliya (dancer) is given the honorific Bali-edura, or a teacher or instructor in Bali-ceremonies or Bali-tiyanna, literally one who moulds bali images.

The Kinnara (mat-weaver) is honorifically termed the Karmanta-karaya, or simply workman. Even the despised Rodiya can be addressed in euphemistic terms, as Hulawaliya, the title of the headman of these people, or as Nettukkaraya, a dancer, generally used only for the Rodiya women, or as Madukaraya, which means literally rope-man, as the Rodiyas made ropes for the elephant catchers.

"*The cobra will bite you whether you call him Nayá or Nayihami,*" * says a Sinhalese proverb, in ridicule of the national love of flattering terms of address.

In former times personal names were restricted to the various castes, and this is the case to some extent still in parts of the Kandyan Districts, but it cannot be said now that a person bearing a particular name belongs necessarily to a certain caste, though the termination usually indicates whether the bearer of the name is of a high or low caste.

Thus, the name Andiris is altered to Andirisa when applied to a man of inferior caste or performing menial service, and to Andirase when used for one a little higher in the social scale. Andiris itself does not convey any disrespect, but it is less respectful than Andiris Hami or Andiris Appu. These endings are now frequently dropped by persons in towns and in the Low-country.

Laymen on entering the Buddhist priesthood give up the names by which they were previously known, and receive new names applicable to their new state of life. These names are Pali names originally borne by Indian Buddhist monks during the time of the Buddha Gautama (643–588 B.C.).

Their corresponding Sanskrit equivalents are also sometimes used, for instance :—

Pali.		Sanskrit.		Literal Signification.
Buddharakkhita	..	Buddharakshita	..	Protector of Buddha.
Dhammalankara	..	Dharmalankara	..	Ornament to the law.
Dhammarama	..	Dharmarama	..	Delight in the law.
Nanissara	..	Jnanesvara	..	Lord of wisdom or knowledge.

Swami, Swaminvahanse, Unnanse, Sthavira† or Tera,† Sthavirayanvahanse† or Terunnanse†, are honorifics used after these names.

The only difficulty experienced by an enumerator in obtaining information as to names was when a wife was asked her husband's name, and sometimes when a husband was asked his wife's. Especially was this the case in the Tamil districts. A wife will only speak of her

* නයා කිවත් කනවා, නයිහාමි කිවත් කනවා.

† Applicable only to the elders who have completed ten years from their higher ordination of Upasampada.

husband as "The father of my child," or by some euphemism which avoids the necessity for mentioning his name. The idea may once have been that it is unlucky to mention the name, and that the life of the person named is likely to be shortened by his or her name being mentioned in the possible presence of malevolent spirits. But its observance to-day is due to respect for the elder members of the family.

Amongst the Tamils a man who bears the same name as his grandfather would not be addressed by that name, as it would be considered a breach of etiquette and disrespectful to the elder person bearing that name. The Tamils have a saying, "*If a person is present, would you call him by any other designation than that of his relationship? Why, then, when he is absent should you use his name?*"*

The Muhammadan women also will not mention their husbands' names.

The following Grihadharma rule is found in the *Nayanasara:* "She who is fondly attached to the Grihadharma, and whose chief aim is eonjugal fidelity, should not mention the name of her husband in this world in order that her own honour may be increased."

Amongst the Dutch in Ceylon it was considered disrespectful for the younger children in the family to address their elder brother or sister by their Christian names. "The eldest brother was always Broer or brother, and the eldest sister Sus or Susje to the younger ones. All the elderly friends of the family, whether relations or not, were Oom (uncle) or Moie (aunt) to the young men and women."†

Many instances are found in Ceylon of the belief in the ill-luck brought by mentioning certain objects or animals by name.

There is a separate language for use in the threshing-floor. It would be unlucky to use the word "take," for it might be deemed a permission to do so by the evil spirit; it is unlucky to mention the wind, disease, &c., and different terms must be used for the ordinary operations.‡ It is unlucky to mention aloud the direction one is taking in the jungle, or to name an animal one does not wish to meet. It is unlucky to mention the names of certain yams before eating them, for they at once become bitter if named.§

Reference has already been made to the importance attached by the villager to the name of his hamlet or village and to the preservation of its aneient name. The reason for this is not far to seek. There are many different kinds of villages in Ceylon.

In making their *Prarthana* at their shrines the Kandyan villagers would frequently pray, and no doubt in some parts do to-day, that they may escape the sin of being born again in any villages known as Gabada-gam, Bat-gam, Biso-gam, Vihara-gam, Dewala-gam, Wedi-gam, Gattaru-gam, and Gahala-gam.

A *Gabada-gama* is a royal village in the gift of the king. The king eould grant it to whomsoever he liked as a temporary or a permanent gift. The rights of the landowners and of the king varied in the Gabada-gam in different parts of the country. In Uva half the produce goes to the king, because these villages were never alienated from the Crown. In Sabaragamuwa the royal lands are all the confiscated

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* கண்டால் முறைசொல்லுகிறது, காணவிட்டாற் பெயர் சொல்லுகிறதா ?

† "The Dutch in Ceylon": a Lecture by R. G. Anthonisz, p. 30.

‡ *Vide* Papers by R. W. Ievers, C.C.S., in Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) Journal, Vol. VI., No. 21, pp. 50 and 54; and H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., in *ibid*, Vol. VIII., No. 26, pp. 82 *et seq.*; and J. P. Lewis, C.C.S., *ibid*, Vol. VIII., No. 29, pp. 237 *et seq.*, on "Paddy Customs," &c.

§ *Vide* "A Contribution to Sinhalese Folklore." by W. A. de Silva, in Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) Journal, Vol. XII., p. 130.

property of chiefs, and therefore the king enjoys no more than the former proprietors did. These villages in fact formed part of the private estate of the king, and his duties in respect to them were in many places similar to those of the owner of a Nindagama.

Villagers lived in constant dread lest their village on account of its fertility or prosperity should be taken by the king as a Gabada-gama, and this state of fear no doubt hindered progress in many directions.

As Knox says of the Sinhalese of his time, "For what indeed should they do with more than Food and Rayment seeing as their Estates encrease, so do their Taxes also? And altho the People be generally covetous, spending but little, scraping together what they can, yet such is the Government they are under, that they are afraid to be known to have anything lest it be taken away from them."*

The villagers of Kehelpannala in the Kegalla District succeeded in averting this fate from their village by resource to stratagem. We are told that hearing that the king was to be taken up to a high place to behold the large tracts of fertile fields in this village with a view to its being made a Gabada-gama, the villagers working all night planted up the fields with different kinds of trees and erected temporary huts in the middle of the fields, to spoil the effect of their unbroken extent.

On another occasion some of the chiefs brought a large bunch of plantains from this village carried by seven persons to the king, to show the fertility of the village. The fate of the village was on this occasion only saved by an aged villager prostrating himself before the king and asserting with many apologies that this bunch had been taken from a tree planted on the site of an old cesspit. The villager then got the bunch carried before the king by three or four persons, and pointed out that seven persons had been employed with the object of exaggerating the size of the bunch and the fertility of the village. The king then caused a decree to be made that the village Kehelpannala should never be taken as Gabada-gama "as long as the sun and moon exist."†

Bat-gama is a village inhabited by the Paduwa caste—a very low caste. Their services were to carry the hinder part of the palanquin of the Dissawa, keep watch, and perform other menial duties. This is also a village in the gift of the king; the residents cannot acquire any permanent rights in the land.

Biso-gama is a royal village set apart for the *Pallewahala* (Queen's Palace), or the royal household. It also is a village in the gift of the king, and the tenures are like that of a Gabada-gama.

It is considered degrading to be born in these villages, as no permanent right could be acquired to the land, and the holders could be ejected at any time. The king could also grant these villages as a reward to a man of any caste, when the high caste people in the village would have to perform the rajakariya to the grantee, notwithstanding his inferiority in caste. But this custom no longer exists.

The greatest ambition of the Kandyan is to own lands on a tenure of perpetuity, and not subject to any manner of service or payment.

The Buddhist doctrines are made to declare that persons who commit certain sins will, in addition to manifold other punishments, be born in the next Átmé destitute of landed property.

Vihara-gama is a village offered to a vihare for its maintenance. It is sinful to be born in a Vihara-gama, as it is thought that what has been once offered to the Buddha no man has a right to partake of.

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* Knox's "Historical Relation," p. 51.

† "Stray Notes on Ceylon Places, &c.," by K. J. Pohath, in "Ceylon Literary Register," Vol. III., pp. 286, 287.

Only the priesthood may maintain themselves from the income, provided they perform *vat* of the vihare, and expend the balance for the upkeep of the establishment. The tenants have to perform prescribed services. The people think that in the rendering of the labour any shortage would be a sin. Therefore, it is impossible to live in a Vihara-gama and be free from sin.*

For the same reasons to be born in a *Devala-gama* is a misfortune. In addition to the sin and consequent punishment hereafter, it is thought that the gods of the devale will punish the defaulting tenants in this world also.

Wedi-gama is a village of hunters. In these the residents are hunters by both breeding and occupation. Hunting is their only means of livelihood. They barter the produce of the chase for grain and other necessities of life. Men, women, and children all are engaged in this one occupation. From father to son, from generation to generation, this occupation alone is followed. As killing is repugnant to Buddhistic ideas, it is considered sinful and degrading to be born in a Wedi-gama, and similarly in any other village whose inhabitants depend upon taking life for their means of livelihood.

A *Gattaru-gama* is a village the inhabitants of which were of high caste, but have been degraded on account of some offence committed by them.

A *Gahala-gama* is a village inhabited by persons of inferior caste—executioners, scavengers, &c.

Many other instances could be given of villages which by their names denote the past status, conditions of life, and occupations of their inhabitants.

To understand any movements in the East it is first necessary to realize that the great mass of the inhabitants are quite unaware that any movement is taking place.

However receptive and imitative the Eastern mind may be, it is still under the influence of thousands of years of prejudice. The effects of tradition remain, and whether these are called caste distinctions, racial prejudices, or tribal customs, their influence is the same ; it is felt in every branch of the life of the country.

Under the British Government every effort has been made to remove the disabilities of caste as far as they affect the public life of the community, but it is not possible—nor is it desirable—to destroy all records of the past, and as has been shown, the names which are still preserved in this country play a very important part in preserving its history.

It will not be the least of the changes affected by the West if its nomenclature of " Christian " names and surnames ousts the territorial and historical designations which to-day preserve the traditions of the past. But that day is still far distant, and if it ever arrives, the people of this country will have agreed to forget their past and to bury all traces of their history and of the distinctions of which they are to-day so proud.

* " Many of the Vohars are endowed, and have Farms belonging to them. And these Tirinanses are the Landlords, unto whom the Tenants come at a certain time and pay in their Rents. These Farmers live the easiest of any people in the Land, for they have nothing to do, but at these set times to bring in their dues and so depart and to keep in repair certain little Vehars in the Countrey. So that the rest of the Chingulais envy them and say of them, Though they live easy in this world they cannot escape unpunished in the life to come for enjoying the Buddou's land and doing him so little service for it."—Knox's " Historical Relation," p. 118.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE RACES OF CEYLON.

Race or nationality—Numbers of the principal races—Connection with India—Distribution of races—The Veddas—their origin—increase at this Census—religion—occupations—The Sinhalese—their origin—language—intermixture of Sinhalese and Tamils—Low-country and Kandyan Sinhalese—The Rodiyas—their origin—their numbers—occupations—literacy—The King and the Outcasts—Ceylon and Indian Tamils—their distribution—characteristics—The Nattukkottai Chetties—The Mukkuvars—their origin—numbers—settlement in the Batticaloa District—The Waggai—their origin—Agambadiar Vellalas—The Oddes—Ceylon gypsies—The Kuravans—their numbers—customs—Ceylon and Indian Moors—their distribution—The Malays—death-rate amongst Malays in Colombo—Burghers and Eurasians—definition of Burgher—Dutch and Portuguese Burghers—Europeans—Other Races—Cochinese—Canarese—Parsis—Goanese—Afghans—Boers—Chinese—Kaffirs.

Column 8 of the Ceylon Census Schedule was headed *Nationality—Wargaya*, වර්ගය * (Sinhalese), *Játi*, சாதி † (Tamil). The corresponding column in the Indian Census schedule bears the heading *Caste, Tribe, or Race.*

As has been already stated, no information is obtained at the Ceylon Census on the subject of caste. The heading in the schedule, which followed that given at all previous Censuses, sufficiently well described the information required, and with the instructions given to the enumerators, "Under column 8 enter the *race* of each person," there was no difficulty in obtaining the particulars which are dealt with in this Chapter under the title "The Races of Ceylon."

At previous Censuses the term "nationality" has been used.

In spite of the former use of the word nationality, it cannot be regarded as an appropriate description of the various peoples in Ceylon. The races in Ceylon are clearly differentiated—inter-marriages between them have been very rare; they have each their own particular religion to which the large majority belong, and they speak different languages. But of the races which are the most numerous in Ceylon—Sinhalese, Tamils, Moors, Malays, Burghers, and British—only one race can regard Ceylon as the home of the nation and the shrine of its national traditions.

This race, the Sinhalese, moreover, is divided into two branches: Kandyans and Low-country Sinhalese, who inhabit different districts of the Island, and whose history, at least from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, was quite distinct.

The following table shows the numerical strength in 1881, 1891, 1901, and 1911 of the principal races (excluding the Military and Shipping), and their rates of progress at each Census.

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* *Wargaya* (Sin. වර්ගය), sect, class, or kind. It would not be used to denote a nation; it has rather the sense of a class or race, and was chosen at the Census in preference to the word *játi* (Sin. ජාතිය), which has the fuller sense of people or nation, as *játi* is liable to be understood to mean caste.

† *Játi* (Tamil சாதி), according to Winslow's Tamil Dictionary, means sex, tribe, caste, lineage, race, family, and is used to distinguish species.

Table A.—Population of Ceylon (exclusive of the Military and the Shipping) by Race and Sex, with the Rate of Growth, 1881-1911, and the Proportion which each Race bears to 10,000 of the Total Population.

Race.	Persons. 1881.	Persons. 1891.	Persons. 1901.	Persons. 1911.	Males. 1881.	Males. 1891.	Males. 1901.	Males. 1911.	Females. 1881.	Females. 1891.	Females. 1901.	Females. 1911.
Low-country Sinhalese ..	1846614	2041158	1458320	1716859	962430	1063139	759834	894078	884184	978019	698486	822781
Kandyan Sinhalese ..			872487	998561			458179	525483			414308	473078
Ceylon Tamils	687248	723853	951740	528024	380490	396115	520409	268649	306758	327738	431331	259375
Indian Tamils				530983				301400				229583
Ceylon Moors	184542	197166	228034	233901	103804	109170	126798	122114	80738	87996	101236	111787
Indian Moors				32724				26272				6452
Europeans	4836	4678	6300	7592	3181	2981	3852	4645	1655	1697	2448	2947
Burghors and Eurasians ..	17886	21231	23482	26663	8927	10534	11681	13341	8959	10697	11801	13322
Malays	8895	10133	11902	12990	4739	5379	6418	6813	4156	4754	5484	6177
Veddas	2228	1229	3971	5332	1177	652	2028	2792	1051	577	1943	2540
Others	7489	8341	9718	12721	4805	5406	7013	9443	2684	2935	2705	3278

Race.	Rate of Increase per Cent. of Total Persons. 1881 to 1891.	1891 to 1901.	1901 to 1911.	1881 to 1911.	Proportion of Persons of each Raco to 10,000 of Total Population. 1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
Low-country Sinhalese ..	10·5	14·2	16·5 { 17·7	47·00	6691	6786	6537 { 4090	6613 { 4181
Kandyan Sinhalese ..			14·4				2447	2432
Ceylon Tamils	5·3	31·5	11·3	54·00	2490	2407	2669	2579 { 1286
Indian Tamils								1293
Ceylon Moors	6·8	15·7	16·9	44·40	669	655	639	650 { 570
Indian Moors								80
Europeans	— 3·3	34·7	20·5	57·05	18	16	18	18
Burghers and Eurasians ..	18·7	10·6	13·5	49·05	65	70	66	65
Malays	13·9	17·5	9·1	46·03	32	34	33	31
Veddas	— 44·8	223·1	34·3	139·50	8	4	11	13
Others	11·4	16·5	30·9	69·80	27	28	27	31

Of the 4,106,350 persons enumerated at the Census of 1911—excluding the Military and Shipping population—1,716,859, or 41·8 per cent., were Low-country Sinhalese, 998,561, or 24·3 per cent., were Kandyan Sinhalese. The Sinhalese collectively numbered 2,715,420, or 66·1 per cent. of the total population. There were 528,024 Ceylon Tamils, or 12·8 per cent. of the population, and 530,983 Indian Tamils, or 12·9 per cent., making 1,059,007 Tamils in all, or slightly more than a quarter of the total population (25·7 per cent.). The Ceylon Moors numbered 233,901, or 5·7 per cent., and the Indian Moors 32,724, or ·8 per cent., the total number of Moors being 266,625, or 6½ per cent. of the Island's population. Burghers and Eurasians—26,663—made up ·6 per cent. of the total population. The Malays, ·3 per cent., numbered 12,990. The number of Europeans was rather more than half the number of Malays (7,592)—a proportion of the total population of ·1 per cent., or 18 Europeans in every 10,000 inhabitants. The only other race for which separate figures are given in this table are the Veddas; 5,332 persons so described themselves. All other races are included under the heading "Other Races," of whom there were 12,721, or ·3 per cent.

The Sinhalese and Tamils form nearly 92 per cent. of the population of Ceylon. Whatever view may be accepted as to the origin of the Sinhalese race, it is impossible to understand any period of the Island's history if the close connection between Ceylon and India is not fully realized. A distance of twenty miles separates Ceylon from India, and before the next Census is taken this distance will be covered by a journey of about an hour and a quarter.

Sinhalese and Tamils are found in the closest intercourse from the earliest times, first as one invader succeeded another, then allied under rulers from South India married to South Indian princesses, again struggling in warfare, which was practically civil war, then engaged in a contest for predominance, which resulted from the welding together under successful rulers of a settled population, which had a distinct language and religion of its own, and, for a time at least, a separate nationality, followed by a further period of successful raids from South India, checked only by matrimonial alliances, submission to foreign sovereigns, and the maintenance of foreign tributaries.

Even in the period when the Kandyans alone successfully resisted the European invader, their monarchs were constantly attempting to obtain an outlet to the sea, which would allow of their being in communication with, and obtaining assistance from, the Princes of South India.

In spite of the closest political connection, the two races are as distinct to-day in Ceylon as the limits of their settlements are clearly defined. Though Tamils described themselves in the Census schedule as Buddhists,* and Sinhalese entered Tamil as the only language they could read and write,† it is inconceivable that any Sinhalese would enter himself as a Tamil, or a Tamil as Sinhalese.

"*Your hands and feet are the same even if you go to Tuticorin*,"‡ say the Sinhalese. "*Are all that are born in Ceylon Ravanas?*" § say the Tamils.

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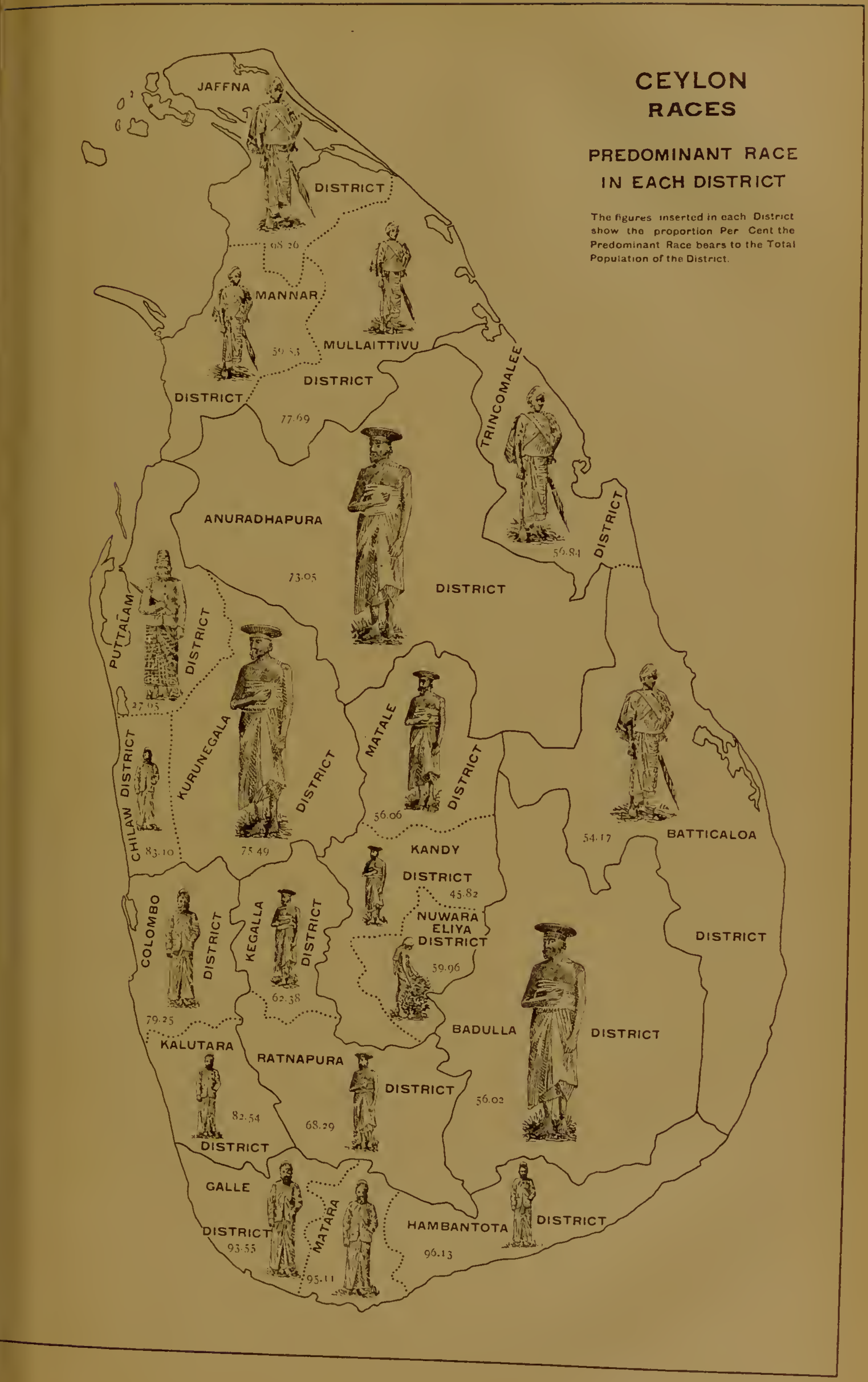
* *Vide* Chapter IX., p. 259.

† *Vide* Chapter on Education.

‡ තූත්තුකුඩියට ගියත් එක අතපයමයි.

§ இலங்கையில் பிறந்தவன் எல்லாம் இராவணன் ஆவானா? The reference is to the "Ramayana" and to the wars between Rama and Ravana. The people of Ceylon obtained a reputation for fierceness and courage in South India as *rakshasa* or demons; and this saying as used to-day would mean that though a person was born in Ceylon he need not necessarily be possessed of supernatural strength.


CEYLON
RACES
PREDOMINANT RACE
IN EACH DISTRICT
The figures inserted in each District show the proportion Per Cent the Predominant Race bears to the Total Population of the District.
JAFFNA
DISTRICT
MANNAR
DISTRICT
MULLAITTIVU
DISTRICT
77.69
TRINCOMALEE
DISTRICT
56.84
ANURADHAPURA
73.05
DISTRICT
PUTTALAM
DISTRICT
KURUNEGALA
DISTRICT
75.49
CHILAW DISTRICT
83.10
MATALE
DISTRICT
56.06
BATTICALOA
54.17
DISTRICT
KANDY
DISTRICT
45.82
NUWARA
ELIYA
DISTRICT
59.96
COLOMBO
DISTRICT
79.25
KEGALLA
DISTRICT
62.38
BADULLA
DISTRICT
56.02
KALUTARA
82.54
DISTRICT
RATNAPURA
DISTRICT
68.29
GALLE
DISTRICT
93.55
MATARA
95.11
HAMBANTOTA
DISTRICT
96.13

Marriages between Sinhalese and Tamils appear, however, to be on the increase. The number of registered marriages between Sinhalese and Tamils between 1901 and 1910 was 653.

The map opposite shows the predominant race in each district of Ceylon, the race being denoted by a representation of a man of that race.

The following Tables B, C, and D give the population of each Province and District by race, and the proportion per cent. of each race to the total population in each Province and District.

Table B.—Population of each Province by Race, 1911.

Province.	Europeans.	Burghers and Eurasians.	Low-country Sinhalese.	Kandyan Sinhalese.	Ceylon Tamils.	Indian Tamils.	Ceylon Moors.	Indian Moors.	Malays.	Veddas.	Others.
Western ..	3,284	16,775	885,995	9,880	29,814	81,076	50,292	16,339	6,337	—	6,529
Central ..	2,679	3,917	48,154	290,940	18,389	265,911	29,997	8,115	2,490	—	1,666
Northern ..	156	759	1,198	1,692	349,728	2,970	12,354	464	89	55	186
Southern ..	273	1,700	594,662	1,212	1,659	7,150	20,308	286	1,286	—	281
Eastern ..	111	1,260	1,236	5,673	100,295	886	69,912	497	664	3,058	106
North-Western ..	147	790	131,409	240,097	14,617	16,832	25,506	2,934	1,067	—	717
North-Central ..	36	144	2,804	63,023	5,619	2,953	9,350	521	152	1,626	48
Uva ..	516	622	12,279	121,396	3,496	69,873	5,357	1,743	609	593	208
Sabaragamuwa ..	390	696	39,122	264,648	4,407	83,332	10,825	1,825	296	—	2,980

Table C.—Population of each District by Race, 1911.

District.	Euro-peans.	Burghers and Eurasians.	Low-country Sinhalese.	Kandyan Sinhalese.	Ceylon Tamils.	Indian Tamils.	Ceylon Moors.	Indian Moors.	Malays.	Veddas.	Others.
Western Province.											
Colombo Municipality ..	2,752	13,485	91,590	2,495	15,252	36,717	24,481	13,688	5,364	—	5,450
Colombo District (exclusive of the Municipality) ..	359	2,784	563,703	5,340	12,533	18,113	8,833	2,203	740	—	946
Kalutara District	173	506	230,702	2,045	2,029	26,246	16,978	448	233	—	133
Central Province.											
Kandy Municipality ..	417	1,930	9,339	6,594	1,983	2,871	3,592	1,497	927	—	301
Kandy District (exclusive of the Municipality)	1,045	1,018	22,449	180,564	9,806	138,461	20,001	4,238	848	—	548
Matale District	184	288	7,259	60,753	1,561	31,372	5,045	1,361	309	—	235
Nuwara Eliya District ..	1,033	681	9,107	43,029	5,039	93,207	1,359	1,019	406	—	582
Northern Province.											
Jaffna District	128	588	329	74	321,019	889	3,292	193	79	—	121
Mannar District	23	77	593	46	15,241	1,490	7,842	250	1	1	39
Mullaittivu District ..	5	94	276	1,572	13,468	591	1,220	21	9	54	26
Southern Province.											
Galle Municipality ..	123	885	29,210	142	372	493	8,338	123	219	—	55
Galle District (exclusive of the Municipality)	71	149	243,021	611	420	3,687	2,942	51	25	—	64
Matara District	55	514	216,199	284	463	2,665	6,939	84	58	—	47
Hambantota District ..	24	152	106,232	175	404	305	2,089	28	984	—	115
Eastern Province.											
Batticaloa District ..	65	956	853	4,918	83,382	566	60,383	312	24	2,456	28
Trincomalee District ..	46	304	383	755	16,913	320	9,529	185	640	602	78
North-Western Province.											
Kurunegala District ..	101	389	46,851	231,601	3,495	10,217	11,565	1,771	543	—	274
Puttalam District	14	102	11,722	6,449	6,728	2,543	10,969	661	329	—	148
Chilaw District	32	299	72,836	2,047	4,394	4,072	2,972	502	195	—	295
North-Central Province.											
Anuradhapura District ..	36	144	2,804	63,023	5,619	2,953	9,350	521	152	1,626	48
Province of Uva.											
Badulla District	516	622	12,279	121,396	3,496	69,873	5,357	1,743	609	593	208
Province of Sabaragamuwa.											
Ratnapura District ..	149	315	19,026	113,353	1,922	25,898	2,524	547	62	—	2,196
Kegalla District	241	381	20,096	151,295	2,485	57,434	8,301	1,278	234	—	784

Table D.—Proportion per Cent. of each Race to the Total Population of each Province and District, 1911.

Province and District.	Low-country Sinhalese.	Kandyan Sinhalese.	Ceylon Tamils.	Indian Tamils.	Ceylon Moors.	Indian Moors.	Europeans.	Burghers and Eurasians.	Malays.	Veddas.	Others.
CEYLON	**41·81**	**24·32**	**12·86**	**12·93**	**5·70**	**·80**	**·18**	**·65**	**·31**	**·13**	**·31**
Western Province	80·08	·89	2·69	7·33	4·55	1·48	·30	1·52	·57	—	·59
Central Province	7·16	43·28	2·74	39·55	4·46	1·21	·40	·58	·37	—	·25
Northern Province ..	·32	·46	94·61	·80	3·34	·13	·04	·21	·02	·02	·05
Southern Province ..	94·57	·19	·26	1·14	3·23	·05	·04	·27	·20	—	·05
Eastern Province	·67	3·09	54·60	·48	38·06	·27	·06	·69	·36	1·66	·06
North-Western Province ..	30·27	55·31	3·37	3·88	5·87	·68	·03	·18	·24	—	·17
North-Central Province ..	3·25	73·05	6·51	3·42	10·84	·60	·04	·17	·18	1·88	·06
Province of Uva	5·67	56·02	1·61	32·25	2·47	·80	·24	·29	·28	·27	·10
Province of Sabaragamuwa ..	9·58	64·78	1·08	20·40	2·65	·45	·09	·17	·07	—	·73
Colombo Municipality ..	43·35	1·18	7·22	17·38	11·59	6·48	1·30	6·38	2·54	—	2·58
Colombo District (exclusive of the Municipality) ..	91·58	·87	2·04	2·94	1·43	·36	·06	·45	·12	—	·15
Kalutara District	82·54	·73	·73	9·39	6·08	·16	·06	·18	·08	—	·05
Kandy Municipality ..	31·71	22·39	6·73	9·75	12·20	5·08	1·42	6·55	3·15	—	1·02
Kandy District (exclusive of the Municipality)	5·92	47·64	2·59	36·54	5·28	1·12	·28	·27	·22	—	·14
Matale District	6·70	56·06	1·44	28·95	4·65	1·26	·17	·27	·28	—	·22
Nuwara Eliya District ..	5·86	27·68	3·24	59·96	·87	·66	·66	·44	·26	—	·37
Jaffna District	·10	·02	98·26	·27	1·01	·06	·04	·18	·02	—	·04
Mannar District	2·32	·18	59·53	5·82	30·63	·98	·09	·30	—	—	·15
Mullaittivu District ..	1·59	9·07	77·69	3·41	7·04	·12	·03	·54	·05	·31	·15
Galle Municipality ..	73·10	·35	·93	1·23	20·87	·31	·31	2·21	·55	—	·14
Galle District (exclusive of the Municipality)	96·80	·24	·17	1·47	1·17	·02	·03	·06	·01	—	·03
Matara District	95·11	·13	·20	1·17	3·05	·04	·02	·23	·03	—	·02
Hambantota District ..	96·13	·16	·37	·28	1·89	·02	·02	·14	·89	—	·10
Batticaloa District ..	·55	3·19	54·17	·37	39·23	·20	·04	·62	·02	1·59	·02
Trincomalee District ..	1·29	2·54	56·84	1·08	32·03	·62	·15	1·02	2·15	2·02	·26
Kurunegala District ..	15·27	75·49	1·14	3·33	3·77	·58	·03	·12	·18	—	·09
Puttalam District	29·55	16·26	16·96	6·41	27·65	1·67	·04	·25	·83	·01	·37
Chilaw District	83·10	2·34	5·01	4·65	3·39	·57	·04	·34	·22	—	·34
Anuradhapura District ..	3·25	73·05	6·51	3·42	10·84	·60	·04	·17	·18	1·88	·06
Badulla District	5·67	56·02	1·61	32·25	2·47	·80	·24	·29	·28	·27	·10
Ratnapura District ..	11·46	68·29	1·16	15·60	1·52	·33	·09	·19	·04	—	1·32
Kegalla District	8·29	62·38	1·02	23·68	3·42	·53	·10	·16	·10	—	·32

In the Galle District, exclusive of the Municipality, the *Sinhalese* formed 97 per cent. of the population ; in the Hambantota District 96 per cent. ; in the Matara District 95 per cent. ; in the Colombo District, exclusive of the Municipality, 92½ per cent.; in the Kurunegala District 90½ per cent.; in the Chilaw District 85 per cent.; in the Kalutara District 83 per cent.; in the Ratnapura District 79½ per cent. of the total population. The Tamil population of these Districts was almost entirely an estate population of immigrant coolies from South India. In the Jaffna District 98½ per cent. of the total population were Tamils ; in the Mullaittivu District 81 per cent.; in the Trincomalee District 58 per cent. ; and in the Batticaloa District 54½ per cent.—a settled indigenous Tamil population. In the planting districts of Nuwara Eliya and Kandy the Tamils formed 63 per cent. and 39 per cent. of the total population, estate cooly labour being responsible for these proportions.

Whilst Sinhalese and Tamils are to-day the predominant races in the Island, the oldest race is undoubtedly the *Veddas*, who have been the subject of many ethnographical investigations, and who from their primitive habits, their almost complete isolation, and their forest life, have afforded interesting material for theories as to the race of the original inhabitants of Ceylon. Since the last Census valuable contributions on this subject have been made by Mr. Parker in his "Ancient Ceylon," and by Professor and Mrs. Seligmann in their work on the Veddas, which will probably be regarded as the last word on the subject.

Parker's conclusions are that the more civilized portion of the Forest Veddas absorbed the Gangetic settlers, acquired their status and language, and with some intermixture of Dravidian blood, or in many instances without it, became the present Kandyan Sinhalese race.

"The ancestors of the present few hunting Vaeddas—who now most probably number much less than one hundred—either abandoned, some centuries after Christ, a form of village life in which they were partly or chiefly hunters, and reverted to the forest life of their forefathers, or, like some of the wild hunting tribes of the South Indian hills, remained, at least until very recent years, in nearly the original condition of the first comers to Ceylon, apparently simply because they preferred the free untrammelled life in the woods and found their accustomed habits and household articles suited to all the requirements of a hunter's existence in the forests of Ceylon. The evidence afforded by the caves* appears to me to be in favour of the former theory, which is also supported by the loss of their original language and their adoption of the Sinhalese tongue."†

Professor Seligmann believes that "the few unsophisticated Veddas of the present day do in fact represent the aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon, on grounds of physical characteristics and marked difference in features between them and the Sinhalese, skull measurements, the organization into clans amongst the Veddas, the Vedda cult of the

* "The researches of Drs. Sarasin and Seligmann" have shown that "the first inhabitants of the caves were aborigines who made use of stone implements. Then, at a later date which we know from the dedicatory inscriptions to be in nearly all cases pre-Christian, the caves were turned into shelters for ascetic Buddhist monks .... the evidence of the caves is conclusive as to the abandonment of the cave life by nearly all the Vaeddas in pre-Christian times. There is good reason to believe that the caves were not re-occupied by them until several centuries had elapsed after the time of Christ. The people who had lived in them must have become villagers."—Parker's "Ancient Ceylon." pp. 31, 97, 98.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 112.

THE PROPORTIONS OF THE DIFFERENT RACES IN THE PROVINCES WHERE THEY PREDOMINATE

(In the case of the Kandyan the Central Province is given as the home of the race though the proportion of the Kandyans is larger in the N. W. P, Sab. & Uva. Provinces.)

dead." Professor Seligmann considers that the present-day Veddas are the lineal descendants in culture as well as in physique of the early (Dravidian) people who inhabited Ceylon before it was colonized by an Aryan-speaking people.* The Seligmanns summarize their conclusions as follows : " We regard the Veddas as part of the same race as the so-called Dravidian jungle tribes of Southern India...... We believe that the Kandyans and indeed all the ' Up-country ' Sinhalese have absorbed a considerable amount of Vedda blood, and that their customs have been influenced by the Veddas, who in turn have learned to speak an Aryan language. The Tamils do not appear to owe anything to the Veddas, though the religion of those Veddas who live in or near the Tamil zone has been influenced by the latter."† There can be little doubt that the "Yakkhas" of the *Mahawansa* and other native chronicles are now represented by the Veddas. According to the *Mahawansa*, Vijaya, the first Sinhalese king, married a Yakkha princess named Kuvéni, and established the first Sinhalese kingdom. To secure his throne he subsequently married a daughter of King Pandava of Southern Madhura, in the south of India, and put away his wife Kuvéni. She, with her two children—a son and a daughter—fled to her own people, who put her to death, as having formerly betrayed them. Her two children fled to the forest near Adam's Peak, and are said to have intermarried and founded the race, after whom the Province is called Sabaragamuwa—the land of the barbarian (*habara* or *sabara*).‡ As the tract became colonized by the Sinhalese, the Veddas were driven back into the forests of Wellassa and Bintenna, until they became a jungle people, the Veddas or hunters of Ceylon.§

The Veddas are regarded by the Sinhalese as of high caste, and the oldest families in the Vedda country are proud of their Vedda descent, which is acknowledged by them and by the less wild Veddas. " While the Sinhalese held and hold the Vaedda race to be most honourable, and had no reluctance to give their daughters to a Vaedda (by the Sinhalese I here mean the Goyiyas ||), and were ready and often eager to marry Vaedda girls, yet the Vaeddas as a rule look down upon descendants of these mixed marriages, if sons, because they are not of pure blood .... Among the Vaeddas pure Vaedda blood is considered essential for the due observance of the ancient religious rites. Misfortune they say will come to the man of mixed blood who may try to share in these. No true Vaedda has ever married a Sinhalese who was not of Goyiya caste that I can hear of. The Coast Vaeddas, however, of late years, are reduced to such straits that they marry any one they can, no matter how low or ignominious his or her origin."¶ According to the *Mahawansa*, the Veddas were politically organized,

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* "The Veddas," by Professor and Mrs. Seligmann, pp. 415, 416.

† *Ibid.*, p. 422.

‡ *Vide* Chapter IV., p. 119, *supra*.

§ The word " Vedda " appears to be derived from the Sanskrit and Pali *Vyádha*, Sinhalese *Vedi*—one who pierces or wounds, a hunter—from the roots *Vyadh* (Sanskrit), *Vedha* (Pali), and *Vida* (Sinhalese), to pierce, to hurt, to kill. Tamil *Védan*. The *Védans* of Southern India are described in the "North Arcot Manual" (H. A. Stuart) as having been " formerly hunters and soldiers, and it is this caste which furnished a considerable and valuable contingent to the early Hindu kings and later to the armies of Hyder and Tippoo. They are supposed by some to be the remnants of the earliest inhabitants of the peninsula and identical with the Veddas of Ceylon."

|| Vellalas.

¶ " The Taprobanian," Vol. I., p. 193 (The Vaeddas), by H. Nevill, C.C.S.

and had a supreme king and subordinate chiefs eighty years after Vijaya became king. Although at the present day their general condition is squalid and miserable, depending as they do for the most part upon chena crops and on the charity of sightseers, before whom such persons as still claim to be Veddas are constantly brought, the Veddas are said by the Sinhalese to have once possessed gold cooking vessels and hoards of gold and gems. However, the Abbe Raqual, writing in 1770, says: " The Bedas who were settled in the Northern part of the Island of Ceylon ...... go almost naked, and upon the whole their manners and government are the same with that of the Highlanders of Scotland."* While Knox says of these " wild men ": " They have no Towns nor Houses, only live by the waters under a Tree, with some boughs cut and laid round about them, to give notice when any wild Beasts come near."† There is a Sinhalese proverb, "*Like the Veddas speaking of building houses,*" ‡ said of something which is never likely to eventuate.

Their reputation as persons of high caste who " possessed the whole country before the arrival of the Sinhalese " is no doubt one of the principal reasons for their increase at this Census.

At the 1911 Census the number of persons who described themselves as " Veddas " was 5,332 ; there were 3,971 " Veddas " enumerated at the 1901 Census.

These Veddas were thus distributed : in the Batticaloa District 2,456, an increase of 111 since the last Census ; in the North-Central Province 1,626, as compared with 402 in 1901, or four times as many ; in the Trincomalee District 602, an increase of 88 ; in Uva 593, an increase of 64 ; in Mullaittivu 54,§ a decrease of 70 ; and in Kurunegala none, as against 53 in 1901.

Parker considers that the few hunting Veddas now number much less than one hundred, while the Seligmanns say that " at the present day the number of Veddas living their natural forest life is necessarily few, for their territory has been gradually encroached upon by the Sinhalese, who are inveterate poachers. The Veddas, who were never numerous within recent historic times, are now rapidly dying out, while many have settled among the Sinhalese and so lost their identity. We met with only four families who still led the life described by Bailey in 1863, and these were not among the Nilgala, but among the Nuwaragala hills. At Nilgala itself there are no Veddas at the present day, though the local peasant Sinhalese doubtless have much Vedda blood in their veins."||

There is probably not a really wild or pure-blooded Vedda in Ceylon to-day, and there are only a few families who can make any claim to be regarded as pure Veddas. It is of interest to record that the Veddas mentioned by name in Professor and Mrs. Seligmann's book as the most typical Veddas they saw were all enumerated at the Census.

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* Quoted in " Hobson-Jobson," p. 736.

† Knox's " Historical Relation," p. 98.

‡ වැද්දෝ ගෙවල් තැනීමට කථාකරගන්නවා වගෙයි.

§ Inquiry was made by the Assistant Government Agent of Mullaittivu (Mr. A. W. Seymour) as to the habits of the Veddas in this District. After personal investigations, Mr. Seymour considered that these Veddas, though originally of Vedda stock from the North-Central Province, are now practically absorbed in the local Tamil population, and have already forgotten all the traditions and customs of their ancestors ; " they knew nothing of *warugés* or clans, or even the Vedda gods."

|| " The Veddas," by Professor and Mrs. Seligmann, p. 35.

The tests of the genuine Vedda, or of a descendant of a genuine Vedda, may be said to be—

Firstly, a knowledge of his *warugé* or clan ; there are six principal *warugés*.

Secondly, a knowledge of the Vedda religion, the different *Yaku*, invocations, &c.

Thirdly, dependence for a livelihood on hunting. A Vedda has travelled far from his original state when he becomes a cultivator.

Very few of the " Veddas " enumerated at the Census could have stated their *warugé*, or knew anything of clan distinctions. The Revenue Officer of Tamankaduwa in the North-Central Province, where the number of Veddas (713) was double the number at the last Census, reports : " A large number of people of mixed Vedda descent were designated Veddas by the enumerators, as the custom in Tamankaduwa is to go by the mother's nationality. The offspring of Vedda women, be they wives of Tamils or Sinhalese, are all classified as Veddas. The number of real Veddas is therefore not so great as 713.

" In regard to their religion, I should mention that had we described the Veddas in the class ' Others ' it would have been more correct, as, in spite of the fact that they attend the services in the Hindu kovil at Mannampitiya and take part in the ceremonies, they have not abandoned the worship of ' Gale Yakku '* and ' Gange Bandara,'† their favourite deities.

" Some of the Veddas in villages near Minneriya and Topawewa join the Buddhists and go to the temples and offer flowers, more out of a desire to imitate the Low-country and Up-country Sinhalese who have settled down in Tamankaduwa, than because they understand and appreciate the doctrines of the Buddhist faith.

" I have carefully taken down the genealogies of the Veddas of Macuppe Tulana and find that they are all mixed up. There is not one clan which could be called a pure one. These Veddas do not in some instances remember their grandparents, and, except the older generations, the younger men do not know and apparently do not care about the name of the clan to which they belong. It is noteworthy that if the mother is of the ' Tala Warugé ' all her children are considered to belong to the ' Tala Warugé.' If she is of the ' Embula Warugé,' her children are of the ' Embula Warugé,' and so on, regardless of the fact that the husband is a Vedda of another *warugé* or even a man of another nationality."

The religions of the Veddas enumerated at this Census were Buddhists 1,623, Hindus 3,027, Christians 89, and Others 593. These latter were probably worshippers of Yaku, or spirits of the dead. Nearly all these Veddas were probably purely animistic in their beliefs.‡

The Wesleyans made several attempts to Christianize the Veddas of Bintenna, and up to 1844 163 men, 48 women, and 85 children had been baptized, but it was soon realized that they would go back to their former faith. " What they formerly heard they have forgotten ; they declare it impossible for them to live without devil worship. When they did so their children were sick, their cattle died, their trees would not bear fruit, and their crops were cut off. It was vain to expostulate

* *Vide* Seligmann, " The Veddas," pp. 182 *et seq.* Parker's " Ancient Ceylon," p. 134.

† *Vide ibid.*, pp. 164 and 173 ; *ibid.*, p. 139.

‡ *Vide* pp. 259, 260, *infra.*

and argue. They believe the souls of their departed relatives to be devils who have power to hurt them, and therefore they perform ceremonies to them at regular seasons, and especially when they are sick."*

There were 89 Christians amongst these "Veddas" at this Census; their denomination was given as 63 Church of England, 24 Wesleyan, and 2 Roman Catholics.

The principal occupations of the Veddas enumerated were 568 cultivators (otherwise unspecified), 235 paddy land owners, 136 general labourers, 109 paddy land cultivators, 86 agricultural labourers, 53 labourers on coconut plantations, 24 vegetable and fruit growers.

There was even a Vedda dhoby, carpenter, and messenger, and two Veddas depended for their livelihood on a brickmaker and mason respectively. There were 14 domestic servants who gave their race as Vedda. These occupations show that practically none of these so-called Veddas are likely to be pure-bred Veddas. Many of them have doubtless come from Vedda districts and claim to have Vedda blood, but they are practically merged in the Sinhalese and Tamil population. 136 Veddas lived by hunting, 74 by fishing, 63 by collecting wax, honey, and other forest produce, 35 by digging roots, 6 by wood cutting—the only occupations which one would expect to find a true Vedda following.

The large number of persons who entered themselves as Veddas in the jungle districts of Ceylon at this Census may be taken to represent the jungle tribes and persons who claim to be descended from Veddas, the claim being made partly on account of their "high caste" and partly on account of their repute as hunters.

In the North, when a Kandyan hunter is addressed in the forest, the title Vedda is frequently added to his name—a person called Banda would be addressed by the rest of the party as Banda-vedda.†

The fabulous elements of the story of the invasion of Vijaya removed there can be little doubt that the settlement referred to did take place, and that many of the original inhabitants of the Island were no doubt driven into the hills and jungles.

The origin of the *Sinhalese* race has given rise to an immense amount of archæological speculation.

The name *Sin-galese* has been derived from an original intermixture of *Chinese* and *Galas* or Tamil exiles.‡ Another author§ says: "The Ceylonese proper derive their origin from Siam: this is the opinion which generally prevails among them; and the fact is related in their histories. Their language and religion (namely, the Boodhist) are the same as the Siamese." There is no reason, however, to travel beyond the ordinary bounds of probability in tracing the origins of the Sinhalese race. It is obvious that from the earliest times Ceylon must have been in the closest touch with the great peninsula of India; as the peoples of India pushed their way down to the south or travelled through previous settlements, they must in the ordinary course have

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* "The Veddahs of Bintenne," by the Rev. J. Gillings, published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), Vol. II., Part II., p. 88.

† Parker's "Ancient Ceylon," p. 124.

‡ Lee's "Ribeyro's History of Ceylon," p. 6; and *cf.* "The Rebellion of Ceylon, &c.," by Sá e Menezes, translated by Lt.-Col. St. George and published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), Vol. XI., p. 474, and Knox's "Historical Relation," p. 98.

§ Bertolacci's "Ceylon," p. 40.

eventually invaded the adjoining Island of Ceylon. This theory does not necessarily involve a Dravidian origin for the Sinhalese.* There are Indo-Aryans in India to-day occupying the Punjab, Rajputana, and Kashmir—the Rajputs, Khatris, and Jāts. There is also an Aryo-Dravidian type to be found in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, in parts of Rajputana, in Behar, and represented in its upper strata by the Hindustani Brahman, and in its lower by the Chámar. This type is probably the result of the intermixture in varying proportions of the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian types, and to this type the Sinhalese are believed to belong. The most generally accepted theory of the origin of the Sinhalese is that their progenitors were Aryan settlers from Magadha (the modern Behar) in North India. The connection with Magadha appears to have been originally based on the authority of the *Mahawansa*,† which states that the grandmother of Vijaya was a Princess of Vanga (Bengal ?), who fled with a caravan "chief" who was proceeding to the Magadha country. In a wilderness in the land of Lala" ‡ she was carried off by a lion, by whom she had a son called Sihabahu, who slew his lion father and became King of Lala, where he founded a city called Sihapura. Vijaya was his son, and on account of his lawless acts was driven out of the country, taking refuge eventually in the Island of Lanka. "By whatever means the monarch Sihabahu slew the Siha (lion), from that feat his sons and descendants are called Sihala (the lion slayers). This Lanka having been conquered by a Sihala, it obtained the name of 'Sihala.'" This is the derivation usually accepted for the origin of the name of Ceylon and the Aryan descent of the Sinhalese.

This tradition is borne out by similarities in language and by the ancient chronicles. The North Indian poem *Ramayana* (dating from 500 B.C.) and the inscriptions of Asoka (250 B.C.) point to early intercourse between North India and Ceylon, and the Pali chronicles probably compiled in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. ascribe the previous civilization of the Island to Aryan immigration.

The preservation of the Sinhalese language is valuable evidence of the distinct development of the Sinhalese race.

Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara,§ a leading authority on the Sinhalese language, considers that "it is a development of the Prakrit dialect spoken by Vijaya, the first historical king of Ceylon, and by his retinue of 700 men, who came over from Láṭa, a country in India comprising Kandesh and part of Gujarat about the Mahi river, and colonised Ceylon in 543 B.C." Prakrit was a term used to designate the single vernacular or provincial dialect of the Aryans in contrast with Sanskrit, which was "methodically elaborated on the lines of the Vedic language."

"At this time Buddhism had arisen and spread over the whole of the northern portion of India. Everywhere it adopted the vernaculars of India, in order to propagate its doctrines, in speech and in writing. Thus these vernaculars rose to the dignity of literary languages ...... and henceforth these languages co-existed in a two-fold form—the

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* "It is more probable they (the Chingalays) came from the Malabars, their countrey lying next, tho they do resemble them little or nothing. I know no nation in the world do so exactly resemble the Chingalays as the people of Europe."—Knox's "Historical Relation," p. 98.

† "Mahawansa," Chapter VI.

‡ The Sanskrit equivalent of the Pali Láḍa and the Sinhalese Lā, which is identified with the modern Lar, the Larike of Ptolemy.

§ Author of the "Comprehensive Grammar of the Sinhalese Language."

vernacular and the literary. Contemporaneously with, and perhaps in opposition to, the adoption of the vernaculars by the Buddhists for their heterodox compositions, the Brahamanical schools, in which the use and the study of the Veda and their ancient language had been handed down, elaborated and established, for the purpose of their own orthodox compositions, another literary language, drawn on the lines of the ancient Vedic language, and thus possessing a character at once archaic and artificial. This language they designated the *Sanskrit* (Samskrita, *i.e.*, elaborated, perfected), in opposition to which the vernaculars were called by them *Prakrit* (Prakrita, *i.e.*, natural, unelaborated). It will be understood from this that while the Prakrits existed, as already stated, both in a vernacular (or spoken) and a literary form, the Sanskrit was only a literary language, but never a spoken one in the sense of a vernacular."* These Prakrit dialects began to disappear about the tenth century of the Christian era, giving rise to the modern languages, viz., Hindi (the principal of them, including its offspring Hindustani or Urdu), Bengali, Marathi (representative of the Maháráshtri), Pañjabi, Gujarati, Sindhi, Oriya (language of Orissa, or Odra-desa), &c., which retain many Prakrit words, either in their original or slightly modified forms. The Pali (or more correctly the Pali-bhasha, lit. "language of the text," *i.e.*, Buddhist text), a form of the Magadhi, the present existence of which is entirely due to the Buddhist literature, is generally treated as the source from which the Sinhalese language is derived, owing to the close resemblance of the words of the two languages.

When Mahinda, son of Asoka, who introduced Buddhism, and with it the Pali language, to Ceylon in 307 B.C., met and spoke to the Sinhalese king Devanampiya Tissa (307-267 B.C.) at Mihintale, and afterwards preached the religion to the masses, his language, which was Magadhi or some form of it, is said to have been perfectly understood; this would show that the Prakrit then current in Behar and that in or near Gujarat were very much the same, and that the dialect brought to Ceylon by Vijaya remained in Ceylon for so long a time as 237 years in its original purity. Yet the origin of the Sinhalese language must be connected with the south-western part of India, from which Vijaya and his men probably came, and therefore with the early form of the Mahárâshtri which prevailed there at the time. This is confirmed by the fact that the Sinhalese idiom and construction of a sentence agree with those of languages in the south of India rather than with Pali or Sanskrit or any other languages of the north. Hence in tracing Sinhalese words to their origin, the local affinity of the Marathi and Gujarati languages must be assumed. It may be suggested as a possible explanation that Vijaya's father having been brought up at the court of the king of Vanga, the courtiers at Lala spoke the language of Vanga or Bengal; but though Vijaya himself and his chief captains may have spoken this language, his followers very probably used a dialect of their own, and many of them were no doubt men of Gujarati recruited by Vijaya on the way. There was likely to be much more similarity between the different dialects spoken in India in those days, and it is not remarkable to find that a native of the south-west of India could easily understand a native of Bengal—the languages then spoken were no doubt all Prakrit dialects. The prefixes and suffixes of Sinhalese words are also derived from Prakrit and its representatives.

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* "A Comparative Dictionary of the Bihari Language," by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle and George A. Grierson.

The ancient characters used in Ceylon by the Sinhalese were what is generally known as the Asoka characters, which are found in the oldest rock inscriptions dating from about 300 B.C. They were replaced about the tenth century by the modern Sinhalese characters, a form of the Grantha derived from the Chera, a variety of the southern Asoka characters, and used in southern India chiefly for writing Sanskrit. The modern Sinhalese alphabet (which contains 54 letters, of which 18 are vowels and 36 consonants) is more perfect than either the Sanskrit or Pali alphabet.

The Sinhalese language of the present day is believed to have probably more words than any other language in the world. Besides its own vocabulary, which has an equivalent for almost every word in the Sanskrit or Pali language, nearly the whole Sanskrit vocabulary is used in Sinhalese, as well as a large number of Pali words, chiefly religious terms and words borrowed or derived from the south Indian languages (Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, &c.), and from the Malay, Arabic, Portuguese, Dutch, and English languages.

The speech of the Rodiyas is an admixture of Sinhalese words and certain non-Sinhalese words peculiar to it.

The dialect of the Veddas contains a large number of Sinhalese words, with a very few genuine Vedda words, which are distinct from the Sinhalese.

The Maldivian language has many pure Sinhalese words.

That the Sinhalese language was held in high esteem by Eastern nations in ancient times is proved by the fact that it is included in the list of eighteen principal languages* in the East, collectively called in Sanskrit *Ashtá-dasa-bháshá* and in Sinhalese *Daha-ata-básé.* Mahinda translated the whole of the Pali commentaries on the Buddhist *Tripitaka* into Sinhalese (the Sinhalese version was translated back into Pali by the monk Buddhaghosa Maha Thera in 410–432 A.D.), which shows that as far back as 300 B.C. the Sinhalese language must have been regarded as a highly cultivated one.

The Sinhalese language may be divided into book or classical Sinhalese and colloquial Sinhalese.

The diction and grammar of the book language were greatly influenced by Sanskrit and Pali, which were taken as the standard by ancient writers, who were generally proficient in those languages, and this language is usually found in paraphrases to Sanskrit and Pali books.

The Sinhalese language possessed a very vast literature, of which only a small fragment now exists, owing to the destruction wrought by foreign invaders, as well as by some of the Sinhalese kings, who, to put down a heresy, burnt the libraries of the heretics.

These destructions were so extensive that even the books of the *Tripitaka*, which nearly every temple library at least must have possessed, could not be procured locally, and copies had to be obtained from other countries, which had originally taken copies from Ceylon when the books were for the first time committed to writing (88 B.C.). That the destruction of non-religious books was equally great may be judged from the fact that the only Sinhalese grammar which has

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* The eighteen languages are: (1) Anga (of Bengal proper), (2) Aruna (of Agra), (3) Kalinga (Telugu), (4) Karnata, (5) Kamboja, (6) Konkana, (7) Kosala (of Oude), (8) Já (of Malacca), (9) Sinhala (Sinhalese), (10) Sindhu, (11) China (Chinese), (12) Arábi (Arabic), (13) Domala (Tamil), (14) Tulwa, (15) Gujarati, (16) Magadhi, (17) Marathi, and (18) Vanga (Bengali). Sanskrit was not included, probably because it was only a literary language, and not a *bháshá* or vernacular speech.

survived is the very small work entitled the *Sidatsangara*, written about 800 years ago.

The Sinhalese Buddhist commentaries,* the Code of Laws compiled by king Dapulu III. (827–843 A.D.), the histories of Ceylon referred to at the commencement of the *Mahawansa* as having existed at the time of its compilation (461 A.D.), and many other works mentioned in the *Mahawansa* and other books, are not extant now. Such works as the *Sarartha-sangrahaya* (a medical work in Sanskrit), by king Buddhadasa (341–370 A.D.), the *Janakiharana* (a Sanskrit poem on the abduction of Janaki, or Sita, by Ravana, king of Ceylon), by king Kumaradasa (515–524 A.D.), the *Visuddhi-marga Sanné* (a Sinhalese paraphrase to *Visuddhi-magga*, a compendium of Buddhism in Pali), the *Thúpavansaya* (history of the Dagobas of Ceylon, in Sinhalese), by Pandit Parakrama (1286 A.D.), and other works by laymen would appear to show that in early times there must have been a very large number of works, now lost, treating of the various arts and sciences then to be found in Ceylon and India, composed in Sinhalese, as well as in Pali and Sanskrit, by Buddhist monks, who were generally far more studious and learned than the laymen, or than monks of modern times.

The Sinhalese literature consists of works written in pure Sinhalese, now called *Elu*,† and works written in mixed Sinhalese, composed chiefly of Elu, Sanskrit, and Pali words. The earliest writings (including inscriptions), the *Sidatsangaráva*, and poetical works are in pure Sinhalese, and the other works (prose) are in mixed Sinhalese, which is understood much more easily by the illiterate of the present day, though the reverse must have been the case in very early times. Only a scholar can to-day correctly understand a passage from the *Sidatsangaráva* or a verse from a classical poem, and this is due to the existence in Elu of a large number of synonyms and homonyms,‡ several collections of which called *Nighantu*, composed in verse, evidently to help the beginner to memorize them, exist in the language. There are paraphrases called *Sanna* and glossaries called *Geṭapada*, written by the authors themselves or by others to facilitate the study of some of the Elu works. The reading of *Amarakósha*, the popular Sanskrit *Nighantu*, which is the last of the series of native readers, and which was no doubt taught to the student with the Sinhalese meanings (in old ola copies these are noted below the Sanskrit words), and the study of the *Sannas* and *Geṭapadas* referred to, which abound in Sanskrit words, helped the beginner to understand Sanskrit words found in mixed Sinhalese compositions.

All ancient works, both prose and verse, now extant, are written by Buddhists, and they commence with an adoration to Buddha or the Triple-gem (Buddha, Scripture, and the Priests).

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* According to the *Buddhaghósuppatti*, a biography in Pali of the monk Buddhaghosa above referred to—probably written in Ceylon, though copies were found only in Burma—the Sinhalese commentaries were burnt by him after he had completed his Pali version. Even if this statement, which is unsupported by the *Mahawansa*, be true, the total disappearance of this great work, copies or parts of which must have been preserved in more than one temple during the seven hundred years which elapsed between its composition and its translation into Pali, is unaccountable, unless it had been deliberately destroyed during one of the many religious wars.

† This originally meant Sinhalese, though now restricted to the pure language free from Sanskrit foreign words, Sihala—Hela—Helu—Elu.

‡ The old poems *Dahamgetaya* and *Dahamgeta-málâva*, which are composed of enigmatical verses, and some of the stanzas in *Styabaslakara*. *Kavminikondala*. and other poems, which are composed of the inflections of a single consonant or of the same words in all four lines, &c., are instances in point.

After the orthodox Buddhism died out in India and the works of the *Tripitaka* were translated into Sanskrit (*circa* 40 A.D.), in which language they exist in Nepaul, Ceylon became the home of the Pali language, the permanency of which was secured by committing the text of the *Tripitaka* to writing and by translating the Sinhalese commentaries into Pali. Besides this literature, there are a large number of religious, grammatical, historical, and medical works written in Pali by the Sinhalese. Even in recent years there have been important scholarly works written in Pali, as, for example, the *Sásanavansadípó* (a comprehensive history of the Buddhist Church in verse, 1880 A.D.), by the High Priest Achariya Vimalasara Tissa (died 1888), and the *Subódhika* (a tika or commentary on the popular Pali Grammar *Bálávatára*, 1892), by the late High Priest H. Sri Sumangala.

Though language is a useful indication of race, it cannot be accepted as anything more than corroborative evidence in support of a theory of the origin of the race. All authorities on the race question are agreed that the Sinhalese are a mixed race. Professor Virchow's view was that "the Veddas are a pure-blooded, the Sinhalese a mixed race,"* and elsewhere he says that "the Sinhalese race must be looked upon as a mixed race in the highest degree."† It was practically impossible that they should be otherwise—invasion succeeded invasion from India, the ruling dynasty was for generations Tamil, and there must have been constant fusion of the two races. Prisoners from South India were settled in various parts of Ceylon, settlements of weavers were brought over, and in every branch of the State Tamil workmen were employed. Certain castes in Ceylon to-day trace their descent directly from South Indian tribes, and along the coast from Negombo to Puttalam Tamil is as much spoken as Sinhalese by villagers calling themselves Sinhalese, but undoubtedly of Tamil descent.‡ It is remarkable that the race of the earliest settlers should have been preserved to the extent it has, for it is clear to the most superficial observer that there are very marked physical differences to-day between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. That the Aryan element was preserved is probably due to the fact that the earlier invaders belonged to tribes which were more nearly allied to the peoples from whom the Sinhalese were originally descended than to the Tamils of south India of to-day. The Dravidian element was more marked in every succeeding invasion, until it became so distinct that there ceased to be the same cousinship between the races.

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* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), Vol. IX., p. 491.

† *Ibid.*, p. 286.

‡ Even in the Hiriyala hatpattu of the Kurunegala District in the Diddeniya palata there are Sinhalese Karawas, the majority of whom are Hindus and speak Tamil. Their tradition is that their ancestors came from South India and settled first in Negombo. They worship the Kataragama Deiyo, and their religious service is in Tamil. Most of them can read and write Sinhalese, but speak Tamil at home. They have ceased to observe most of the Tamil customs, but preserve the custom of tying the "táli" at weddings. They intermarry with other Kandyan village Karawas.

Mr. Macready, in his Administration Report on the Puttalam District for 1867, says of the people of the Demala hatpattu: "The people we now find there call themselves Kandyans, but I suspect that not a little Malabar blood runs in their veins. The men of the present day certainly have much in common with the Malabars as well as with the Kandyans, and the peculiarity of the Tamul caste of countenances is in some instances strongly developed." These are only instances. There are many similar settlements of Sinhalese undoubtedly of Tamil descent. The "surnames" of the Salagama caste denote their Indian descent. The names of nearly all the ranks in Ceylon are derived from Tamil words, *e.g.*, Mudaliyar, Muhandiram, Arachchi.

The case for the Tamil infusion of blood is clearly stated by the late Mr. Brito in the appendix to his translation of the *Yalpana-Vaipava-Malai:* "The distinction between a Tamil and Singhalese is now a real distinction, and consists in the language, dress, habits, and customs of each. But it was not so in early times. 'Singhalese' meant an inhabitant of Ceylon, irrespective of race; and the early Singhalese people consisted essentially of Tamils with a scarcely appreciable admixture of the Magadhi blood. The dress of the Singhalese, their habits, customs, and religions, were those of the Tamils, and their language a hybrid of the Tamil and the Magadhi." Mr. Brito supports these assertions by assuming that the marriage of Vijayo with a Pandyan princess opened the Island to a continual influx of Tamils from the continent, while Vijayo, as an expatriated* prince of Behar, would not have kept up any intercourse with his parent country.

"The process of coalescence, once happily commenced between the Tamil and Magadhi settlers, continued until it was interrupted by a religious commotion, which took place in 307 B.C., when Buddhism was introduced and established in Ceylon,† and the Tamils from the continent, who had hitherto been encouraged to become settlers, and who, when they arrived, became easily blended with the old settlers, so long as the old settlers followed Saivaism, now changed their character and became invaders. The Buddhist converts (*i.e.*, the old residents) retained their old name, Sinhalese, while the new-comers and the adherents to the original faith, Saivaism, ranked themselves as Tamils.

"And Saivaism continued to be the religion of this Island for no inconsiderable period, nor did it cease to exist here when it ceased to be the State religion. For it has continued to exist up to this day. King Raja Singha I., who ascended the throne in 1581 A.D., was by religion a Saivite. He was not a Tamil by birth, but belonged to the ancient dynasty, and was the grandson of Wijayabahu VII.

"The caste system of the Saivites, with all its ramifications and shades of internal difference, though foreign to Buddhism, had existed in Ceylon in full vigour. There were the high castes, namely, the royal, noble, Brahman, Chetti, and agricultural; the low castes, namely, the weavers, potters, and such like; and the outcastes, namely, the Chandalas, employed as scavengers and nightmen.

"The Tamil practices of bali-offering, devil-dancing, and the Tamil ceremonies, observed at every step from the conception of the child in its mother's womb to the burning of the dead on the funeral pyre, have maintained their hold up to the present day. Caste distinctions and superstitious ceremonies have such hold on Asiatics that they are observed by even the Christian communities of Ceylon and India. And the whole social and religious fabric of Saivaism as it existed among the Tamils did once flourish in this Island before Buddhism was established in it. If the infant State had commenced with Buddhism for its religion, the existence, at the present day, among the Sinhalese, of superstitious practices that are as contrary to pure Buddhism as they are to Christianity, could not be satisfactorily accounted for." ‡

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* *Vide* "Mahawansa" (translation by Mudaliyar L. C. Wijesinha), Chapter VI., p. 30; but *vide* Chapter VIII. for an account of the arrival of Vijaya's nephew Panduvásu Deva from Sihapura, the capital of Lála, which shows that there was a further infusion of the "Vanga" blood.

† Emerson Tennent's "Ceylon," Vol. I., p. 339.

‡ *Vide* Knighton's "History of Ceylon," pp. 51, 81, 83–85.

It is noticeable that in the six Districts where the Low-country Sinhalese predominate, their proportion is greater than that of the Kandyans in any Kandyan District. In the eight Low-country Districts and Municipalities less than 3 per cent. of the population are Kandyans ; in none of the Kandyan Districts do the Low-country Sinhalese bear a proportion of less than 3 per cent.

The Puttalam District has been omitted, as its predominant race is Moor.*

In the Low-country Sinhalese Districts the Low-country Sinhalese are in a great majority, and these Districts may be described as purely Sinhalese.

In the Kandyan Districts—in the Nuwara Eliya District the Tamils are in a proportion of 63·2 to 27·6 Kandyans, or more than 2 to 1 ; in the Kandy, Badulla, and Matale Districts the proportions are Kandyans 47·6 per cent., 56 per cent., and 56 per cent.; Tamils 39·1 per cent., 33·8 per cent., and 30·3 per cent., respectively. Even in the Ratnapura and Kegalla Districts, with over 60 per cent. of their population Kandyan, the Tamils form 16·7 and 24·7 per cent. of the population.

The explanation of these large proportions of Tamils in Kandyan Districts is, of course, that these are "Up-country" planting districts, where large forces of immigrant coolies are employed. The advance of the Low-country man into the Kandyan Districts, to which reference has been made in the District Histories in Chapter IV.,† is remarkable. Taking the figures for Low-country Sinhalese in the eight Districts in which the Kandyans predominate for 1901 and 1911—

District.	Proportion of Low-country Sinhalese in 1901.	1911.
1. Kurunegala	10·4	15·2
2. Ratnapura	8·9	11·4
3. Kegalla	7·7	8·2
4. Matale	6·0	6·7
5. Kandy (excluding Municipality)	5·2	5·9
6. Nuwara Eliya	5·2	5·8
7. Badulla	4·7	5·6
8. Anuradhapura	2·4	3·2

in every Kandyan District the proportion of Low-country men has increased, notably so in Kurunegala and Ratnapura.‡

The Low-country Sinhalese have increased by 17·7 per cent. during the decade, the Kandyan Sinhalese by 14·4 per cent. It is not possible to make any comparisons as to their relative increases prior to the last Census, which was the first at which they were separately enumerated.

Parker§ says that the Kandyan race "differs from that of the Western and Southern coast tracts in all respects but colour, religion, and language." He quotes from an article by the late Mr. E. Goonetilleke, editor of the "Orientalist," in that publication,‖ on the Kandyan and Low-country Sinhalese : "They are as distinct from each other in their dress, habits, manners, and customs and in their

* The proportion of the different races in the Puttalam District, excluding the St. Anna's pilgrims, are Low-country Sinhalese 19½ per cent., Kandyan Sinhalese 19½ per cent., Tamils 24½ per cent., Moors 35 per cent.

† *Vide* Chapter IV., pp. 94, 104, 105, 107, 117, 119, and 124.

‡ *Vide* Chapter IV., pp. 94, 117, 119.

§ "Ancient Ceylon," by H. Parker, p. 30.

‖ "The Orientalist," Vol. IV., p. 93.

very ideas and manner of thinking as if they formed two different races rather than two sections of one nation." Mr. Parker continues : "The Kandian villagers certainly look upon the people of the Western coast tracts as a separate race, and do not term them Sinhalese, but always speak of them as *Pata-rata minissu*, 'Men of the Low-country.' The difference is not altogether due to a preponderance of Vaedda blood in the interior. The dwellers near the Western coast have always been exposed to foreign influences. The various races who have either settled among them in considerable numbers or held the Western coast as conquerors include Dravidian and Arab traders and settlers, and as conquerors Malays, Chinese, Portuguese, Dutch, and lastly English. It would be strange if the resultant people did not vary greatly from those of the interior."

The distinction between Kandyans and Low-country Sinhalese is every year lessened ; in fact, one of the most conspicuous features of the decade has been the amalgamation which is steadily taking place of Low-country and Kandyan Sinhalese. It would be strange if this were not so in modern times, when improved means of communication bring the villager from even the remotest parts of the Island in touch with town life. In nearly every town in the Island the Low-country Sinhalese predominate; even in Kandy itself, Gampola, Matale, Kegalla, Kurunegala, and Anuradhapura the Low-country Sinhalese are in the majority. The spread of ideas is from the towns ; these are the centres of education. As has been shown in Chapter VI., the creation of new standards of comforts is the result of changes in manners and customs. These changes are all such as must bring persons speaking the same language, following the same religion, and receiving the same education into closer touch.

Intermarriages between Kandyan and Low-country Sinhalese are largely on the increase, and in many parts of the "Up-country"—the home of the Kandyan race—it is difficult to distinguish to-day between Kandyan and Low-country men and women.*

The changes which are taking place are very similar to those which have made Englishmen and Scotchmen both British, each preserving certain national traits, prejudices, and peculiarities, but recognizing a common unity, and associating on such terms that it is difficult for a foreigner to recognize any difference in the type.

Amongst the Sinhalese are included *the Rodiyas*, and their race is given as Sinhalese in their Census schedules.

There has been considerable speculation as to the origin of these people. Tennent considers that the most probable theory is that they were immigrants from the coast of India of the Chandala blood, "a people so degraded that water over which their shadows had passed was held to be defiled till purified by sunlight," and gives a reference to the *Mahawansa*, in which mention is made of a village of Chandalas existing in the fifth century A.D. He also refers to the language of the Rodiyas, which, though mainly Sinhalese, contains words not found in the Sinhalese language. Nevill—who always travels far in his ethnographic researches—thinks it "almost certain that they are an enslaved branch of the Gaurs of Bengal ; can they be the Ludi who once held the territory of modern Oude ?" It is, however, far more probable that the Rodiyas were originally Sinhalese, who were cast out from amongst their fellow men for some heinous offence, and who were henceforth regarded as the most degraded and despicable race in the

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* *Vide* Chapter IV., pp. 119, 124, and Chapter VI., p. 170.

country. In support of this theory we have first the account given of the Rodiyas by Knox, who is unimpeachable authority on the traditions of two and a half centuries ago. "There is one sort of People more, and they are the Beggars: who for their Transgression, as hereafter shall be shewn, have by former kings been made so low and base, that they can be no lower or baser. And they must and do give such titles and respects to all other People, as are due from other People to Kings and Princes.

"The Predecessors of these People, from whom they sprang, were Dodda Vaddahs, which signifies Hunters: to whom it did belong to catch and bring Venison for the King's Table. But instead of Venison they brought Man's flesh, unknown; which the King liking so well, commanded to bring him more of the same sort of Venison. The King's Barbar chanced to know what flesh it was, and discovered it to him. At which the King was so inraged, that he accounted death too good for them; and to punish only those Persons that had so offended, not a sufficient recompence for so great an Affront and Injury as he had sustained by them. Forthwith therefore he established a Decree, that all both great and small, that were of that Rank or Tribe, should be expelled from dwelling among the Inhabitants of the Land, and not to be admitted to use or enjoy the benefit of any means, or ways, or callings whatsoever, to provide themselves sustinence; but that they should beg from Generation to Generation, from Door to Door, thro the Kingdom; and to be looked upon and esteemed by all People to be so base and odious, as not possibly to be more.

"And they are to this day so detestable to the People, that they are not permitted to fetch water out of their wells; but do take their water out of Holes or Rivers. Neither will any touch them, lest they should be defiled.

"Many times when the King cuts off Great and Noble Men, against whom he is highly incensed, he will deliver their Daughters and Wives unto this sort of People, reckoning it as they also account it, to be far worse Punishment than any kind of Death. This kind of Punishment being accounted such horrible Cruelty, the King doth usually of his Clemency shew them some kind of Mercy, and pittying their Distress, Commands to carry them to a River side, and there to deliver them into the hands of those who are far worse than the Executioners of Death; from whom, if these Ladies please to free themselves, they are permitted to leap into the River and be drowned; the which some sometimes will choose to do, rather than to consort with them.

"The Barbar's information having been the occasion of all this misery upon this People, they in revenge thereof abhor to eat what is dressed in the Barbar's House even to this day."*

The tradition is in accord with the Rodiyas' own account of their degradation, which is given by Nevill.† "At Parakrama Bahu's court the venison was provided by a certain Vaedda archer, who, during a scarcity of game, substituted the flesh of a boy he met in the jungle, and provided it as venison for the Royal Household. Navaratna Valli,‡ the beautiful daughter of the King, discovered the deception, and fascinated by a sudden longing for human flesh ordered the hunter to bring this flesh daily. The Vaedda accordingly waylaid youths in the woods, and disposed of their flesh to the royal kitchen. The whole

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* Knox's "Historical Relation," pp. 111, 112, and 114.

† "The Taprobanian," Vol. II., pp. 81 *et seq.*

‡ The name still occurs amongst the Rodiyas, and two Rodiya girls born during the decade bore this name.

country was terrified by the constant disappearance of youths and maidens. It happened that a barber who came to the palace to complain of the disappearance of his only son while waiting was given, by the servants at the royal scullery, a leaf of rice and venison curry. Just as he was about to eat he noticed on his leaf the deformed knuckle of the little finger of a boy. Recognizing it by the deformity as that of his son, he fled from the palace and spread the alarm that the king was killing and eating the youths of the city. The facts then came to light, and the king, stripping his daughter of her ornaments, and calling up a scavenger then sweeping out a neighbouring yard, gave her to him as wife, and drove her out to earn her living in her husband's class. The princess and the scavenger fled from the town, and as night came on asked for shelter from a Kinnara, but were angrily repulsed.".

It is noteworthy that the barber plays a part in both stories, and that there is a feeling of animosity to-day towards the barber on the part of the Rodiya. The Kinnara, who was the first person to repulse the founders of the race, is regarded as their hereditary enemy, and so strong is the feeling between them that there are Sinhalese sayings, "*Like the Rodiya meeting the Kinnara*," or "*Like the Rodiya and the Kinnara*,"* equivalent to the proverb "Like the cobra and the polonga," referring to the mutual hatred they bear each other.

If the Rodiyas are the descendants of the Chandalas referred to in the *Mahawansa* (Chapter X.), one would have expected their numbers to have been considerably larger than they are to-day. Physically they compare favourably with any people in Ceylon. In this chapter of the *Mahawansa* one thousand Chandalas are said to have been employed as nightmen, carriers of corpses, and at the cemetery in Anuradhapura, by King Pandukabhaya.†

Again, had the Rodiyas been originally a caste despised on account of their occupation, such as the Chandalas, it is curious that they have ceased to perform any of the duties of their caste. The principal characteristic of the caste system is the unbroken continuance of the occupation which denotes or is peculiar to the caste. Had the Rodiyas been natives of India brought over specially to serve as scavengers and to bury the dead, it is curious that they should have escaped the performance of these tasks—tasks held in such abhorrence that it was necessary to procure persons from India to perform them. In Knox's time there is no record of any such duties being required of the Rodiyas. In fact, as Knox says, "they do beg for their living ; and that with so much importunity, as if they had a Patent for it from the King and will not be denied, pretending that it was so ordered and decreed that by this very means they should be maintained." "These Beggars live without labour, as well or better than the other sorts of People ; being free from all sorts of services and Duties which all others are compelled to perform for their King."‡ Begging was not in itself looked upon as a disgraceful occupation ; scavenging was so regarded. If they were Chandalas, it is strange that they should not have continued to bear that name, of which there is no trace amongst them to-day. The name they bear, Rodiya, is no doubt derived from *rodu*—filth, sweepings, the scum. Outlawry always involved the loss of all social and civic rights on the part of persons possessing such

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* රොඩියත් කින්නරත් වගෙයි.
† "Mahawansa" (translation by Mudaliyar L. C. Wijesinha), Chapter X., p. 43
‡ Knox's "Historical Relation," p. 113.

Government interpreters should be prohibited from using special forms of address in speaking to Rodiyas ; that Rodiyas should not be refused admission to courts and kachcheries ; that officers in charge of districts should be instructed to discourage the wearing of a special form of dress by the Rodiya women ; and that as far as possible a headman or *Hulawaliya* should be appointed for each settlement. The revenue officers were addressed in the terms of these suggestions ; the first two recommendations do not, however, appear to have been acted upon.

The returns of the Census of 1903—though incomplete—have afforded valuable material for arriving at the numbers of the Rodiyas at the Census of 1911. It was not considered advisable to arrange for their separate enumeration at this Census, nor were they separately enumerated at any decennial Census, on account of the policy of Government to avoid all distinctions between the Rodiyas and others, the difficulty in ensuring correct enumeration by others than their own Hulawaliya, and in the event of enumeration by the latter the risk of false entries. It has been, however, possible, with the assistance of the particulars obtained in 1903, to prepare a Census of Rodiyas which can be taken to be approximately correct. This result has been further assisted by the names of their settlements, gardens, &c., and personal names peculiar to the Rodiyas used in the schedules—for instance, the women's names practically without exception end in *Walliya* or *Walli*. Rodiyas' dwellings are also all situated close together, and the headman was usually given as the Hulawaliya, and the settlement marked in the house list as a *Kuppayama*.*

The number of Rodiyas traced in the schedule books is 1,572—823 males, 749 females—an increase of 108 since the Census of 1903, or 13 persons per annum, which would appear to show that the numbers can be relied upon as fairly accurate.

Tennent, writing in 1859, estimated the number of Rodiyas then as not exceeding a thousand, and added that they were said to be decreasing. They were distributed at this Census—in the Province of Sabaragamuwa 479, in the Central Province 411, in the North-Western Province 391, in the Province of Uva 269, in the Southern Province (all of whom were in the Hambantota District) 22. As compared with the figures for 1903, there is an increase of 170 in the Central Province, and a decrease of 98 in the Province of Uva. The Rodiyas are a migratory people, and frequently move their Kuppayamas or settlements from one district to another.† The largest Kuppayama was at Kanatalawa, in the Katugampola hatpattu of the Kurunegala District, with 71 persons—41 males and 30 females. Herawela, in Pata Dumbara in the Kandy District, has a population of 116, but Rodiyas and Kinnaras appear to be living together in this village.

The principal " occupation " given by the Rodiyas was begging, which was stated to be the means of livelihood of 603. Of these, 100 followed a subsidiary occupation, principally connected with the manufacture of coir ropes (52) ; 221 followed other main occupations, of whom 98 were cultivators and 51 mat weavers.

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* *Kuppam* in Tamil means a small village, usually occupied by low-caste people ; the Tamil *kuppai* means a heap, a dunghill. According to Nevill, the Rodiyas themselves call their villages *Gádinné dumana*, which literally means Gadi's house, *dumana* in the Rodiya dialect meaning house. Query, *dumana* may be derived from Sinhalese *dumanava* (දුමනාව), to smoke, and so = that from which smoke escapes.

† Nevill says : " The villages of the Kandian Rodiyas have been frequently changed."—" The Taprobanian," Vol. II., pp. 81 *et seq.*

the king would condescend to eat rice cooked by them. They thought this was a snare to involve them in some trouble; but the king had to be obeyed, so they erected a shed with awnings of cloth called *viyan* to show him their respect and veneration, and they prepared the best of dishes fit for a king and spread out the feast in the shed. The king did not consider this "eating rice from the outcasts," and he made one of them eat of the meal and leave a portion for him. This he ate. The king's disappointment may be imagined when he found that no cure had been effected. He hurried away from the Kuppayama, vexed with himself at being betrayed into disgracing his name for ever.

As he was sorrowfully wending his way homewards, still in disguise, his attention was attracted by a man ploughing in the middle of the day. It was customary in olden times to allow the cattle to rest or graze at noon and to do all the ploughing in the early part of the day, before the heat became overpowering. The king went up to the man and remonstrated with him for deviating from the general rule. The man churlishly replied that he would not allow his cattle to rest till the field was completely ploughed. The king shocked at this answer stood by watching the proceedings. Presently the man's wife came to the field with his breakfast, and seeing the unfinished field and the man still at the plough poured out a volley of abuse, and declared she would not allow her husband to desist from his labours, even to eat his breakfast. She at length proceeded to mix together the rice and curries she had brought and feed the man as he was following his team. Seeing the king watch her proceedings with amazement, she turned upon him in a fury, and exclaiming: "What business have you to be watching here, you vagabond, do you also wish for a mouthful of rice?" and, suiting her actions to her words, she walked up to him and thrust a handful of rice into his mouth, which he had to swallow. No sooner had he done so than the three hairs on his tongue at once disappeared. The king was surprised as well as delighted. "Why," thought he, "the pandit must have made a mistake when he told me to eat rice from an outcast, for these are no outcasts, but belong to the highest caste in the land; but it is not likely that such a learned pandit could easily make a mistake." As he was further ruminating on the matter, the beautiful lines of Buddha flashed across his mind—

Na jacca vasalo hoti na jacca hoti Brahmano,
Kammana vasalo hoti kammana hoti Brahmano.

"*No one is by birth an outcast, nor is any one by birth a Brahman; by deeds is one an outcast, and by deeds is one a Brahman.*" And he ceased to wonder any more, for he concluded that though the man and woman were of high caste by birth, yet they were outcasts by deeds.

This Census was the first at which any distinction was made between *Ceylon and Indian Tamils.* An attempt was made to distinguish between the Ceylon Tamils, principally inhabitants of the Northern and Eastern Provinces and the Puttalam District, and the large number of Tamil immigrants from South India who come to Ceylon for employment.

It was not always easy for an enumerator to say whether a Tamil born in South India but settled in Jaffna was to be entered as a Ceylon or Indian Tamil. The instructions to the enumerators were that Indian Tamils and Moors are Tamils and Moors who are only working or trading in Ceylon, away from their coast, and whose homes are in India, and the test question which it was suggested should be

put in case of doubt was, " Is your home on the Coast in India ? " The idea of " the Coast " as home is thoroughly well understood, and an Indian Tamil employed in Ceylon will always apply for leave to go to his " Coast " (சீமைக்கு).

The results may be regarded as satisfactory. The numbers of Ceylon and Indian Tamils closely approximate. There were 1,059,007 Tamils enumerated in Ceylon, of whom 530,983 were Indian Tamils—301,400 males and 229,583 females—and 528,024 Ceylon Tamils, of whom 268,649 were males and 259,375 were females. The proportion of males to females among Indian Tamils was 568 : 432, among Ceylon Tamils 509 : 491.

The disproportion of females amongst the Indian Tamils was what might be expected, considering the large number who have their homes in India and are only temporarily employed in Ceylon. On the estates the women and children find employment, and the proportion of males to females amongst the Indian Tamils on estates was 533 : 467. Excluding the Indian Tamils amongst the estate population, the proportion of males to females amongst the rest of the Indian Tamils was 737 : 263, or almost 3 males to 1 female. The birthplace of 81 per cent. of the Indian Tamils was given as India. The proportion of Indian Tamils under 5 years of age was over 9½ per cent., nearly all of whom were probably born in Ceylon. A considerable proportion of the estate population has been born on estates in Ceylon, on which their parents and grandparents worked before them.

The Tamils increased by 11·27 during the decade, which was double the increase between 1881 and 1891, and rather more than one-third of the increase between 1891 and 1901. The explanation of the decrease as compared with the last decade is due to the falling off in cooly immigration, which has been already referred to.* The Tamils have increased by 54 per cent. since 1881—a larger increase than that of any other leading race, except Europeans, during this period.

Of the Ceylon Tamils, 69 per cent. were born in the Northern Province, and 18 per cent. in the Eastern Province.

The history of the Tamil race is a subject for an Indian report. According to Bishop Caldwell, who wrote in 1875, the Tamil language was then spoken by 14½ million persons ; the number who speak it to-day is probably considerably over 20 millions.

The early history of Jaffna and the foundations of the Tamil power there have been already referred to.† The influence of the Tamil from South India on the Sinhalese people, their history, religion, and customs has been so great that it has already been mentioned as inseparable from any account of the Sinhalese race.‡

The salient characteristics of the Tamil race in Ceylon may be briefly summarized.

Their industry has always won for them the praise of Ceylon historians. " Jaffna is almost the only place in Ceylon of which it might be said that no one is idle or unprofitably employed...... Every one appears to be more or less busy," says Emerson Tennent.§ The general statement as regards the Tamils has, however, to be qualified in reference to the village population of the Batticaloa District, of whom the Government Agent (Mr. H. R. Freeman) wrote :

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* *Vide* pp. 40 and 41, *supra.*
† *Vide* Chapter IV., pp. 70 *et seq.*
‡ *Vide* pp. 196, 204, 205, *supra.*
§ Emerson Tennent's " Ceylon," Vol. II., p. 542.

"A native has aptly described to me the difference between Batticaloa villagers and the Jaffnese; the latter, he puts it, are 'manured with industry,' while the former are 'sterile with idleness!'"*

The Tamils have always shown themelves ready to emigrate in search of work—a singular characteristic in an Eastern people. The amount of emigration now taking place from Jaffna to the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States has been already mentioned.†

The Tamils of Ceylon are usually found to be quick in intelligence, especially in mathematical calculations; they make good clerks, bookkeepers, and accountants.

They have borne a bad reputation for criminality. Anthony Mooyaart, Commandeur of Jaffna, writing for the information of his successor in 1766, says:‡ "Of the inhabitants of the Commandement, viz., those who live in the four Provinces, in The Islands, and on the boundaries of Wanni, they may be truly called an evil and perverse race.§ They are usually full of jealousy, and will hurt and trouble their fellow men by unrighteous means, even if they have to suffer for it themselves. Yet they will not allow the persons whom they thus harass to be disgraced." Tennent mentions the amount of crime in the Jaffna District, and says that "crime in the North consists principally of burglary, frequently accompanied by personal violence and characterized by daring and combination." ‖

Casie Chitty says of the Jaffnese: "The inhabitants are, with few exceptions, Tamulians, and are laborious, active, and persevering; but it is to be regretted that the generality of them are remarkably lax in their morals: the calendar usually exhibits an extended list of prisoners for murder, highway robbery, ear cutting, and other atrocious crimes."¶ The Jaffnese no longer deserve this bad reputation, and the Jaffna District shows a low percentage of criminals compared with other Districts. "Outside the Jaffna peninsula there is little or no crime; and even in the peninsula the number of offences per thousand tax-payers was only two."**

While the Jaffnese may be, and usually are, taken to represent the Ceylon Tamil, it would be very difficult to select a representative of the Indian Tamil, who may be a wealthy Chetti or a paria on a tea estate. All classes and castes of Tamils are attracted to Ceylon.

A prominent and wealthy race of Indian Tamils are the *Nattukottai Chettis*, who were all included at the Census amongst the Indian Tamils. Their headquarters are the Sivaganga and Ramnad Zamindaries of the Madura District. It is estimated that there are about 4,700 of these Chettis in Ceylon, and that their numbers are increasing. A Chetti stays in Ceylon for thirty calendar months, and after closing his accounts hands over the business to a new agent from India. The large majority are local agents of Indian firms trading in Burma, the Straits Settlements, and Ceylon. They are also found in Saigon, Mauritius, and South Africa, and have in some cases correspondents in London and on the continent of Europe.

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* Administration Report of the Eastern Province, 1907.

† *Vide* Chapter IV., pp. 67, 68, *supra*.

‡ "Memoir of Anthony Mooyaart, Commandeur of Jaffnapatam" (translation by Sophia Pieters), p. 2.

§ *Vide* also "Memoir of Hendrick Zwaardecroon, Commandeur of Jaffnapatam" (translation by Sophia Pieters), p. 16. He uses the same expression: "The inhabitants of this territory who are really a perverse race."

‖ Emerson Tennent's "Ceylon," Vol. II., p. 548.

¶ Caise Chitty's "Gazetteer," p. 104.

** Administration Report for the Northern Province, 1909.

Casie Chitty, in his "Gazetteer," gives an account of this people written in 1832, which may be quoted here :—

"Among the various tribes of natives who inhabit the different parts of the District of Putlam, the Mookwas (or as they call themselves Mukuger, from Kuga the ferryman mentioned in the 'Ramayana' as assisting Rama and his retinue in crossing the Ganges on their way from Ayodhya) constitute a very industrious and peaceable body of subjects. These people are partly Mohamedans and partly Roman Catholics, and according to their own account—supported, however, by no kind of evidence—are originally emigrants from Ayodhya or some part of Oude in Hindoostan . . . . . . They may be descendants of a race in Kutch or Kuchchava lying west of Guzerat, called Mookwanas, or, from the striking resemblance in their customs and habits, of the Nairs and Mookwas on the Coast of Malabar.

"It appears that the place where the Mookwas first landed was Kudremale, whence they emigrated to other parts of the Island, and in course of time formed several settlements . . . . . . In return for services rendered them by the Arab crew of a vessel in a struggle with a rival chief, the whole of the Mookwas are said to have embraced the Mohamedan religion ; which many of their descendants afterwards renounced in favour of Christianity, through the influence of the Portuguese . . . . . . They afterwards sent embassies to the Court of the King of Kandy at Sitawaka, who received them with kindness, and granted them several copper sannases or rescripts, whereby the lands in the whole District of Putlam and Calpentyn were allotted to them for their maintenance as *paravéni*. The emperor constituted a royal tribunal at Putlam called Muttrakudam, and appointed eighteen of the Mookwas members of the same, under the authority of a Dissave or Pro-consul, who was to be annually sent from the court ; and also conferred on the said eighteen members the title of Wanniya . . . . . . The Mookwas appear to have been in possession of the whole lands in the district during the Government of the native Kings, and for a considerable period maintained a sort of aristocratic Government under their chiefs, till the district was conquered by the Dutch, and in course of time the Indo-Moors (who settled in the district some time after the Mookwas), gaining an ascendency over them by their pecuniary influence, gradually bought up all their lands for very trifling considerations, so that none of the Mookwas remain at present in possession of their ancient property.

"After the Dutch conquest the Muttrakudam, or tribunal at Putlam, was abolished, and the Land Raad established in its place. Of the aforementioned eighteen Wanniyas, six were dismissed as superfluous, and the remaining twelve appointed to officiate as members of the above court under the presidency of the Chief Resident, or Opperhoofdt of Calpentyn, allowing them in lieu of pay exemption from tithes on their cultivation only. Since the Island has been a British Colony, and the ancient form of Government changed, the Land Raad has been abolished, consequently the office and title of Wanniya has become extinct.

"The Mookwas are divided into seven distinct tribes, known as Wagai or Vagei, each denominated after the name of its founder, or the particular occupation professed by him. They are as follows :—

Pichanda Vagei.	Koyta Vagei.	Mudivilangu Pandiya Tever.
Nallanda Vagei.	Kalanga Vagei.	Vilangona Vagei.
Pala Vagei.		

"The Mookwas bear a close resemblance to the Tamuls, both in their physiognomy, manners, and gait. The dress of the men consists of a cloth wrapped round the waist, a shawl thrown loosely across the shoulder, and on the head they wear a turban; but, like the Sinhalese, they never perforate their ears. The women have their ears bored, and decorated with gold earrings of various kinds, and their dress does not in the least differ from that of the Moors.

"With regard to the ceremonies of marriage among the Mookwas, those who are Christians follow the rules of their church, and the Mohamedans abide by the ordinances contained in the Koran; but both sects observe the custom of having the táli, or gold string, tied round the neck of the bride by the bridegroom, to confirm the union; on which occasion they generally decorate their houses with white cloth, and display many honorary distinctions. Besides this ceremony, observed also by the Tamuls, the Mookwas observe the feast of purification on the seventh day after a girl is become marriageable, by inviting their friends and relations to an entertainment, and decorating the house with white cloth, &c. This ceremony is however losing ground among the Christian part of the Mookwas.

"The Mookwas, in the following particulars, differ from all other castes in Ceylon with regard to the right of succession and inheritance. When a Mookwa dies, his sons and daughters inherit equally the property acquired by him during his lifetime; but the property which he had received from his ancestors, called Mudusum, devolves to the sons of his sister, or, in failure of heirs in that branch, to the sons of his mother's sister's daughter, and so on to the fourth degree; but in failure of heirs in all these degrees it then goes to his own children. This singular custom being found to correspond with that which prevails among the Nairs of Malabar, I have been induced to advance the opinion that the Mookwas are remotely allied to that race."*

The Christian Mukkuvars, or Mookwas, as they are usually called in Ceylon, were included in this Census as Tamils. Some of the Muhammadan Mukkuvars gave Tamil as their nationality, but in the Akkarai Pattu South their nationality was given as Ceylon Moors by persons who gave their nationality as Tamils at the last Census. There is no doubt that the Muhammadan Mookwas are being absorbed into the Moorish population,† while many of the latter claim to be Mukkuvars.†

Mr. E. B. Alexander, the Assistant Government Agent of Puttalam, made special inquiries into the present customs of the Mukkuvars and had a separate census taken of them, from which it would appear that there are 1,675 Muhammadan Mukkuvars—886 males and 789 females—1,579 of whom were enumerated in the Puttalam pattu, 31 in Demala hatpattu, and 65 in Kalpitiya; and 615 Roman Catholic Mukkuvars—341 males and 274 females. 325 were enumerated in the Puttalam pattu and 290 in Kalpitiya. These figures probably are in excess of the actual number of Mukkuvars, and include many persons who now claim to be Mukkuvars, though in fact Ceylon Moors. At the Census of 1824 there were 1,185 "Mucowas" in the Chilaw District, which then included the Puttalam District.

The names of the tribes or vagei as known to-day are—

(1) Koyta Waiyan.
(2) Pickanda Waiyan.

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* Casie Chitty's "Gazetteer of Ceylon," pp. 275–280.
† *Vide* p. 254, *infra*.

(3) Palanga Waiyan. } Minor headmen and peons were drawn
(4) Kalanga Waiyan. } from these two classes.
(5) Attanganayan.
(6) Masi Walliyan.
(7) Mudivillakum Pandiyan ("Polish the crown of the king").

The last three tribes or classes are said to have been those from which menials were drawn.

The Mukkuvars are said to have been originally Sivites, and traces of their Tamil origin still remain, more pronounced amongst those who have become Muhammadans than among the Roman Catholic section. The Muhammadan Mukkuvars worship Ayanar, and present offerings under sacred trees at Wellassa, Tabbowa, and many other places in the Puttalam District.

None of the Mukkuvars have become Buddhists, not even those in Demala hatpattu, where the population is chiefly Buddhist.

The Muhammadan Mukkuvars formerly did not associate with the Ceylon, or Indian, Moors; did not attend their mosques, and never intermarried with them. It is now reported that their religion is a mixture of the Koran and the worship of Ayanar. Their marriages are celebrated by a Moorish Lebbe, as they have no Lebbes of their own. They have adopted the rite of circumcision; but unlike the Moors they do not shave their heads, but only their foreheads, and many of them wear their hair done up in a knot behind like the Sinhalese. The tendency, however, of recent years is for the Mukkuvars who are Muhammadans to identify themselves with the Ceylon Moors, and to adopt all their customs, &c., even to shaving their heads.

Both the Christian and Muhammadan Mukkuvar now associate together, look upon themselves as akin, address each other as "cousin," and attend each other's marriages. But differences of religion make intermarriage extremely rare.

The Mukkuvars are no doubt descendants of the Mukkuvans, or sea fishermen of the Malabar coast. In the "Gazetteer of Malabar" (1908) it is stated that the Mukkuvans are "a caste which, according to a probably erroneous tradition, came originally from Ceylon; they are a caste of fishermen following *marumakkatáyam* (inheritance through the female line) in the North, and *makkattáyam* (inheritance from father to son) in the South ...... The caste has supplied many converts to the ranks of Muhammadanism ...... The old caste organisation seems to have persisted to the present day among the Mukkuvans to an extent which can be paralleled amongst few other castes. They have assemblies (rajiams) of elders called Kadavans or Kadakkodis, presided over by presidents called Arayans or Karnavans, who settle questions of caste etiquette and also constitute a divorce court ...... Their consent is necessary to all regular marriages ...... Fishing is the hereditary occupation of the Mukkuvans." They catch on the Malabar coast the sardines, which sun-dried form the fish manure imported in such large quantities for use on the estates in Ceylon.

"The Moucois" of Calicut and Malabar are described by François Pyrard in his "Voyages": "They are all fishers or makers of salt, and on all the Malabar coast none others are employed as oarsmen and seamen, for which service they are hired ...... The King appoints certain of their chiefs and headmen to rule over them, and these with their wives and children have permission to wear gold and jewels ...... the Nairs employ them solely to do their hard work ...... order was given by the King to catch a certain number of fish every day, which the Chief of the Moucois was charged to supply to us free of cost."

"They are all Gentiles and worship the rising sun." *

To the last statement the editor of the "Voyages of Pyrard de Laval" adds a note: "At this time no doubt the Mukkuvar were all or nearly all Hindus; but the social advantages of the Moslem religion, proceeding from its non-acknowledgment of caste, have tended to convert large bodies of the lower castes, and now the Mukkuvars are mostly Mahomedans" (Burton, "Goa and the Blue Mountains," p. 241). Such is one explanation; Mr. Logan gives another: "To keep up a supply of sailors for the pirate crafts, the Zamroin established a rule that a certain proportion of children born to Mukkuvar should become Mahomedans. The custom is still kept up."†

Pyrard also notes that the Moucois "durst not wear long hair like the Nairs, so they cut it all round the head, except that they leave on the Crown a thick bunch of a hand's length; they durst not shave it altogether, for that is their mark of distinction."‡

It is significant that, as noted above, the Mukkuvars in Ceylon, even the Muhammadans, did not shave their heads but only their foreheads.

The tribe of Mukkuvars which is now held to be the chief is called the Koyta Waiyan. Casie Chitty also gives the Koyta Vagei. Can there be any connection between this name and a title among the Nairs—*Karta*, or doer? "The Tekkumkur and Vadakkumkur Rajas in Malabar are said to have first conferred the title Karta on certain influential Nayar families. In social matters the authority of the Karta was supreme, and it was only on important points that higher authorities were called on to intercede."§ It is possible that these Mukkuvars adopted the title from the Nairs.

The *Yalpana-Vaipava-Malai* mentions a complaint of the inhabitants of Koyil-kadavai to King Pandu that the Sinhalese traders were exposing fish to dry in holy places. "Finding that the Sinhalese themselves did not know how to fish, but that they employed for the purpose labourers of the Mukkuva caste—*a caste whose hereditary occupation was fishing*—the King ordered every individual of the Mukkuva caste to quit the sacred neighbourhood. The Mukkuva chieftains Usuman and Senthan migrated with their followers to Batticaloa, and settled in Ponakai and Valaiyeravu. A few remained behind in Manat-tidal, but formed new settlements on the sea-coast far removed from Kiri-malai. From this time no Mukkuvar have been found in Usuman-thurai, Senthankulam, or Allith-thundal."||

There is considerable evidence of the presence of Mukkuvars in the Batticaloa District, where they appear to have allied themselves with the Moors, and to have intermarried with them. Batticaloa is still called *Mukkuvatesam* (முக்குவதேசம், country of the Mukkuvars). and the tradition is that the Mukkuvars drove out the "Thimilars." According to Pridham,¶ in the fifteenth century a branch of the Wanniahs from Kottiaar settled near Sammanturai in the Batticaloa District, but were opposed and driven back by the Mukkuvars. The Wanniahs were, however, accepted by the Veddas as their "Bandara," or chiefs, over a part of the Batticaloa District, while other parts were occupied by the Mukkuvars, most of whom quitted their sea-faring

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* "Voyages of Pyrard de Laval," published by the Hakluyt Society, edited by Albert Gray and H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., Vol. I., pp. 385–389.

† "Pyrard de Laval's Voyages," Vol. I., footnote to p. 389.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 388.

§ "Castes and Tribes of Southern India," by Thurston, p. 295.

|| *Yalpana-Vaipava-Malai*, translated by C. Brito, pp. 5 and 6.

¶ Pridham's "History of Ceylon," Vol. II., p. 559.

life and became cultivators; they were ruled by their own chiefs, the Wanniahs and Mukkuvars severally acknowledging their allegiance to the Kandyan king. From 1759 to 1766 the Mukkuvar chiefs were ranked by the Dutch as under the Chief Mudaliyar of Batticaloa.

The Mukkuvars in the Batticaloa District were divided into seven clans. They also followed the practice of inheritance by nephews and nieces in preference to sons and daughters. In the time of the Kandyan kings every Mukkuvar had to exhibit a turtle shell stuck on a stick at the entrance of his residence.

The ceremony or game of Ankeliya, or horn-pulling, is found amongst the Mukkuvars of the Batticaloa District, who state that the two parties represent Siva and his wife Ammal, and that the ceremony is performed to appease the anger of Ammal whenever an epidemic occurs. The game is usually supposed to be sacred to the goddess Pattini, and is quite foreign to all Tamil districts, though it was formerly the one great national game of the Sinhalese.* It would be of interest to discover whether the Mukkuvars adopted this game from the Sinhalese or brought it from India.

Another custom introduced by the Mukkuvars among the Batticaloa Tamils was the performance of *pujas* to the Vathanamars, or guardian deities of the cattle. This ceremony is performed after the paddy crop is reaped and before it is threshed.

There is a race of people to be found in the Demala hatpattu of the Puttalam District, in the Egoda korale of the Wanni hatpattu, and in some villages in the Hiriyala hatpattu of the Kurunegala District, and in the Hurulu palata of the Anuradhapura District, who are called Wagas, or Waggai. These people are undoubtedly of Tamil descent; they will only intermarry with people of their own caste, or of castes recognized by them as of equal rank; though most of them are now Buddhists, they make offerings to Hindu gods, and their home language is a mixture of Sinhalese and Tamil.

They are traditionally supposed to be the descendants of Tamil prisoners brought to Ceylon by Gaja Bahu I. in the second century.† This explanation is a favourite one, used to account for the origin of all Tamil settlers in Sinhalese districts.

Mr. Ievers, in his "Manual of the North-Central Province," says that the Waggai in the Hurulu palata are also called *Kammalai*, "a name which they do not at all like. They call themselves 'Agampada Vellala,' *i.e.*, a lower grade of Vellalas. They say that their ancestors came from the Kurunegala Hatbage in comparatively recent times, and preserve a tradition that their original country was Malwar, but they do not know where it is. They do not intermarry with the people of this district, and seek for wives either in their own villages here or in those of their own caste in Kurunegala ...... It seems very probable that the 'Vaggai' of this Province are the descendants of 'Mukwas,' and that the distinction of tribe has been lost, and that the name 'tribe' (the tribes of the Mukwas being known as Vagei) merely remains."‡

It is, however, very unlikely that the Waggai have any connection with the Mukkuvars. No explanation is forthcoming as to why they should *not* have intermarried, especially as the Mukkuvars until quite recently did not marry outside their own tribe.

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* *Vide* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VIII., No. 29, for an account of this game by Mr. C. J. R. Le Mesurier, C.C.S.

† *Vide* Parker's "Ancient Ceylon," pp. 45, 46.

‡ "Manual of the North-Central Province," pp. 90, 91.

Further, tradition ascribes a very much earlier period to the settlement of the Waggai than that of the Mukkuvars. The Waggai are far more like the Sinhalese. They intermarry with them, and speak Sinhalese with a very slight accent. The Mukkuvars have never intermarried with the Sinhalese. Those of them who talk Sinhalese talk it with a Tamil idiom and accent. None of the Mukkuvars are Buddhists; they have embraced Christianity or Muhammadanism, to which none of the Waggai belong. Neither the Mukkuvars nor the Waggai claim kinship, nor do they resemble each other in appearance.

It is far more probable that the Waggai are descendants of the *Kammalans*, whose traditions connect them with Ceylon.

One of the tribal stories of the Kammalans is that when they were once attacked by the kings of the Tamil country, who combined against them, they took refuge in a fort called Kantakkottai, entirely constructed of loadstone, which drew all weapons away and so could not be taken. A Delilah was introduced into the fort, who obtained from a young Kammalan the secret that if the fort was surrounded with varaghu (வரகு, millet) straw and set on fire it could be destroyed. This was done, and with the exception of one pregnant Kammalan woman, the only Kammalans who escaped fled by sea, some say, to China or, according to another version, to Chingaladvipam or Ceylon, "where Kammalans are found at the present day."*

While amongst the Kammalans of Malabar there is a tradition that "they were brought to Kerala by Parasu Rama, but left in a body for Ceylon on being pressed by one of the early Perumal satraps of Cranganur to marry into the washerman caste, after they had by a special arrangement of the marriage shed trapped to death a large number of that obnoxious community. The king of Ceylon was requested as an act of international courtesy to send back some of the Kammalans. As however they were loth to return to their former persecutor, they were sent in charge of some Izhavas, who formed the military caste of the island."†

The earliest name of the Maha-oya was the Caymel, or Kaymel-oya, which is possibly connected with the landing or settlement of the Kammalans in Ceylon.‡

Parker says of the "Waga men": "Although they are supposed to have been originally only charcoal burners, they are now cultivators exactly like their neighbours. They term themselves of good caste, and the men have the usual names which denote that position; but the women have names that belong to persons of low caste."§

Their claims to be of high caste, and their dislike of the name "Kammalai," are in keeping with the claims of the Kammalans in India to be of high caste. Mr. H. A. Stuart, in the Madras Census Report for 1891, speaks of "their exaggerated claims, which are ridiculed by every other caste, high or low." They claimed to be Brahmans, and the highest of their Brahmanical gotras or classes was called *vis vagu*. It is as likely an explanation of the name waggai or waga being adopted by them to derive it from this *gotra* name as from a Mukkuvar Vagei.

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* *Vide* "Castes and Tribes of Southern India," by E. Thurston, Vol. III., p. 115.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. III., pp. 136, 137.

‡ The Kammalans or artisan classes, and the Iluvans in their double capacity of cultivators and toddy-drawers, are held to have come in all probability from the neighbouring Island of Ceylon, and established themselves here at a much later period.—Census Report for Cochin, 1901, Vol. I., p. v.

§ Parker's "Ancient Ceylon," p. 46.

The story that they were originally only charcoal burners may have been based on the fact that they were of the smith caste and smelted and moulded metal.

At the Census of 1824 "238 Wagays, 205 Ahampadias, 180 Agampadias, and 81 Camalers" were enumerated in the Chilaw-Puttalam District. They were probably all descendants of Kammalans.

The story of the origin of the Ahampadiyars or Agampadias is that: "Once upon a time Rishi Gautama left his house to go abroad on business. Devendra, taking advantage of his absence, debauched his wife, and three children were the result. When the Rishi returned, one of the three hid himself behind a door, and as he thus acted like a thief he was henceforward called Kallan. Another got up a tree, and was therefore called Maravan, from maram, a tree; whilst the third brazened it out and stood his ground, thus earning for himself the name of Ahamudeiyar, or the possessor of pride." This name was corrupted into Ahambadiyan. There is a Tamil proverb that "*A Kallan may become a Maravan; by respectability he may develop into an Agamudaiyan, and by slow and small degrees become a Vellala, from which he may rise to be a Mudaliar.*"* Thurston states that some Koravas (*vide infra*) pass for Vellalas, calling themselves Agambadiar Vellalas, with the title Pillai.† There are a number of persons who are called Agambadiar Vellalas in the Jaffna District, but unlike the Waggai people they object to the name, and endeavour to conceal the fact that they formerly bore it.

The Oddes, to whom reference has been made,‡ are another Tamil caste who are found in considerable numbers in Ceylon. They are commonly called Wudders, and are "the navvies of the country, quarrying stone, sinking wells, constructing tank bunds, and executing other kinds of earthwork more rapidly than any other class, so that they have got almost a monopoly of the trade. They are Telugu people who came originally from Orissa, whence their name. Were they more temperate they might be in very good circumstances, but as soon as they have earned a small sum they strike work and have a merry-making, in which all get much intoxicated, and the *carouse* continues as long as funds last .... Polygamy and divorce are freely allowed to men, and women are only restricted from changing partners after having had eighteen. Even this limit is not set to the men."§

These people are found all over the Northern, North-Central, and parts of the North-Western and Eastern Provinces, where they are engaged by the villagers to do their tank work for them. They work in gangs. Besides Telugu, they are said to speak a peculiar dialect of their own.

There is a legend current amongst some of them that "the Oddes were employed by God, who had assumed a human form and was living amongst them. On one occasion God having a certain ceremony to perform, gave the Oddes an advance of three days' pay, and ordered them to attend to the work and not to worry him for any further advances. They however failed to do this, and were accordingly laid under a curse to remain poor for ever."

"The Oddes live with their huts on their heads (*i.e.*, low huts), with light made from gathered sticks, on thin conji (gruel),

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* *கள்ளர் மறவர் கனத்த அகம்படியார் மெள்ள மெள்ள வந்து வெள்ளாளர் ஆகினமே.*

† Thurston's "Castes and Tribes of Southern India," Vol. III., p. 439.

‡ *Vide* Chapter IV., p. 78.

§ "Manual of the North Arcot District," by H. A. Stuart.

blessing those who give, and cursing those who do not," they say of themselves.*

Gypsy settlements may not infrequently be met with, especially in the Northern, North-Central, Eastern, and Sabaragamuwa Provinces. A description of one encampment describes them all. A few low huts made of palmyra leaves shaped like the hood of a cart, which are pulled down every seven days or sooner,—these gypsies never stay in one place more than seven days,—and loaded on a donkey or a miserable tat generally found tied up near the camp. There is a pack of dogs, one or two monkeys, possibly a mongoose or two, and a number of baskets usually containing cobras. The settlement consists of men and women with a number of children generally scantily and dirtily attired. The cloth of the men rarely reaches below the knee. They wear their hair long, and usually tied in a knot on the top of the head. The women wear necklaces of beads, shells, and cowries ; the married women strings of black beads. They live by begging, snake charming, selling snake stones to cure snake-bite, and frequently by stealing. The women are usually fortune tellers and tattooers ; the children sing songs and dance, striking the arms against the body in such a way as to produce a running accompaniment, and ending with a shrill cry made by putting the right hand fingers on the lips and whistling through them.†

They are notorious poultry thieves ; they supplement what they can steal or earn by hunting ; they will follow up any game with their dogs, and will even run down and kill a leopard.

An attempt was made to obtain separate details of these gangs, and particulars have been ascertained in regard to fifteen gangs, who were enumerated in their temporary encampments. There were no doubt other gangs enumerated by outdoor enumerators, and with regard to whom it is difficult to obtain the information required.

These fifteen gangs numbered 291 in all—152 males and 139 females. Their race was given as Tamil ; 167 were entered as Indian Tamils and 124 as Ceylon Tamils ; 107 were born in India.

Their occupations were given as beggars, snake charmers, fortune tellers, astrologers, goatherd (1), exhibitors of trained monkeys (2), and showmen displaying pictures of the war between Rama and Ravana (3).

Three gangs, all of whom came from the Madura District, numbering 64, stated that they had no religion. The rest gave Hinduism as their religion.

The Sinhalese speak of all these " gypsies " as *Ahikuntakayas*, which means those who play with the mouth (*tunda*) of serpents or who sport with or make serpents dance. The original word from which this term is taken is *ahitundika* or *ahigundika* (අහිතුණ්ඩික, අහිගුණ්ඩික). This word occurs in the *Bhuridatta Jataka*, where it is said that the Bodhisat in one birth was a cobra with a thousand hoods, and an Ahitundikaya or Ahigundikaya caught the cobra and played tricks with it. The gods being angry at this cursed the Ahitundikaya, and ever since the tribe has been nomadic. This story is evidence that the name is an old one. These Ahikuntakayo are said to be of Telugu descent, and are known in many parts as *Kuravans*. Some of these gangs have been in Ceylon for many years, in some cases perhaps for two or three generations,

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* *Vide* Thurston's " Castes and Tribes of Southern India," pp. 422–436, for further particulars in regard to these people.

† The Sinhalese call this dance Dingi-gehima (Sinhalese ඩිංගිගැහිම), apparently an onomatopoetic term. The Tamils call the song Singiyadittal (Tamil சிங்கியடித்தல்), a word which conveys the refrain of the song.

and they now claim to be of Vedda descent and to have come from Tamankaduwa. There is no doubt, however, that they are nearly all Koravas or Kuravans or descendants of Koravas, a gypsy tribe found all over the Tamil country. The largest gangs go back to India every few years. They preserve nearly all the customs of the Koravas, notably in the women wearing a necklace of black beads instead of the táli necklace. The explanation of the custom is said to be that once upon a time a bridegroom who forgot to bring the táli was sent to procure the necessary piece of gold from a goldsmith. The parties waited and waited, but the young man did not return. Since then the string of beads has taken the place of the táli.

In Ceylon, as in India, these people never come into court. They settle their disputes amongst themselves, and have their own headmen and court, who inflict fines, usually paid in arrack consumed by the gang. The post of headman is not hereditary. He is elected by the tribe, and the decisions of the tribunal are rarely resisted, though the Koravas have a bad character for squabbling and fighting amongst themselves.

*Koravas' justice is the ruin of the family.**

The Kolukattai (a kind of rice cake) *is neither one thing nor the other, so are Koravas neither virtuous nor well behaved.*†

Disputes amongst scavengers are easier settled than those amongst Koravas.‡

The Koravas are not rice eaters, and will eat the flesh of most animals.

Give an elephant to a pandit and a cat to a Korava.§

Their religion consists in spreading rice cooked with milk before an image of a Hindu god, generally Valliamman or Kandaswamy or the village deity, and lighting coconut-oil lamps round the spot. The rice is then distributed amongst those present. Friday is usually the day selected for this ceremony, which appears to be regarded in the light of a propitiatory sacrifice. One of the Koravas acts as the priest at all religious ceremonies.

Their marriage customs in Ceylon are similar to those followed by them in India. Marriages are arranged when the children are quite young, and the promise is uttered aloud before members of the gang, when the bridegroom's father distributes arrack in token of the promise made to those present, who are regarded as witnesses. If the marriage does not take place, the party at fault is fined. The dowry usually consists of a snake in a rattan basket, a donkey, dog, or knife.

It is stated in the Madras Census Report for 1901 that among the Kongu subdivisions in Madras a Korava can marry his sister's daughter, and when he gives his sister in marriage, he expects her to produce a bride for him. His sister's husband should pay Rs. 7½ out of the Rs. 60 (the bride price) at the wedding, and Rs. 2½ more each year until the woman bears a daughter.

In the event of the parties not agreeing, the man and wife will announce before the gang their intention of separating. This is generally regarded as equivalent to a divorce, and the husband can demand back any earnest money paid to his wife's maternal uncle.

There is a Tamil proverb, " *If the wife of the Korava is brought to bed her husband takes the prescribed stimulant*," || which refers to the practice

* குறவநீதி குடிக்குக் கேடு.

† கொழுக்கட்டைக்குத் தலையும் இல்லைக் காலும் இல்லை, குறவருக்கு நெறியும் இல்லை முறையும் இல்லை.

‡ குற வழக்குக்குச் சக்கிலி வழக்கு இலேசு.

§ குருவுக்கு ஆனையுங் குறவனுக்குப் பூனையும்.

|| குறத்தி பிள்ளை பெற்றால் குறவன் காயம் தின்பான்.

of the "couvade," or custom in accordance with which the father goes to bed and is doctored until the child is born. There is no evidence of this custom amongst the Koravas in Ceylon, but, as Thurston says, "the custom is one of those which the Korava is generally at pains to conceal, denying its existence absolutely."

There is another Tamil saying, "*No one ever saw the dead body of a monkey or the corpse of a Korava,*"* in reference to the fact that when a Korava dies the body is buried as quickly as possible; the grave is covered with the leaves of the hut occupied by the deceased, and the camp is broken up at once. A small quantity of arrack with some cooked rice and curry is placed over the grave.

The following invocation is said to be made at the birth of a Korava child: "Ye spirits of our elders! Descend on us, give us help, and increase our cattle and wealth. Save us from the Government, and shut the mouth of the police. We shall worship you for ever and ever."†

The Moors were for the first time separately enumerated as *Ceylon Moors* and *Indian Moors.* The enumerators found little difficulty in discriminating between the two, as those Moors who are permanently resident in the Island are known amongst themselves as Sonahar,‡ as distinguished from the Sammankarar,§ or non-resident population from India. The Moors are also referred to as Ceylon Moors and Coast Moors, the latter being the title used to describe the Indian Moors who are in Ceylon for trading purposes only, and who intend to return to their coasts.

There were 233,901 Ceylon Moors enumerated at the Census, of whom 122,114 were males and 111,787 females. The Indian Moors numbered 32,724, being 26,272 males and 6,452 females. Of the Ceylon Moors, 233,255, or 99¾ per cent., were returned as born in Ceylon; of the Indian Moors, 26,571, or 81 per cent., were entered as born in India.

In an interesting paper on the Moors of Ceylon by the Hon. Mr. P. Ramanathan, C.M.G., which appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch),|| it is stated that "it was estimated in 1886 (on the evidence of several Muhammadan gentlemen) by the Sub-Committee of the Legislative Council, which was appointed to consider and report upon the Muhammadan Marriage Registration Ordinance, that fully one-third of the 'Moors' along the maritime country from Kalpitiya to Matara are 'Coast Moors,' and I have good reason for saying that much more than one-half of the 'Moors' in the Northern, Eastern, and inland districts are also 'Coast Moors.' It may therefore be concluded that the 185,000 Moors in the Island are divisible almost equally between 'Ceylon Moors' and 'Coast Moors.'"

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* குரங்குப் பிணமும் குறப் பிணமும் கண்டவர் இல்லை.

† *Vide* Thurston's "Castes and Tribes of Southern India," Vol. III., pp. 438–504, for an interesting account of the Korava.

‡ Several derivations have been given of the term "Sonahar." By some it is derived from Yavana, the Sanskrit term for the early Ionian or Greek settlers in India, and so applied to all foreigners who came from the north and brought new religious rites with them. It is also derived from Choliar, people of the Chola country of south India. Mr. Brito thinks that its true origin is "Suni," or "Soni," one of the two great rival sects among the Muhammadans. The term "Soni" is frequently applied to a Moor in the Batticaloa District.

§ Sammankara is generally derived from the Malay "sampan," a boat. Compare the Sinhalese term for Moors, "Marakkalaya," Marakkala being the Tamil for a ship (vessel of wood). Mr. Ramanathan suggests that if the derivation of Sammankara cannot be accepted, it may be derived from Saman—things, goods, in which case it would literally mean "dealer in wares." Mr. Brito considers that Marakkala is simply a corruption of the Tamil *Maurikkayal.*

|| Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), Vol. X., No. 36.

Mr. Ramanathan defines the Coast Moors as "those Muhammadans who, having arrived from the Coromandel Coast or inner districts of South India as traders or labourers, continue steadily to maintain relations of amity and intermarriage with their friends in South India." The term is, however, usually used in a narrower significance to mean the Moors from the Coast who come to Ceylon to trade and return to the Coast, which is regarded by them as their home.

That the distinction between the Coast and the Ceylon Moors is clearly recognized is evident from the Census figures for Ceylon and Indian Moors and by comparing them with the figures for birthplaces of Moors at the 1901 Census.

At the Census of 1901 88 per cent. of the Moors enumerated were born in Ceylon ; the percentage of Ceylon-born males was 82 and of females 95. 18 per cent. of the males and 5 per cent. of the females were born in India.

At this Census 87·7 per cent. of the Moors declared themselves Ceylon Moors ; 82 per cent. of the males and 94½ per cent. of the females were enumerated as Ceylon Moors. These figures are almost identical with those for Ceylon and Indian birthplaces at the last Census. Allowing for the fact that the Indian Moors seldom bring their women folk with them, and the natural rate of increase, the figures for Ceylon and Indian Moors may be regarded as very accurately expressing the popular distinction between Ceylon and Indian Moors.

In the Eastern, Northern, Southern, and North-Central Provinces the large settled population of Moors are nearly all Ceylon Moors. In the Eastern Province there were close on 70,000 Ceylon Moors to 500 Indian Moors. Any one acquainted with the densely crowded Moorish villages in the neighbourhood of Batticaloa* will not be surprised at the large proportion of the resident Moorish population. Practically none of these villagers can to-day be regarded as Coast Moors, and they have no connection with nor do they maintain relations—except purely business ones—with the Indian Moors. In the Northern Province there were over 12,000 Ceylon Moors and less than 500 Indian Moors ; in the Southern Province 20,000 Ceylon Moors to 250 Indian Moors ; and in the North-Central Province over 9,000 Ceylon to 500 Indian Moors. The Indian Moors are found in the largest numbers in those parts of the Island where their business in Ceylon would naturally take them. There were over 16,000 in the Western Province, of whom nearly 14,000 were enumerated in the Colombo Municipality. There were over 8,000 in the Central Province, where they are largely engaged in trade as shopkeepers, jewellers, and "curio" sellers in the town of Kandy and as rice contractors and traders in the planting districts. There were nearly 3,000 in the North-Western Province and 1,800 in the Province of Sabaragamuwa, where they do a considerable gemming business.

The Moors increased by 16·9 per cent. at this Census, which is the largest increase for this race at any decade since 1881. The district where the Moors are found in the largest proportion to the rest of the population is Batticaloa, where they form 39½ per cent. of the total population. Trincomalee with 34 per cent., Mannar with 31½ per cent., Puttalam with 29 per cent., Galle Municipality 21 per cent., Colombo and Kandy Municipalities with 18 and 17 per cent. respectively, and Anuradhapura with 11½ per cent. are the only other Districts in which they form more than one-tenth of the total population. The Moors of

* *Vide* Chapter III., p. 36.

Batticaloa may be said to be to the rest of the Ceylon Moors what the Jaffna Tamils are to the Ceylon Tamils. A writer in the "Ceylon Literary Register"* says : "The Moors of Batticaloa are a most industrious race. In addition to carrying on almost the whole of the trade between Batticaloa, the coast of India, Jaffna, Trincomalee, Galle, and Colombo, they employ themselves in felling and conveying to Batticaloa almost all the valuable timber that is annually exported from this port."

The term "Moor" is of course a misnomer, and its use is due to the Portuguese, who styled all Muhammadans whom they met with on their voyages to India Mouros or Moors, as the only Muhammadans they had previously encountered were the inhabitants of Mauritania, to whom alone the name Moor strictly applies.

The origin and dates of arrival of the various colonies of Moors who settled in Ceylon are matters of historical speculation. There is no doubt, however, that from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries the Arabs were undisputed masters of the trade and commerce of the East ; they were in a position to land and to make settlements on any coast. They probably found earlier settlements on the coast of Ceylon. According to one tradition, Muhammadans driven from Arabia sought an asylum in Ceylon in the eighth century. These settlers no doubt intermarried with the native races, who embraced Muhammadanism, and their descendants are the Ceylon Moors of to-day.

The Moors in Ceylon themselves regard Kailpatnam as the home of their race, and the landing at Beruwala or Barberyn in the Kalutara District, said to have been made in 1024 A.D., as their most important and historic settlement in the Island.

The Moors very early established a firm footing in Ceylon. They had to deal with a population who were never a maritime people, and they soon secured the trade and commerce. Their position may be compared with that of the Jews in Europe in the Middle Ages, except that they were in most places in the East at the same time a conquering and a proselytizing power. The feeling towards them was very much the same as that felt towards the Jews.

The same proverb is found amongst the Sinhalese and Tamils: "*There is no place where the Moorman and the crow cannot be found.*"†

In a Sinhalese work, the "Janavansa," it is said of the Moors : "Because they have much trickishness (*mahat kallakan*, මහත් කල්ලකන්) in trading they are called Marakkalayo,"‡ a purely fanciful derivation, but illustrative of the popular feeling towards these people. "But for the timely appearance of a Christian power in the Island," says Tennent,§ "Ceylon, instead of being a possession of the British Crown, might at the present day have been a Mohometan Kingdom under the rule of some Arabian adventurer."

The Portuguese soon found that they were their most formidable adversaries, and it was only with the assistance of reinforcements from India that they were able to relieve Colombo in 1517 from the Moors, who closely besieged the newly-erected fort for several months.

The Portuguese, however, were not disposed to interfere with the trade carried on by the Moormen as long as they were not in active opposition, and at the great siege of Colombo by Raja Sinha in 1586 we find

* "Ceylon Literary Register," Vol. V., p. 292.

† මරක්කලයත් කාක්කත් නැති තැනක් නැත: சோனகனும் காகமும் இல்லாத இடமில்லை.

‡ "Janavansa," p. [illegible], line 6.

§ Emerson Tennent's "Ceylon," Vol. I., p. 609.

"Moors, natives of Ceilao, of whom there would be some forty villages," fighting on behalf of the Portuguese, and, says Couto, "with as much courage and willingness as the Portuguese themselves. These Moors, natives of Colombo, are a sort of mixities of some that our people found there when the fortress was founded who were allowed to remain there and always served with much loyalty, upon which they greatly pride themselves, they being the only ones in India in whom we never found deceit."*

Their position under the Dutch was very different. The Dutch, being more intent upon trade than anything else, found the Moormen constantly interfering with what they regarded as their monopoly. Consequently the Dutch records are full of regulations in regard to "this detested race." Every effort was made to "extirpate these weeds." They were prohibited from residing within the jurisdiction of Galle, Matara, or Belligam (Regulation of 1659). A Dutch proclamation prohibiting Moormen and Malabars from possessing houses and grounds within the Fort and Pettah of Colombo was only repealed by a British regulation, No. 2 of 1832. The Moormen had to register themselves under pain of banishment (1665); they were liable to be put in chains, unless they could furnish a certificate to show that they were on the lists for taxation and services (1744) ; landed property could not be sold to them (1665), nor slaves (1749).

"Only agriculture and navigation must be left open to them as occupations, and they are prohibited from engaging in all other trades within this country, either directly or indirectly, and with a view to gradually exterminate this impudent class of people Their Honours have prohibited any increase to their numbers from outside. The Dessave must not permit the Moors to perform any religious rites nor tolerate their priests either within or outside the Gravets."†

The Dutch at the same time recognized the valuable qualities of the Moors. "These Moors have the art of keeping up their credit with the Company at large as well as with particulars among the Europeans, and a Moor is hardly ever known to be brought into a court of justice. The Company often make use of their talents, particularly when it wants to levy a tax upon any article of commerce. Nobody understands the value of pearls and precious stones as well as they, as in fact they are continually employed in the boring of pearls; and the persons who are used to farm the pearl fishery always rely on their skill in this article as well as in arithmetic to inform them what they are to give for the whole fishery."‡ In Jaffna the Moors were also bound whenever called upon to assist in launching boats and hauling them on shore, and "those that sit at the bazzar with their merchandise are required to come to the castle and assist the cashier in counting copper money."

They were no doubt largely employed as middlemen. The Dutch also wished to make use of them to fight against the Kandyans, and they were offered two rix-dollars and one parrah of rice and a commutation of half their service if they engaged in this service.

In a Dutch record from Galle concerning punishments inflicted on the troops, mention is made of a Moor being severely wounded by a Dutch soldier, "All which being matters of very dangerous consequence, for

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* Couto's "History of Ceylon," translated by Donald Ferguson, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), Vol. XX., p. 313.

† "Instructions from the Governor-General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon, 1656 to 1665" (translation by Sophia Pieters), pp. 63, 64.

‡ Wolf's "Life and Adventures," pp. 261–263.

as much as by them the Moors whom we ought to befriend in all possible ways, seeing that they are of great service to us, might easily be estranged from us and begin to sell their goods to other nations and thus leave us altogether unprovided."*

The Moors were also a source of revenue to the Dutch. They had to pay a tax for permission to reside in their villages, and were also liable to services, for which there were fixed rates of commutation. According to the Wellesley Manuscripts, the tax on Moors was farmed in 1794–5 for 1,340 rix-dollars (£100. 10*s.*).

Lord Hobart recommended that the tax on Moors be retained. "During Dutch times Moors were never regarded as resident inhabitants, but were annually obliged to take certificates—12 dollars or 4 months' service to Dutch called *oulliame.* Capitation tax would be a relief and an advantage to Government. Number of Moors not more than 50,000."†

This tax was however removed, but we find among the recommendations of Captain Schneider in his Report on the Matara and Hambantota Districts in 1808 : " A great number of Moormen are living at Belligama and in other parts of the District from whom the Government has no advantage. These Moormen were obliged in former times to work at Galle and Matara at Government services, and if they did not perform their duty they were obliged to pay each of them 6 rix-dollars (Rs. 4·50) annually to Government. They are now doing nothing but carrying on trade by bartering cloth for grain, &c. They may I think be ordered to pay each of them 6 rix-dollars per annum to Government and allowed to proceed with their dealing unmolested."

The attempts to restrict the activities of the Moormen were failures. They have continued to flourish, and to-day are amongst the most prosperous communities in Ceylon, excelling as they have always done in barter and as petty traders.

They have no castes, and their ranks are in consequence occasionally swollen by Tamils who embrace Muhammadanism as an escape from caste regulations. They are without exception Muhammadans.‡

As Mr. Ramanathan has pointed out, many of their marriage customs are adopted from the Tamils, *e.g.*, the *strí-dhanam* (ஸ்திரீதனம்), the dowry being given at the time of or before marriage by the bride's parents, the *álátté* ceremony,§ the wearing of jewels by the bridegroom, the tying of the táli, the bride wearing the *kurai* (கூறை), the bridal dress chosen and presented by the bridegroom, and the eating of the *patchoru* (பாற்சோறு)—the milk-rice prepared by married women to be eaten by the bridegroom and bride together.

Their women are in many places not kept in strict seclusion, and, compared with the female Muhammadan population of other countries, enjoy a considerable amount of freedom. Any one who has been in a Muhammadan country will be struck at once by the absence of the prayers in the streets and public places.

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* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), Vol. XVII., p. 354.

† Extract from the Wellesley Manuscripts, reprinted in "The Ceylon Literary Register," Vol. II., p. 124.

‡ *Vide* Chapter IX., Religions, p. 264, *infra.*

§ Turmeric, chunam, and a ball of rice with a light affixed are placed in a tray with water ; the tray is carried round three times by married women, the light is then extinguished, and the water is sprinkled over the bride and bridegroom. The object of the ceremony is to avert the evil eye. Turmeric is considered to bring good fortune and to be emblematical of marriage. *Cf.* the throwing of rice at Christian weddings.

Their language is Tamil. Though the Koran is taught in the Koran schools, there are few who can read and write Arabic, though many can repeat large portions of the Koran by heart.

"Taking the language they speak at home in connection with their history, their customs, and physical features, the proof cumulatively leads to no other conclusion than that the Moors of Ceylon are ethnologically Tamil," says Mr. Ramanathan.

Any one who knows the Tamils and Moors will be aware of many distinctive characteristics of the Moorman, who in many ways bears little resemblance to the Tamil. They must, of course, be very closely intermixed, but the original Arab blood has left its mark upon the race, and their religion, Muhammadanism, has served to emphasize certain differences. Physically, too, they present considerable contrasts, and a careful anthropological examination would probably detect certain marked characteristics which would separate them from the ordinary Tamil population. Amongst the Moors in Colombo and Galle at the present day there must be a fairly considerable infusion of Sinhalese blood; the number of Sinhalese women married to or living with Moors is fairly large.*

There is a colony of Muhammadans at Hambantota who gave their race as Arabs. They claim to be descendants of two Mawlanas or priests who came from Bagdad to Ceylon, one about 150 years, the other about 60 years ago, and who married respectively a Ceylon Moor and a Malay woman. The duties of the Muhammadan priesthood in Hambantota are performed by these so-called Arabs.

The *Malays* in Ceylon numbered at this Census 12,990, being 6,813 males and 6,177 females, an increase of 9·1 per cent. since the last Census, which is the lowest rate of increase of any race in Ceylon. They increased by 17½ per cent. between 1891 and 1901, and by nearly 14 per cent. between 1881 and 1891. Nearly half the Malays in the Island are found in the Colombo town and District (6,104). Of the remaining 6,886, 1,775 were enumerated in the Kandy District (including the Municipality). There were nearly 1,000 in the Hambantota District and 600 in the Badulla District. They appear to have migrated into the towns, except in the Hambantota District, where they form a settled community.

Their small increase may be explained by the fact that their death-rate in Colombo has been unusually high during the decade. The average death-rate amongst Malays in Colombo has been 35·2 per mille during the decade. The number of registered births amongst the Malays between 1901–1910 was 1,450; the number of registered deaths during the same period was 1,723, or an excess of deaths over births of 273. The Medical Officer of Health to the Colombo Municipality ascribes the high rate of mortality amongst the Malays principally to their death-rate from phthisis. The phthisis death-rate for 1910 was for Malay males 1·23 and females 4·37 per 1,000, largely due to a preference for native to European treatment, resulting in cases of infectious diseases, such as phthisis and enteric, escaping recognition and so proper treatment, and to the confinement of the women within doors, these causes being aggravated by the poverty of a large number of the Malays.

The Malays now in Ceylon, except in religion and racial characteristics, bear little resemblance to the race from which they are descended. They have made their home in Ceylon; few of them can read and write

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* *Vide* Chapter IX., Religions, p. 264.

Malay; they have married Ceylon Moors and Sinhalese, though they are all Muhammadans;* their ceremonies are similar to those of the Ceylon Moors, and they only partially observe the strict regulations in force in other Muhammadan countries, including their own.

The Malays are believed to have been originally brought to Ceylon from Java by the Dutch for military service, and some were said to be Javanese princes and their attendants banished to Ceylon for political reasons. They are known to the Tamils as *Chavakar* (சாவகர்), viz., people from Java; and to the Sinhalese as *Jáminissu* (ජාමිනිස්සු), men of Java.

The Dutch recruited troops from all the islands of the Malay Archipelago.

Christoph Schweitzer, in his "Account of Ceylon" (1676–1682), writing of Colombo, says: "Here is also a Company of Amboineses continually kept in the Dutch Service. Their Lieutenant was call'd Alons and was of Royal Blood. They live in the Town altogether and with their Huts they make a very pretty Street."† These troops were known as the "Oostersche Militie," or Eastern Soldiery.

At the time of the capitulation of Colombo (1796) there were fifteen companies of Malays in the Dutch service, and the only resistance offered to the British was made by them.

"Their contempt for their former masters (after the capitulation of Colombo) and their admiration of the valour of our troops has served to render the Malays our most sincere friends, and they are now formed into a steady and well-disciplined regiment in the British service."‡

In 1800 the Hon. Frederick North writes: "Lord Clive has allowed me to send an officer to the Eastward to crimp Malays and bring their families also to Ceylon. I expect to bring 800 men."§ Excellent service was rendered by the Malays in the Kandyan wars, and the heroism of Captain Nouradeen and his brother officers after the disastrous retreat from Kandy in 1803 || will long redound to the credit of the Malays in Ceylon.

The Malays were enlisted in the Ceylon Rifle regiments, the last of which was disbanded in 1873. They are now found in large numbers in the Police Force; there were 469 Malays enumerated as members of the Police Force at the Census.

As at the last Census it was not found possible to differentiate between the *Burgher and Eurasian population*, owing to the numerous persons who describe themselves as Burghers without any claim to the description, which is now frequently and incorrectly used to describe all persons of mixed descent.

The number of Burghers and Eurasians at the Census of 1911 was 26,663—13,341 males and 13,322 females, being an increase of 13½ per cent. since the last Census; the increase between 1891 and 1901 was 10½ per cent.

The Burghers and Eurasians have increased by nearly 2,000 in the Colombo Municipality, and by 1,000 in the Colombo District, which includes the suburbs of Colombo, where a large proportion of the Burghers employed as clerks reside. There are nearly 3,000 Burghers

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* *Vide* Chapter IX., Religions, p. 264.

† Christoph Schweitzer's "Account of Ceylon," published in the "Ceylon Literary Register," Vol. II., p. 132.

‡ Percival's "Ceylon," p. 118.

§ Extracts from the Wellesley Manuscripts published in the "Ceylon Literary Register," Vol. II., p. 295.

|| *Vide* "Eleven Years in Ceylon," by Major Forbes, Vol. I., pp. 35, 36.

and Eurasians in the Kandy District (including the Municipality), and in the Galle District (including Galle town) just over 1,000. In no other District do they number 1,000.

The Burgher seat in Council was made elective under the scheme for the Reform of the Constitution of the Legislative Council. One of the most important questions for the decision of the Commission appointed to inquire into and report upon the measures to be taken to give effect to the Reform Scheme was the definition of the term "Burgher" for the purpose of the registration of Burgher voters. Sessional Paper No. IX. of 1910 gives the Report and Proceedings of the Commission.

The Commission recommended the adoption of the following definition for persons eligible to vote for the Burgher Member :—

(*a*) The descendants in the male line of those of European nationality who were in the service or under the rule of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon at the time of the capitulation, and the children of such descendants in the female line by marriage with Europeans ; and

(*b*) All other persons of legitimate birth claiming to be registered as Burghers who can trace descent in the female line from ancestors who came within the above definition, such persons being able to read, write, and speak the English language.

This definition was accepted and is embodied in Ordinance No. 13 of 1910. This definition would not cover the large number of Eurasians who have no other connection with Ceylon than residence here.

Under the head of Burghers and Eurasians at the Census appear 220 persons whose birthplace was India. There are no Burgher families resident in India, and it would only be the accident of temporary residence in India which would account for an Indian birthplace being given for a Burgher.

A Dutch Burgher Union was formed in 1907, admission to which is confined to Burghers who would come under the first part (*a*) of the definition given above.

To quote from a memorandum by Mr. Arthur Alvis on the term "Burgher," which was laid before the Legislative Council Constitution Commission : "The Burgher community desires to lay a special stress on the fact that 'Burgher' is not an ethnographic name, and *has nothing to do with race*, but is of historic origin, and refers to a political community which had a distinctive character when it entered under the sway of the British Government."*

The question is one of historical interest, which it is unnecessary to amplify here. It may, however, be noted that race antecedents appear considerably to have influenced the occupations followed by the descendants of the two European races in Ceylon whose descendants form the large majority included under the heading Burghers and Eurasians.

The descendants of the Dutch Burghers have given Ceylon many of its most eminent judges, lawyers, and literary men. The Clerical Service was at one time almost entirely manned by this class, and to-day most of the principal posts in it are held by Burghers of Dutch descent.

The large majority of the Portuguese descendants form an entirely different class, usually known as the mechanic class, "almost exclusively devoted to the lower crafts of artisanship. They are usually

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* Ceylon Sessional Paper No. IX. of 1910, p. 82.

shoemakers, tailors, or blacksmiths, and their conservatism is such that few, if hardly any, are known to have grown out of their ancestral callings."*

The Europeans numbered at this Census 7,592—4,645 males and 2,947 females, an increase of 20½ per cent. since the last Census. There were also 932 Europeans included amongst the Military and Shipping, besides 11,267 British who were enumerated on vessels passing through Colombo, and who would otherwise have escaped enumeration anywhere.

The largest increase in numbers of Europeans is in the Colombo Municipality, but the number of Europeans in the Kalutara District has nearly doubled, while there are increases of 188, 88, 87, 42, and 39 in the Badulla, Kegalla, Nuwara Eliya, Ratnapura, and Kurunegala Districts respectively, due, except in the case of Nuwara Eliya, where the increase is largely on account of the "passenger" season, to the opening of rubber estates under European management. Europeans have increased in every District in the Island except in the Eastern Province and the Districts of Kandy and Chilaw. The Mullaittivu District, as at the last Census, shows the smallest number of Europeans (5). There were over 1,000 Europeans in Colombo town, the Kandy and Nuwara Eliya Districts; no other District has a population of more than 516 (Badulla).

Of the Europeans, 89½ per cent. were British, or 6,801 out of 7,592, which is a proportion slightly larger than at the last Census (89 per cent.). French come second with 297, and Germans third, 177. The French have increased by 50 per cent. since the last Census, owing principally to the number of Roman Catholic priests of this nationality (133). The same explanation accounts for the number of the two European races which come next, Belgians (64), Italians (56). The Germans have only increased by 14 in the decade. There are 27 Russians, as compared with 51 in 1901. Of the British, 5,060 entered themselves as English, 1,086 as Scotch, 608 as Irish, and 47 as Welsh. There were 725 Scotchmen and 361 Scotchwomen, 321 Irishmen and 287 Irishwomen—a considerably larger proportion of Irishwomen to Irishmen than Scotchwomen to Scotchmen.

The "Others" population, which comprises all races other than those included under any of the heads for which separate figures are given, numbered 12,721—9,443 males and 3,278 females, an increase of 30·9 per cent. since the last Census.

Under this head are included persons of such various races or descriptions as Afghans (466), Americans (80), Arabs (298), Australians (88), Boers (8), Burmese (81), Cambodians (4), Canadians (26), Chinese (65), Egyptians (2), Japanese (20), Jews (8), Kaffirs (253), Maldivians (9), Negroes (19), Siamese (1), and Turks (9).

The Indian races included under the head "Others" numbered 11,207—8,369 males and 2,838 females, the largest number being Cochinese, who have increased since the last Census from 2,666 to 4,054. They had doubled their numbers at the last Census; they are usually employed as office and bungalow coolies and messengers in Colombo and Kandy. There were 264 in the Chilaw District.

* "The Music of Ceylon," by C. M. Fernando, from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), Vol. XIII., p. 183.

Telugus numbered 2,267, practically all enumerated on estates. There were 1,056 Malayali, half of whom were resident in Colombo. Bengalis numbered 1,274, nearly two-thirds of whom were counted in Colombo, a decrease of 750 since the last Census; but the term is used so loosely in Ceylon to cover a number of Indian races that it cannot be regarded as any indication of a decrease in their numbers. Canarese numbered 1,184, of whom 1,098 were enumerated on estates in the Ratnapura and Kegalla Districts. It was noted at the last Census that the Canarese showed a marked decrease, especially in the Nuwara Eliya and Kegalla Districts, where their numbers fell from 1,100 to 289. It would seem that the Canarese labourers have returned to the Kegalla District, and have found work on estates in the adjoining District of Ratnapura.

The people of Palimunai in the town of Mannar are locally known as Cannadians, or Canarese. They never married outside their own community, and have preserved several distinguishing characteristics. They were formerly all Independent Catholics.* The men are nearly all fishermen and boatmen, and are exceptionally strong and active. The physical appearance of the men and women is considerably above the average. The District Adigar states that they were formerly much fairer complexioned than they are now, owing no doubt to recent intermarriage with other castes, and he remembers many years ago seeing a comedy in this village, " where the actors did not powder their faces, as they were already so fair." These people call themselves Portuguese Kannadiyans, and claim to be of Portuguese descent; it is even alleged by some of them that they are called Kannadiyans or Canarese as they come from the Canary Islands. They bear Portuguese names, as Figuerado, Rochai, Rodrigo, and Perera, and Christian names.

They are no doubt Canarese Parawas. Couto, in his account of the building of the fort of Mannar, states that the inhabitants of Punicale—a town half-way between Tuticorin and Manapad—who were Christian Parawas, were brought over to Mannar for this purpose,† and settled there with much satisfaction and joy! However, subsequently, " on account of the land's being dry and unhealthy most of them returned to the Fishery Coast and to the same Ponicale."‡ No doubt the settlement at Palimunai are descendants of these people. Along the coast, notably at Pesalai, Talaimannar, and Vangalai, there are many traces of intermixture with the Parawas. The names Crus, Vas, Santiago, and Fernandez are common. At the Census of 1824 2,504 inhabitants of the Mannar District were entered as Parawas.§ At that Census there were in all 4,027 Parawas enumerated. There are a large number now in Ceylon. Many of them call themselves Ceylon and Indian Parawas. They were included under Ceylon and Indian Tamils, respectively.

Further reference will be made to these Indian races in the Chapter on the Estate Population.

Of the Indian races which are engaged in trading in Ceylon, the Parsis play a very prominent part, considering their numbers, not only as

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* *Vide* p. 267, *infra*.

† *c.f.* Gaspar Correa's account of the erection of the fortress in Colombo by the Portuguese, in which it is stated that "the Governor had brought Portuguese stone-masons and *Canaris* as quarry men."—" Ceylon Literary Register," Vol III., p. 180.

‡ *Vide* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), Vol. XX., pp. 202 and 203, and Vol. XI., p. 506.

§ 206 were entered as Connoreens.

merchants transacting a large business, but also in public life, as citizens and philanthropists. They numbered 184—an increase of 45 since the 1901 Census; 155 were resident in Colombo.

There were 370 Gujerati—307 in Colombo, most of whom carry on business as traders in rice. The Bora or Borah merchants are included under this heading. Memons—Muhammadan traders from the Bombay side—numbered 82, 29 of whom were enumerated in Matale, where they transact a considerable business in the large estate bazaar.

There were 92 Goanese; 26 of those enumerated in Ceylon depended upon music for their livelihood.

The Afghans have increased from 270 in 1901 to 466 in 1911. They are well-known figures in the streets of Colombo and Kandy and in estate bazaars. They are tall and well formed. Their strongly-marked features and heavy eyebrows usually give their faces a somewhat savage expression. Their complexion is ruddy; the beard is usually worn short, as also is the hair. Their dress is distinctive—a loose tunic, baggy drawers, and thick boots. Their headdress is wound in rolls round the head, generally over a small skull-cap. There are some excellent wrestlers amongst them. They have their own chiefs, and settle disputes amongst themselves. They wander all over the East, and are even found in Chinese Turkestan and Australia. Their occupation they usually give as cloth sellers or horse traders, but their principal business is usury; they are the petty money lenders of the country. Their calculation of the rate of interest to be paid is simple and effective. Payment has generally to be made one month from the date of the loan; failure to pay on the due date entails double payment, and the principal goes on doubling from month to month. The debtor very often finds difficulty in meeting his creditor on the day of payment. These usurers seldom go to court, but exercise a considerable amount of petty tyranny. Their numbers appear to have decreased rather than increased. It is most likely that many of them were included under Bengalis and Arabs at the last Census. Both these races showed larger totals in 1901 than at this Census, and the Afghans are generally known amongst the Sinhalese as *Bangali minissu* (බංගාලි මිනිස්සු), or *Arabi minissu* (අරාබි මිනිස්සු), Bengali or Arab men, and were no doubt included as such at the last Census. Special steps were taken to ensure their correct enumeration in Colombo, and from examination of the entries it appears that they were correctly entered. 160 gave their birthplace as Beluchistan, most of whom came from the country round Quetta or from Makran.

There were eight Boers in Ceylon at this Census. Owing to the presence of the Boer prisoners at the time of the last Census, there were then 3,209 Free Staters and 594 Boers in Ceylon.

Two races which have played a prominent part in Ceylon history are the *Chinese* and *Kaffirs*. Of the former there were 65, an increase since the last Census.

For the first half of the fifteenth century Ceylon paid an annual tribute to China, and the Island was frequently visited by Chinese missions, and there are numerous accounts of Ceylon in Chinese works.*

A discovery of considerable archæological interest was made at Galle in 1910, of a tablet bearing inscriptions in Chinese, Persian, and Tamil, giving an account of the arrival of a mission from China in 1405 and the offerings made at Buddhist temples.

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* *Vide* Emerson Tennent's "History of Ceylon," Vol. I., Part V., Chapter III.

Bertolacci, writing in 1816, says: "Of Chinese there are only eighty or a hundred lately arrived in Ceylon and settled in different parts of it. The British Government has taken some pains to encourage Chinese settlers; those, however, who have hitherto come there have not brought with them that industry and ingenuity for which they are famous in their own country. These are, in general, greatly addicted to gambling and all sorts of dissipation. Many of them have rented the gaming houses and cock-fighting pits; of which the Government, led by a mistaken policy, makes a considerable profit, by selling the exclusive privilege of keeping them. These Chinese have not brought women with them, but have formed connections with the Ceylonese."* The Chinese enumerated at the last Census were engaged in various occupations, from those of silk merchants and gem dealers to shoemakers and hotel runners. There was only one Chinese servant. It is curious that the Chinese play practically no part in the life of this country.

The *Kaffirs* did not play so conspicuous a part in Sinhalese history, but they have for centuries been found in Ceylon. 253 persons (132 males and 121 females) described themselves as *Kaffirs* at this Census; the figures in 1901 were 318 (166 males and 152 females). There were 19 Negroes, who were probably also Kaffirs or of Kaffir descent, as compared with 53 in 1901. 105 of the Kaffirs were enumerated in the Puttalam District, where they are principally employed at the salt depôts as watchers, &c.

There have been Kaffirs in Ceylon for a very considerable period. Knox records that Raja Sinha II. "hath also a Guard of Cofferies or Negros in whom he imposeth more confidence, then in his own People. These are to watch at his Chamber door, and next his Person."†

The "Parangi Hatane"‡ includes in the Portuguese forces "the worthless crowds of Kaberis, Kannadis, and Cavas steeped in kansa and opium and witless with drink ...... step by step the Parangis, Kannadis, and Kaffirs retired ...... The worthless Kaffirs like mountain cats fattened on beef§ and steeped in drink, are cast upon the ground on every side and beaten ......"||

The Sinhalese and Tamils use the word *Kapiri* or *Kapili* (කාපිරි, කාපිලි; காப்பிலி) for all Negroes or East Africans. The Kaffirs were recruited from the East Coast of Africa, in the neighbourhood of Mozambique, and they were employed as mercenary troops by all nations. LaBourdonnais brought Kaffirs from Madagascar to India. Amarooddeen, the Nabob of the Carnatic, was killed by a shot fired by a "French Caffre."

Bertolacci notes as a remarkable fact that "of about 9,000 Caffres at different times imported into Ceylon by the Dutch Government and formed into regiments no descendants are remaining, or at least they are not to be distinguished among the other inhabitants."¶

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* Bertolacci's "Ceylon," p. 44.

† Knox's "Historical Relation," p. 56.

‡ The "Parangi Hatane," verses 240, 384, and 396, translated in Ribeiro's "History of Ceylon" (translation by Paul E. Pieris, C.C.S.), pp. 259, 265, and 266.

§ Ribeiro says that the "our Caffres," as he calls them, "were very fond of the flesh of a serpent, which will swallow up a heifer or a stag." They say, "the flesh is very tasty and nourishing."—Ribeiro's "History of Ceylon" (translation by Paul E. Pieris, C.C.S.), p. 159.

|| Ribeiro's "History of Ceylon" (translation by Paul E. Pieris, C.C.S.), pp. 259, 265, and 266.

¶ Bertolacci's "Ceylon," p. 45.

In British times the Kaffirs formed a large proportion of the men of the Ceylon Regiment, especially the 3rd and 4th Regiments, and it may be noted they bore a very different character to that given them in the "Parangi Hatane." "They made good soldiers and were remarkable for longevity. They were habitually temperate."*

Cordiner says that there was a regiment of 700 Caffres in Colombo in 1807. "Many of them were slaves at the Portuguese Settlement of Goa on the Coast of Malabar, where they were purchased by our Government. They rejoice exceedingly at the change in their situation, and ...... promise to become brave and hardy soldiers. They are nominally Roman Catholic Christians, and certainly know nothing of any other religion."† Spence Hardy, in his "Jubilee Memorials" (published in 1864), says that the Caffres are becoming extinct: "within recent years, a few were located on the sides of the principal roads of the interior, where they were frequently milemen."‡

It is doubtful whether at the next Census any persons will be found who will give their race as Kaffirs. They are mixing with the other races, and even the small colony at Puttalam is a very mixed one. The woolly curly hair and the characteristic features of the Negro are not infrequently seen amongst the descendants of these people. They will be long remembered for their dances and songs, which are still popular, especially amongst the "Portuguese" mechanics, many of whom intermarried with the Kaffirs—notably the Kafferina, a very popular dance tune; the Chikotti, a vocal and instrumental sing-song. There are also quadrille pieces, one of which is called "Velinda," or "Vellang de Mozambique."

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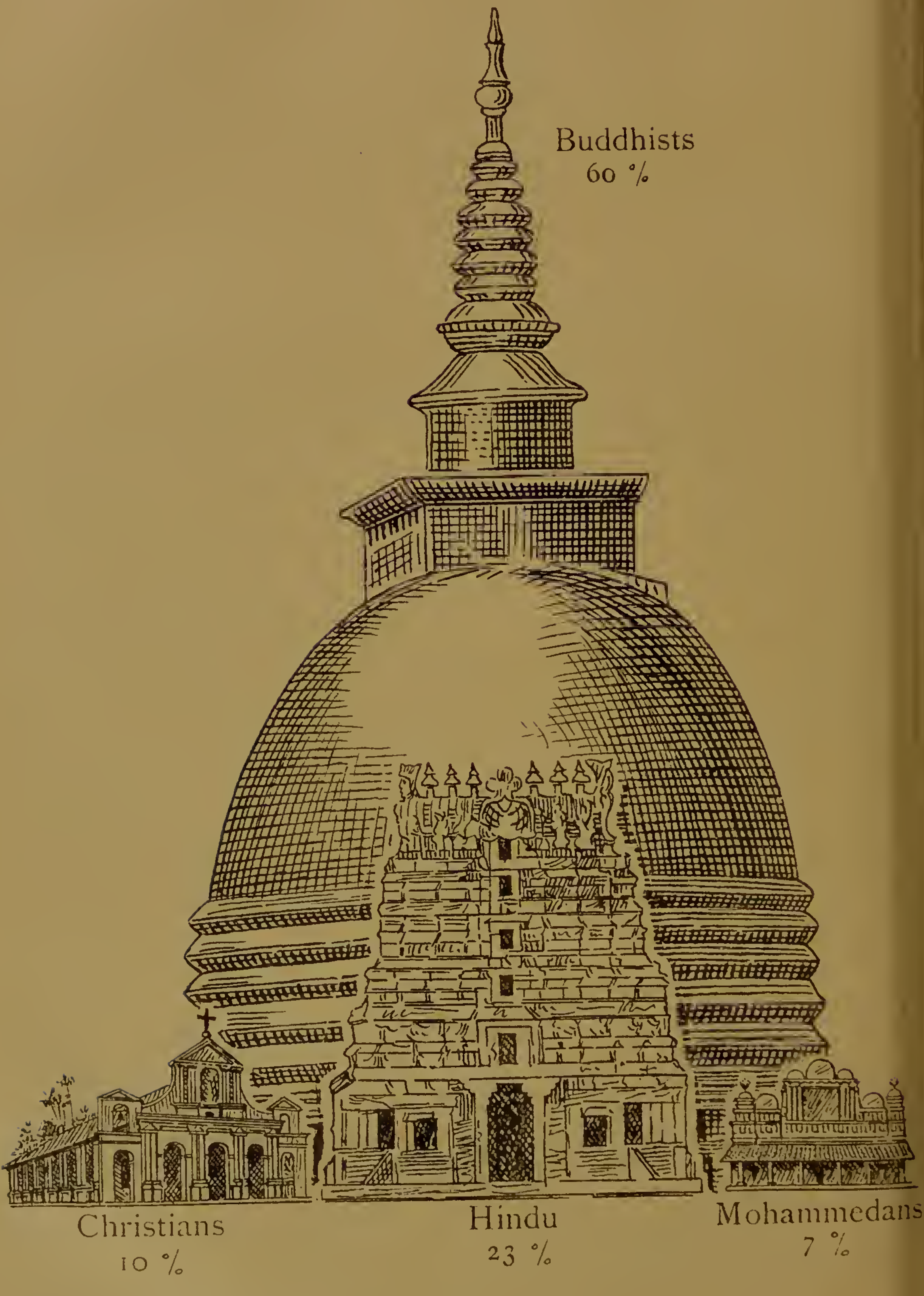
* "Brief Sketch of the Medical History of Ceylon," by Dr. Vanderstraaten, published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), Vol. IX., p. 318.

† Cordiner's "Description of Ceylon," p. 65.

‡ Spence Hardy's "Jubilee Memorials," p. 17.

RELIGIONS OF CEYLON

Proportion Per Cent of
Each Religion to the Total
Population of Ceylon



CHAPTER IX.

RELIGIONS.

Strength of the four principal religions—Comparisons of rate of increase—by districts—by race—Buddhists and Christians—Hindus and Christians—Tamil Buddhists—Muhammadans—Distribution of religions—Buddhism—Buddhism and Caste—Buddhism and Hinduism—Worship of Vishnu—Animism—Revival of Buddhism—Buddhist pictures—Hinduism—Hindu shrines—Muhammadanism—Christianity—Roman Catholics—Church of England—Wesleyans—Presbyterians—Baptists—Congregationalists—Salvation Army—Friends' Mission—Other religions—Oaths at sacred shrines in settlement of civil cases—Religion.

THE predominant religion in Ceylon is *Buddhism*, which is the religion of 60 per cent. of the total population. The *Hindu* religion counts nearly 23 per cent. of the population among its adherents. Of the rest, 10 per cent. are *Christians* and 7 per cent. *Muhammadans.* Only ·03 per cent. of the population of Ceylon are not included in one of these four principal religions.

The illustration at the commencement of this chapter shows the relative proportion of the followers of these four religions to the total population. The dagoba represents the Buddhist, the temple the Hindu, the church the Christian, and the mosque the Muhammadan. The temple, church, and mosque can all be put inside the dagoba, which would hold two temples, with almost enough space for a third, six churches, and very nearly nine mosques.

Table A.—Proportion per Cent. of the Adherents of each Religion to the Total Population, by Sex, 1881–1911.

	Buddhists.	Hindus.	Christians.	Muhammadans.	Others.
Males.					
1881	60·40	22·30	9·50	7·60	·10
1891	61·60	21·00	9·90	7·40	·03
1901	59·30	23·80	9·60	7·24	·06
1911	59·60	23·25	9·85	7·27	·03
Females.					
1881	62·70	20·50	9·90	6·70	·07
1891	63·30	19·70	10·20	6·70	·02
1901	60·90	22·60	9·90	6·54	·06
1911	60·98	22·40	10·09	6·50	·03

Table A, given above, shows the proportion per cent. of the followers of these four religions to the total population by sex at the four Censuses 1881, 1891, 1901, and 1911. From this table it would appear that the Buddhists stand where they did in 1901, they were in the largest proportion in 1891; the Hindus have slightly decreased in the ten years; the Christians are increasing in proportion; and the Muhammadans are stationary.

The next table, B, shows the total number of persons belonging to each religion at the four Censuses, and their increases during each decade. The largest increase (17·2 per cent.) is amongst the Christians; the Hindus show the lowest increase (13·4). The Buddhists have increased by 15½ per cent. and the Muhammadans by 15·2 per cent.

Table B.—Population by Religion, and its Growth, 1881–1911.

Religion.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	Increases per Cent. between 1881–1891.	1891–1901.	1901–1911.
Buddhists ..	1698070	1877043	2141404	2474170	10·50	14·08	15·50
Christians ..	267977	302127	349239	409168	12·70	15·60	17·20
Hindus ..	593630	615932	826826	938260	3·70	34·20	13·40
Muhammadans ..	197775	211995	246118	283631	7·20	16·09	15·20

These increases are, however, considerably affected by immigration and other causes, and it is not possible to estimate exactly how far they represent a gain in converts to any particular religion.

The strength of the principal religions amongst the different races in Ceylon can, however, be estimated by comparing the increase in the number of the followers of each religion by race.

Among the Sinhalese in 1901, 91·2 per cent. of the men were Buddhists and 8·7 per cent. Christians; of the women, 90·8 per cent. were Buddhists and 9·1 per cent. Christians. At this Census 91·1 per cent. of the men and 90·7 per cent. of the women were Buddhists, and 8·9 per cent. of the men and 9·3 per cent. of the women were Christians. On these figures it would appear that there has been a slight increase amongst the Sinhalese Christians at the expense of the Sinhalese Buddhists, or that ·1 per cent. of the men and women, or 1 in every 1,000 men and women, have changed their creed from Buddhism to Christianity. The Christian Sinhalese show an increase of ·2 per cent., or 2 in every 1,000 amongst the men and women since the last decade; but allowing for decimal places it may be said that there appears to be a change of 1 in every 1,000 from Buddhism to Christianity. Taking the figures, however, by Provinces (*vide* Tables C 1 and C 2 annexed)—

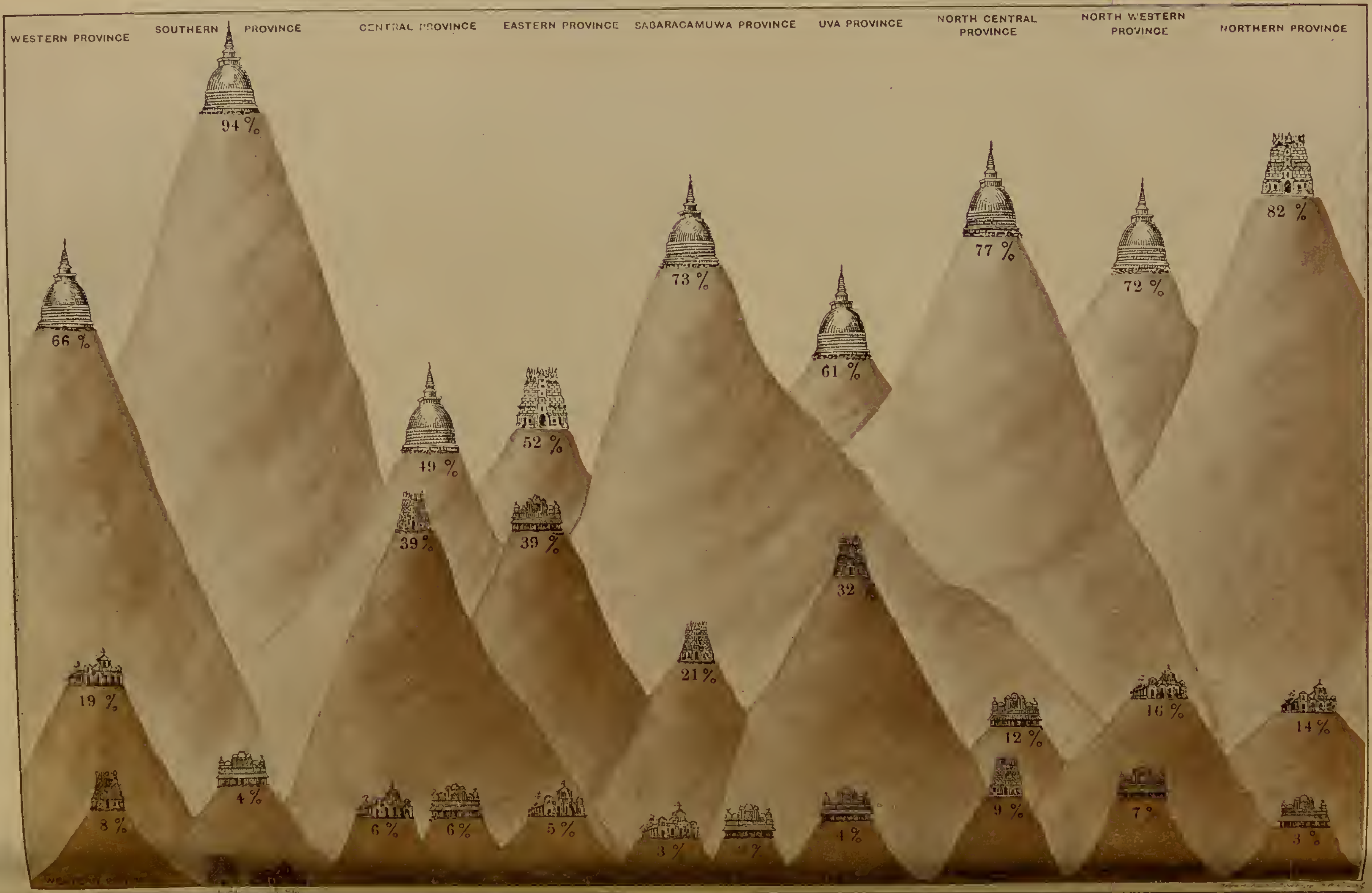
Table C 1.—Proportion per Cent. of Christian and Buddhist Sinhalese, 1881–1911.

Province.	Sinhalese Christians. 1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	Sinhalese Buddhists. 1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
Ceylon—Males and Females ..	8·8	8·9	9·0	9·1	91·2	91·1	91·01	90·9
Males.								
Ceylon	**8·6**	**8·7**	**8·7**	**8·9**	**91·3**	**91·2**	**91·2**	**91·1**
Western Province	20·3	18·7	17·9	17·0	79·6	81·2	82·2	83·0
Central Province	3·3	3·3	3·02	2·8	96·6	96·6	96·9	97·2
Northern Province	30·6	39·5	23·0	27·1	69·0	60·3	76·9	72·6
Southern Province	·7	·6	·7	·7	99·2	99·3	99·3	99·3
Eastern Province	3·4	5·4	8·07	9·9	96·4	94·1	91·8	90·2
North-Western Province ..	11·6	13·9	15·8	17·4	88·3	86·0	84·07	82·6
North-Central Province ..	·2	·7	·98	1·4	99·7	99·2	99·0	98·6
Province of Uva	1·3	1·6	1·4	1·3	98·6	98·2	98·6	98·7
Province of Sabaragamuwa ..	1·4	1·7	1·8	1·9	98·5	98·2	98·1	98·1
Females.								
Ceylon	**8·8**	**9·0**	**9·1**	**9·3**	**91·01**	**90·9**	**90·8**	**90·7**
Western Province	22·05	20·5	19·9	19·0	77·9	79·4	80·09	81·0
Central Province	2·4	2·5	2·6	2·4	97·4	97·4	97·4	97·6
Northern Province	1·9	10·7	6·9	16·2	97·6	88·8	93·9	83·4
Southern Province	·6	·6	·7	·7	99·3	99·3	99·3	99·3
Eastern Province	1·2	2·2	2·2	3·0	98·6	97·4	97·5	96·9
North-Western Province ..	10·9	13·2	15·1	16·7	88·9	86·7	84·7	83·3
North-Central Province ..	·06	·3	·4	·7	99·9	99·6	99·6	99·3
Province of Uva	·5	·7	·9	·9	99·4	99·2	99·08	99·1
Province of Sabaragamuwa ..	·9	1·1	1·3	1·5	99·0	98·8	98·6	98·6

Table C 2.—Proportion per Cent. of Christian, Buddhist, and Hindu Tamils, 1881–1911.

Province.	Tamils.											
	Christians.				Buddhists.				Hindus.			
	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
Ceylon.												
Males and Females ..	12·0	13·04	11·5	12·02	1·9	2·2	1·9	·3	85·9	84·7	86·4	87·6
Males.												
Ceylon	**11·6**	**12·8**	**11·4**	**12·1**	**2·2**	**2·5**	**2·3**	**·4**	**85·8**	**84·5**	**86·08**	**87·5**
Western Province ..	32·0	35·6	24·9	23·5	13·2	16·5	12·9	·96	53·8	47·6	61·3	75·2
Central Province ..	6·3	7·6	6·9	7·9	2·3	1·9	1·4	·3	90·8	90·3	91·6	91·8
Northern Province ..	13·1	13·8	13·7	14·0	·01	..	·001	·005	86·8	86·1	86·2	86·02
Southern Province ..	15·3	13·6	10·1	11·8	11·7	8·3	6·3	2·3	66·7	77·2	82·5	85·6
Eastern Province ..	7·09	7·6	7·6	8·1	·005	..	·02	·02	92·8	92·2	92·3	91·9
North-Western Province ..	28·8	33·3	27·0	26·5	4·4	8·5	7·7	1·7	66·0	57·7	63·2	71·8
North-Central Province ..	7·6	7·5	8·8	9·7	2·5	4·8	3·5	1·4	89·6	86·8	87·5	88·2
Province of Uva ..	4·0	4·5	3·8	4·04	1·7	4·4	2·3	·3	93·6	90·8	93·8	95·5
Province of Sabaragamuwa	6·2	7·1	6·3	6·7	4·4	3·2	1·6	·4	88·3	89·3	91·8	92·8
Females.												
Ceylon	**12·4**	**3·3**	**11·6**	**11·9**	**1·4**	**1·7**	**1·4**	**·2**	**85·9**	**84·8**	**86·8**	**87·8**
Western Province ..	41·4	45·6	32·0	28·7	11·3	14·6	11·08	1·1	46·4	39·4	56·5	70·0
Central Province ..	6·5	7·9	7·1	7·6	2·2	1·7	1·07	·2	90·9	90·2	91·7	92·1
Northern Province ..	13·5	14·0	13·8	14·1	·006	..	..	·003	86·4	85·9	86·1	85·9
Southern Province ..	20·7	17·4	10·02	10·7	11·1	7·0	4·5	1·9	60·8	74·8	85·05	87·4
Eastern Province ..	7·2	7·5	7·3	8·2	·005	..	·002	·02	92·7	92·4	92·6	91·8
North-Western Province ..	33·1	37·0	30·9	31·2	3·5	8·4	6·8	1·7	62·8	54·2	59·1	67·0
North-Central Province ..	10·8	9·5	11·2	10·6	1·8	5·6	2·9	1·6	87·2	84·3	85·8	86·5
Province of Uva ..	4·1	4·3	3·6	3·6	1·2	3·2	1·9	·2	94·0	92·2	94·4	96·1
Province of Sabaragamuwa	5·2	7·0	6·3	6·4	3·6	2·5	1·09	·3	89·9	90·2	92·4	93·2

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE RELATIVE PROPORTIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL RELIGIONS FOR EACH PROVINCE



per cent., and are 3,615 above the estimate. From these figures it would appear that the Christians have increased and the Buddhists decreased, and these 3,000 persons may be claimed to be converts from Buddhism to Christianity. But such a claim would be based on insufficient data. The assumption which underlies all these calculations is that the Sinhalese Buddhists and the Sinhalese Christians have increased in exactly the same ratio. An increase in Christian Sinhalese is likely to be due as much to an increased birth-rate or a lower death-rate amongst Christian Sinhalese as to any other cause.

Taking figures for children under ten years of age, viz., children born since the last Census, for Low-country Sinhalese in the Colombo and Negombo Districts, in which there is a comparatively large proportion of Christians, 30¼ per cent. of the total number of males and 33 per cent. of the females are under 10 amongst the Low-country Sinhalese Buddhists, while amongst the Christians of the same race 31½ per cent. of the males and 28½ per cent. of the females are under 10. Taking the totals for males and females, the percentage of Low-country Sinhalese Buddhists under 10 years of age is 31·60, of Christians 29·88. From these figures one would expect to find a proportionate increase of Christians, as compared with Buddhists, amongst the males, and a proportionate decrease amongst the females, which appears to be correct, allowing for the absence of a large number of Christians from these Districts at the St. Anna's festival on the Census night. The proportion of Christian females in these Districts was 22·8 in 1901, as compared with 23·4, 24, and 26 at previous Censuses. The smaller proportion of children under 10 amongst the Christians may be due either to a decrease in the birth-rate or to a higher rate of mortality amongst female children. These figures have been studied in some detail, as they show how difficult it is to state any conclusion without allowing for the numerous conflicting causes.

We have seen from Table C 1 how very small the fluctuations are in the proportions of Buddhists and Christians amongst the Sinhalese in the different Provinces. This table also shows the very strong predominance of Buddhism in the Sinhalese districts. In the Southern Province 99·3 of the men and the same proportion of women amongst the Sinhalese are Buddhists. The Sinhalese women in the North-Central and Uva Provinces are Buddhists in the proportion of 99·3 and 99·1 per cent. Over 90 per cent. of the Sinhalese population of the Central, Southern, North-Central, Uva, Sabaragamuwa, and Eastern Provinces are Buddhists.

In only two Sinhalese Provinces, the Western and North-Western, are more than 15 per cent. of the Sinhalese population Christians.

It is noticeable that the proportion of Christian women is considerably larger than the proportion of Christian men to the total male and female population in the Colombo Municipality (women 32½ per cent., men 25½ per cent.), Colombo District (women nearly 23 per cent., men 20 per cent.), Mannar District (women nearly 53 per cent., men 47½ per cent.), and Chilaw District (women 52½ per cent., men 48 per cent.). The reason for this excess in Colombo town and in the Colombo and Mannar Districts is no doubt the number of male immigrants in these Districts. In the Chilaw District there has been a slight decrease in Christian males and females, and an increase in Buddhist males and females. The absence of a number of fishermen from the Negombo and Chilaw Districts, who had gone to Mannar or Trincomalee for fishing, or to St. Anna's for the pilgrimage, would account for the large proportion of females amongst the Christians.

Table D shows the distribution of 10,000 persons of the population according to Religion in the Provinces and Districts :—

Table D.—Distribution of 10,000 Persons of the Population according to Religion, in the Provinces and Districts, 1911.

Province and District.	Buddhists.	Hindus.	Christians.	Muhammadans.	Others.
CEYLON	**6,025**	**2,285**	**996**	**691**	**3**
Western Province ..	6,654	767	1,895	681	3
Central Province ..	4,924	3,897	564	614	1
Northern Province ..	60	8,205	1,383	352	—
Southern Province ..	9,410	122	116	352	—
Eastern Province ..	371	5,198	559	3,872	—
North-Western Province* ..	7,106	519	1,692	683	—
North-Central Province ..	7,706	918	203	1,165	8
Province of Uva ..	6,111	3,248	251	362	28
Province of Sabaragamuwa ..	7,315	2,061	300	324	—
Colombo Municipality ..	3,089	1,907	2,831	2,156	17
Colombo District (exclusive of the Municipality) ..	7,353	308	2,144	195	—
Kalutara District ..	7,810	913	640	637	—
Kandy Municipality ..	4,654	1,167	2,052	2,118	9
Kandy District (exclusive of the Municipality) ..	5,283	3,581	467	669	—
Matale District ..	6,130	2,850	389	631	—
Nuwara Eliya District ..	3,258	5,915	643	184	—
Jaffna District ..	9	8,776	1,104	111	—
Mannar District ..	78	1,779	4,978	3,164	1
Mullaittivu District ..	1,008	6,935	1,332	725	—
Galle Municipality ..	7,020	144	647	2,189	—
Galle District (exclusive of the Municipality) ..	9,641	151	87	121	—
Matara District ..	9,481	118	88	313	—
Hambantota District ..	9,604	59	47	290	—
Batticaloa District ..	379	5,191	485	3,945	—
Trincomalee District ..	331	5,238	3,490	941	—
Kurunegala District ..	8,687	396	461	456	—
Puttalam District† ..	2,101	997	3,883	3,019	—
Chilaw District ..	3,835	734	5,010	421	—
Anuradhapura District ..	7,706	918	203	1,165	8
Badulla District ..	6,111	3,248	251	362	28
Ratnapura District ..	7,881	1,669	255	195	—
Kegalla District ..	6,928	2,329	330	413	—

Table E shows the proportion per cent. of the adherents of each religion in each District to the total population at the four Censuses 1881–1911 :—

* Excluding the St. Anna's pilgrims who were not born in the North-Western Province, the proportions are: 7,192 Buddhists, 525 Hindus, 691 Muhammadans, and 1,592 Christians.

† Excluding the St. Anna's pilgrims who were not born in the Puttalam District, the proportions are: 3,599 Muhammadans, 2,708 Christians, 2,505 Buddhists, and 1,188 Hindus.

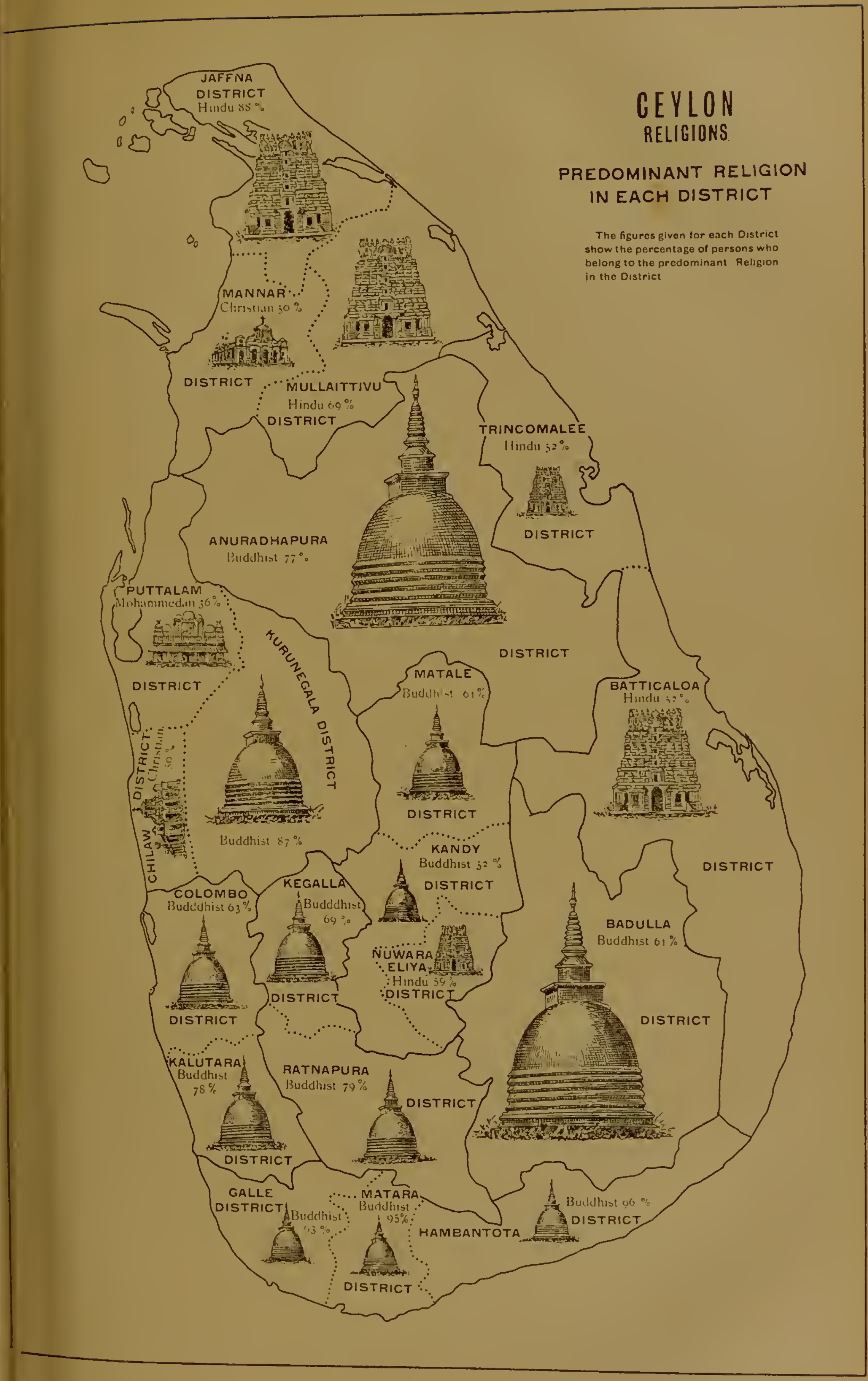

CEYLON
RELIGIONS
PREDOMINANT RELIGION
IN EACH DISTRICT
The figures given for each District show the percentage of persons who belong to the predominant Religion in the District
JAFFNA
DISTRICT
Hindu 88 %
MANNAR
Christian 50 %
DISTRICT
MULLAITTIVU
Hindu 69 %
DISTRICT
TRINCOMALEE
Hindu 52 %
DISTRICT
ANURADHAPURA
Buddhist 77 %
DISTRICT
PUTTALAM
Mohammedan 36 %
DISTRICT
KURUNEGALA DISTRICT
Buddhist 87 %
CHILAW DISTRICT
Christian
MATALE
Buddhist 61 %
DISTRICT
BATTICALOA
Hindu
DISTRICT
KANDY
Buddhist 52 %
DISTRICT
COLOMBO
Budddhist 63 %
DISTRICT
KEGALLA
Budddhist
69 %
DISTRICT
NUWARA
ELIYA
Hindu 59 %
DISTRICT
BADULLA
Buddhist 61 %
DISTRICT
KALUTARA
Buddhist
78 %
DISTRICT
RATNAPURA
Buddhist 79 %
DISTRICT
GALLE
DISTRICT
Buddhist
93 %
MATARA
Buddhist
95 %
DISTRICT
HAMBANTOTA
Buddhist 96 %
DISTRICT

Table E.—Proportion per Cent. of the Adherents of each Religion in each District to the Total Population, 1881-1911.

District.	Buddhists.				Hindus.				Muhammadans.				Christians.			
	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
CEYLON	**61·53**	**62·41**	**60·05**	**60·25**	**21·51**	**20·48**	**23·19**	**22·85**	**7·17**	**7·05**	**6·90**	**6·91**	**9·71**	**10·04**	**9·79**	**9·96**
Colombo Municipality ..	26·05	32·74	31·30	30·89	13·76	9·85	13·77	19·07	25·08	23·26	22·89	21·56	34·90	34·04	31·90	28·31
Colombo District ..	71·79	73·63	73·73	73·53	1·83	1·41	2·43	3·08	1·79	1·83	1·90	1·95	24·58	23·13	21·94	21·44
Kalutara District ..	84·12	84·10	80·44	78·10	·74	1·84	5·93	9·13	7·88	7·11	6·98	6·37	7·25	6·95	6·65	6·40
Kandy District ..	53·32	53·70	47·84	52·38	32·55	32·34	38·89	34·07	8·68	8·01	7·38	7·73	5·34	5·95	5·89	5·81
Matale District ..	60·25	67·65	60·91	61·30	28·75	21·77	29·15	28·50	7·39	7·19	6·38	6·31	3·57	3·38	3·56	3·89
Nuwara Eliya District ..	35·22	34·58	28·98	32·58	56·65	55·91	62·74	59·15	1·79	2·25	1·86	1·84	6·23	7·25	6·42	6·43
Jaffna District ..	·02	·02	·04	·09	88·98	88·31	88·38	87·76	1·06	1·15	1·06	1·11	9·93	10·51	10·52	11·04
Mannar District ..	·25	·73	·40	·78	13·85	18·58	18·61	17·79	31·19	31·03	31·31	31·64	54·70	49·65	49·61	49·78
Mullaittivu District ..	·04	7·81	7·78	10·08	80·89	71·92	71·59	69·35	5·58	7·13	7·18	7·25	13·50	13·14	13·33	13·32
Galle District ..	92·19	92·84	92·44	92·81	·54	·76	1·51	1·50	5·19	4·52	4·26	4·05	2·05	1·88	1·78	1·64
Matara District ..	95·19	95·20	94·52	94·81	·53	·90	1·61	1·18	3·40	3·21	3·11	3·13	·74	·69	·75	·88
Hambantota District ..	96·05	96·13	96·27	96·04	·85	·74	·62	·59	2·62	2·67	2·70	2·90	·45	·45	·41	·47
Batticaloa District ..	4·88	5·40	5·25	3·79	54·96	53·58	52·22	51·91	35·43	36·59	37·42	39·45	4·32	4·41	4·38	4·85
Trincomalee District ..	3·98	3·97	3·46	3·31	57·52	57·46	53·77	52·38	28·18	27·45	32·32	9·41	10·31	11·12	10·44	34·90
Kurunegala District ..	90·53	90·68	88·24	86·87	2·83	1·82	3·30	3·96	4·64	4·66	4·67	4·56	1·98	2·84	3·76	4·61
Puttalam District* ..	34·92 (Puttalam and Chilaw)	30·13	26·65	25·05	8·87 (Puttalam and Chilaw)	9·28	10·23	11·88	16·73 (Puttalam and Chilaw)	37·22	36·38	35·99	39·47 (Puttalam and Chilaw)	23·36	26·74	27·08
Chilaw District ..		37·37	37·53	38·35		6·88	7·34	7·35		4·34	4·11	4·21		51·40	51·02	50·09
Anuradhapura District ..	80·92	79·50	78·31	77·06	6·56	7·45	8·18	9·18	11·33	11·79	11·43	11·65	·86	1·26	1·63	2·03
Badulla District ..	68·66	71·66	65·77	61·11	24·76	21·22	27·67	32·48	4·23	4·42	3·89	3·62	2·15	2·45	2·38	2·51
Ratnapura District ..	88·68	90·89	84·58	78·81	7·79	5·56	11·58	16·69	1·67	1·73	1·67	1·95	1·82	1·80	2·17	2·55
Kegalla District ..	90·11	79·91	72·24	69·28	3·89	13·02	20·46	23·29	4·45	4·43	4·27	4·13	1·46	2·62	3·02	3·30

* The pilgrims enumerated at St. Anna's are *not* included in the figures for 1911.

The only Sinhalese Districts which show a proportion of more than 10 per cent. Christian are Colombo (nearly 21½ per cent.), Puttalam (27 per cent. excluding pilgrims), and Chilaw (50 per cent.)—the Christian population along the west coast of Ceylon, north of Colombo, extending up to the Tamil District of Mannar, which shows a proportion of nearly 50 per cent. Christian. In the town of Colombo, with its mixed assortment of races, slightly more than one-fourth of the population are Christians. The religions are fairly evenly distributed in Colombo town: the Buddhists come first with nearly 31 per cent., followed by the Christians nearly 28½ per cent., Muhammadans 21½ per cent., and Hindus 19 per cent. Christians form 20½ per cent. of the population of Kandy town.

It is clear from a comparison of the figures at the different Censuses that both religions, Buddhism and Christianity, have held their ground in the Districts where they are strongest, and these figures do not show that there has been anything in the nature of a change of religion amongst the inhabitants of any particular District.

Comparing the figures for Buddhists and Hindus amongst the Tamils in Table C 2, we notice that a considerable change has taken place. From 1881–1901 inclusive 2 per cent. of the Tamils are given as Buddhists; in 1911 only ·3 per cent. are entered as Buddhists. The explanation is that considerable pains were taken to ensure that there should be no mistake on the part of the enumerators as to the religion of the Tamils, especially of the Tamil cooly class. As Mr. Arunachalam states in his Report on the Census of 1901, "it was discovered that many Tamils who were really Hindus were returned as Buddhists at this Census, owing to misunderstanding on the part of the enumerators as well as of the enumerated. There is no Tamil equivalent of the word "Hindu," which is known only to persons educated in English. An ignorant Tamil when asked his religion would be at a loss to state it under any of the Census categories. In Sinhalese Districts, where there are no Hindu temples, a Tamil of this class might even attend and offer worship at a Buddhist temple, Buddha being by some regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu.* A Hindu would be generally known by his rubbing *tiruniru* (sacred ashes) on his forehead (if a worshipper of Siva), or (if a worshipper of Vishnu) by making a mark called the *námam* on the forehead. To the former category belongs the vast majority of the Hindus of this country. Had inquiry been made by enumerators touching these points, many of the Tamils who have been returned as Buddhists would have been returned as Hindus. But the error was discovered too late to be rectified."†

Enumerators at this Census were instructed, "in case of Tamils stating they are Buddhists, to ascertain carefully whether they mean that they go to a kovil or temple, or to a vihare or pansala," and to satisfy themselves that these Tamils were really Buddhists by the test questions suggested. When the schedules were checked, the tabulators were instructed to report all cases of Tamils who were entered as Buddhists.

At the 1901 Census 18,048 Tamils were entered as Buddhists, at the 1911 Census 3,153. Special reference is made below to cases where Tamils declared themselves to be Buddhists, stating that they always worshipped at a Buddhist temple, and that they belonged to the Buddhist community.‡

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* *Vide* pp. 258, 259, *infra*.
† Report on the Census of Ceylon, 1901, Vol. I., p. 96.
‡ *Vide* p. 259, *infra*.

From Statement E it appears that the Hindus have increased while the Buddhists have proportionately decreased in the Kalutara, Badulla, Ratnapura, and Kegalla Districts, the reason being principally that the Tamil estate population of these Districts has largely increased. The decrease in the Buddhists amongst the Tamils is also due to the number of Tamils incorrectly entered as Buddhists in these Districts at the 1901 Census.

A more accurate estimate of the increase in the number of Buddhists and Hindus respectively during the decade can be obtained by including all the Tamil Buddhists under the head Hindus in the figures for the 1901 and 1911 Censuses. The Buddhists then show an increase of 16·3 during the decade, and the Hindus 11·4, as compared with increases on the figures as returned of 15·5 and 13·4 respectively. The increases amongst the Sinhalese and Tamils during the decade were 16·5 and 11·3 respectively. The figures for Buddhists and Hindus—transferring the Tamil Buddhists—so closely agree with the figures for the increases in the races which are pre-eminently Buddhist and Hindu, that they can be regarded as further evidence that the increases in the number of Buddhists and Hindus during the decade have been normal, and in proportion to the rate of increase of the Sinhalese and Tamil population. The figures for Tamil Buddhists also affect any comparisons between the proportionate number of Buddhists and Hindus to the total population in 1901 and 1911. The Buddhists in 1901 included a number of persons who should have been rightly included as Hindus. The proportion of Buddhists to the total population was therefore shown as greater than was actually the case.

The decline in the rate of increase amongst the Hindus is entirely due to the decline in the rate of increase amongst the estate population. Between 1891 and 1901 the Tamil population increased by 31½ per cent. and the number of Hindus by 34·2 per cent.; between 1901 and 1911 the Tamil population increased by 11·3 per cent. and the number of Hindus by 13·4 per cent.

Buddhists are more numerous amongst the Sinhalese than are Hindus amongst the Tamils: 90 per cent. of the Sinhalese are Buddhists; 87½ per cent. of the Tamils are Hindus.

There is a larger proportion of Christians amongst the Tamils than amongst the Sinhalese, the proportions being 12 per cent. and 9 per cent. respectively, due principally to the large number of Christians in the north of the Island. In the Mannar District, nearly 65½ per cent. of the population of which is Tamil, the Christians form nearly 50 per cent. of the total population.

There has been very little change in the distribution of Hindus and Christians amongst the Tamil population. There is a slight decrease in the proportion of Hindus in the Eastern Province, where there is a corresponding increase amongst the Christians, which is chiefly due to the decrease in population in some parts of this Province on account of emigration.

The Christians in Ceylon increased during the decade by 17·2 per cent. The Europeans, Burghers, and Eurasians, who are almost without exception Christians, together increased by 15 per cent., and the increase amongst the Christians is larger than the rate of increase of the Sinhalese or Tamils. All these combinations of figures point to a proportional increase amongst Christians, which has given them a slightly higher proportion to the total population than in 1901. This increase may be due to the Christians being found in the wealthy and prosperous maritime districts, which have a high birth-rate, or it may

be ascribed to conversions to Christianity. It is not possible to analyze the causes further, for they cannot be traced to any particular religious movement during the decade, nor to any one district or town.

The Muhammadans have increased by 15·2 per cent., while the Moors and Malays together increased by 16·5; but excluding the figures for Tamil and "Other" Muhammadans, who both show decreases since the last Census, the increase in Muhammadans is 16·5, which is what might be expected, as the Moors and Malays are all Muhammadan.

The number of Muhammadans amongst the Tamils has decreased from 1,750 in 1901 to 656 in 1911. In the Puttalam District the decrease was from 635 to 6, and in the Colombo District from 326 to 38. The decrease in the Puttalam District was due to the Muhammadan Mukkuvars* in the Kattaikadu and Kadayaimotai Divisions of Akkarai Pattu South being entered at this Census as Ceylon Moors; at the last Census they were entered as Tamils. The decrease in the Colombo District was probably due to a number of Muhammadans from South India being entered as Tamils, when they should have come under the heading "Others," as belonging to other Indian races.

That there has been no increase of Muhammadans amongst the Tamils is of interest, as in some parts of the Northern Province villages of low-caste Hindus became Muhammadan, in order to avoid the caste disabilities from which they suffered. There are no signs of these conversions having spread.

The Muhammadans are found in the largest proportion in the Eastern Province, where they form nearly 39 per cent. of the population. More than 20 per cent. of the population is Muhammadan in the following Districts: Batticaloa (39½ per cent.), Puttalam (36 per cent.)—the only District in the Island in which Muhammadanism is the predominant religion—and Mannar (31½ per cent.); and in the three Municipalities, Galle (22 per cent.), Colombo (21½ per cent.), and Kandy (21 per cent.).

The map opposite page 250 shows the predominant religion in each District in the Island, each religion being represented by a building connected with its worship.

The geographical distribution of the Hindus and Buddhists is very marked. The only Districts in which the Christians predominate are in the Sinhalese District of Chilaw and the Tamil District of Mannar. The Muhammadans are in a majority in only one District—Puttalam. If the pilgrims who were at St. Anna's on the Census night were included in the population of the Puttalam District, the Christians would be in the majority, with nearly 39 per cent., to 30 per cent. Muhammadans; but excluding the pilgrims, the proportions are nearly 36 per cent. Muhammadan and 27 per cent. Christian.

The map opposite shows the predominant religion in each District, and gives the proportion the followers of this religion bear to the total population.†

The only Districts in which the adherents of two or more different sects are fairly evenly distributed are the Kandy District with 53 per cent. Buddhists and 36 per cent. Hindus; the Nuwara Eliya District with 59 per cent. Hindus and 32½ per cent. Buddhists; the Mannar District with nearly 50 per cent. Christians and 31½ per cent. Muhammadans; the Batticaloa District with 52 per cent. Hindus and 39½ per cent. Muhammadans; the Trincomalee District with 52 per cent. Hindus and

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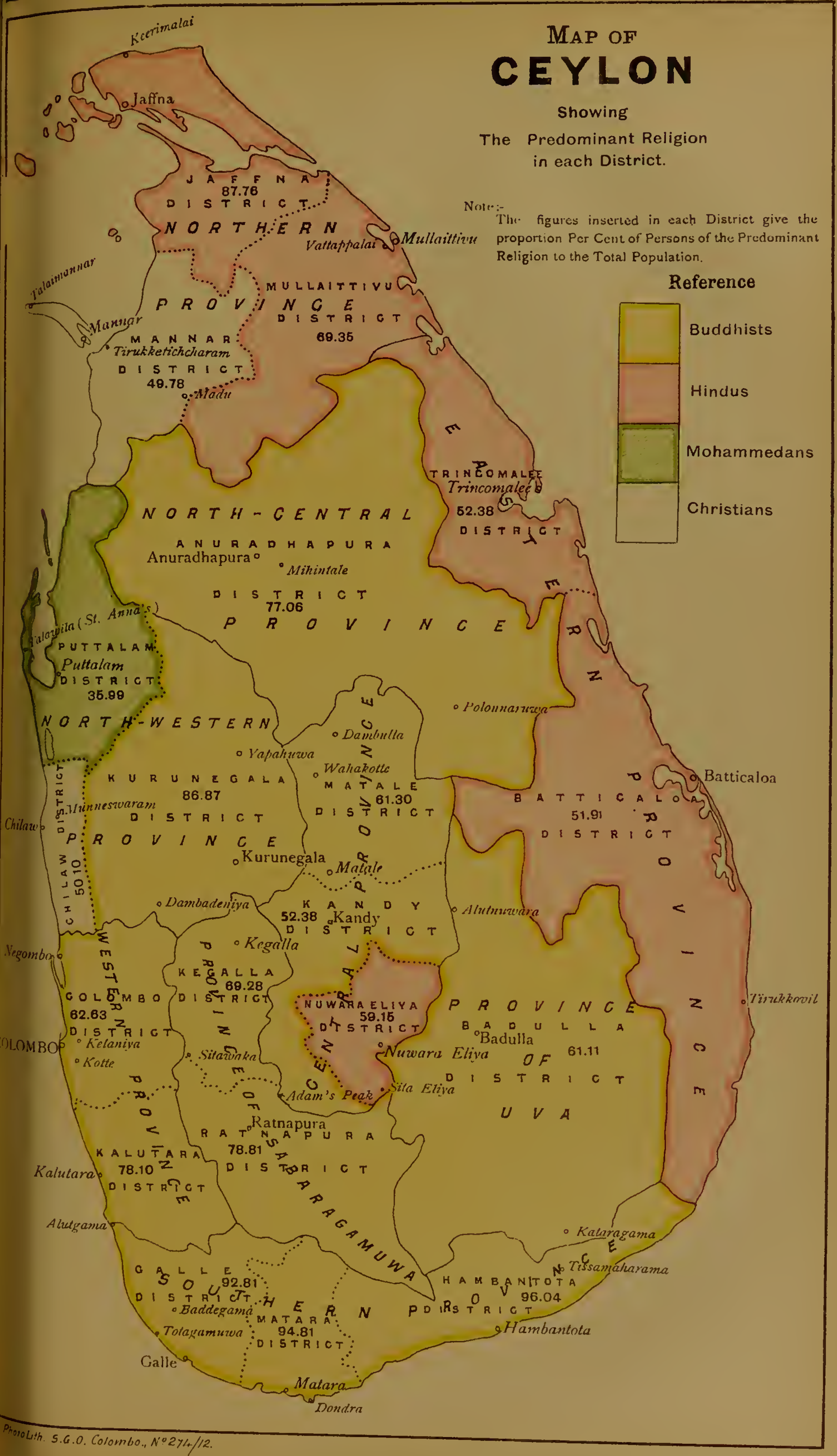
* *Vide* pp. 224 *et seq., supra.*

† The principal places of religious interest in Ceylon are marked on this map.


Map of
CEYLON
Showing
The Predominant Religion
in each District.
Note:- The figures inserted in each District give the proportion Per Cent of Persons of the Predominant Religion to the Total Population.
Reference
Buddhists
Hindus
Mohammedans
Christians
Keerimalai
Jaffna
JAFFNA 87.76 DISTRICT
NORTHERN PROVINCE
Vattappalai
Mullaittivu
MULLAITTIVU DISTRICT 69.35
Talaimannar
Mannar
MANNAR DISTRICT 49.78
Tirukketichcharam
Madu
NORTH-CENTRAL PROVINCE
ANURADHAPURA DISTRICT 77.06
Anuradhapura
Mihintale
TRINCOMALEE
Trincomalee
52.38 DISTRICT
EASTERN PROVINCE
Talawila (St. Anna's)
PUTTALAM
Puttalam
DISTRICT
35.99
NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCE
KURUNEGALA 86.87 DISTRICT
Kurunegala
Yapahuwa
Dambulla
Wahakotte
MATALE 61.30 DISTRICT
CENTRAL PROVINCE
Matale
Polonnaruwa
Batticaloa
BATTICALOA 51.91 DISTRICT
Munneswaram
Chilaw
CHILAW 50.10 DISTRICT
Dambadeniya
KANDY 52.38 DISTRICT
Kandy
Alutnuwara
Negombo
Kegalla
KEGALLA 69.28 DISTRICT
WESTERN PROVINCE
COLOMBO 62.63 DISTRICT
COLOMBO
Kelaniya
Kotte
NUWARA ELIYA 59.15 DISTRICT
Nuwara Eliya
PROVINCE OF UVA
BADULLA 61.11 DISTRICT
Badulla
Tirukkovil
Sitawaka
Adam's Peak
Sita Eliya
Ratnapura
RATNAPURA 78.81 DISTRICT
SABARAGAMUWA PROVINCE
KALUTARA 78.10 DISTRICT
Kalutara
Alutgama
Kataragama
Tissamaharama
HAMBANTOTA 96.04 DISTRICT
Hambantota
GALLE 92.81 DISTRICT
Baddegama
Totagamuwa
SOUTHERN PROVINCE
MATARA 94.81 DISTRICT
Galle
Matara
Dondra
Photo Lith. S.G.O. Colombo., No 274/12.

35 per cent. Christians; the Puttalam District, excluding the pilgrims, with 36 per cent. Muhammadans, 27 per cent. Christians, and 25 per cent. Buddhists. In the Chilaw District the Christians comprise 50 per cent. of the population, the Buddhists 38 per cent. In the Badulla District the Buddhists lead with 61 per cent., the Hindus come second with 32½ per cent.

Though the Muhammadans only lead in one District (Puttalam) with 36 per cent., they come second in six Districts (Mannar, Galle, Matara, Hambantota, Batticaloa, and Anuradhapura) ; the lowest proportion of Muhammadans is in the Jaffna District.

The highest proportion of Christians is in the Chilaw and Mannar Districts, where practically half the population is Christian. Christians come second in six Districts (Colombo, Jaffna, Mullaittivu, Puttalam, Trincomalee, and Kurunegala). The lowest proportion of Christians is found in the Hambantota District.

The Hindus come first in the Jaffna, Nuwara Eliya, Mullaittivu, Batticaloa, and Trincomalee Districts, and second in six Districts (Kalutara, Kandy, Matale, Badulla, Ratnapura, and Kegalla) ; that is to say, the Hindu religion is predominant in all the Tamil Districts, except in Mannar, where it only comes third, and in one planting district, and second in all the other principal planting districts. The smallest proportion of Hindus is in the Hambantota District.

The Buddhists lead in the Colombo, Kalutara, Kandy, Matale, Galle, Matara, Hambantota, Kurunegala, Anuradhapura, Badulla, Ratnapura, and Kegalla Districts, and are second in two Districts only—Chilaw and Nuwara Eliya. In eight out of the twelve Districts in which the Buddhists are in a majority, over 70 per cent. of the population are Buddhists. The lowest proportion of Buddhists to the rest of the population is found in the Jaffna District.

It is easy from a glance at the map to arrive at general conclusions as to the geographical and race distribution of the adherents of the principal religions in Ceylon.

From a study of the figures given for the different nationalities, and a comparison of the illustrations on page 250, and on page 197 in Chapter VIII., Races, it is easy to lay down certain general rules : all Sinhalese are either Buddhists or Christians, probably only the latter if they are found on the western coast of Ceylon north of Colombo ; all Tamils are either Hindus or Christians, the proportion of Christians amongst the Ceylon Tamils being twice as large (16 per cent.) as amongst the Indian Tamils (8 per cent.) ; all Moors and Malays are Muhammadans ; all Europeans and Burghers are Christians.

The figures support these generalizations : 99·9 per cent. of the Sinhalese are either Buddhists or Christians, 99·6 per cent. of the Tamils are either Hindus or Christians, 99·9 per cent. of the Moors and Malays are Muhammadans, 99 per cent. of the Europeans and Burghers are Christians.

But while these statements are perfectly correct on the figures we have before us, they omit to take any account of the elements underlying the religious faiths professed. It is only by a study of the history of the religions now widely professed in Ceylon that one can arrive at any idea of the foundations of belief amongst the general population. The generalization as regards Muhammadanism may be accepted without criticism : once a Muhammadan always a Muhammadan is as true in Ceylon as elsewhere.

The Buddhist teacher in Thibet, in China, in Japan, Burma, or Siam treats of the history of *Buddhism* in Ceylon with the utmost

veneration. To him Ceylon is for all ages renowned for its historical connection with Buddhism. Ceylon is identified with many of the most famous shrines and relics of Buddha, to which Buddhist pilgrims from all parts of the East pay devout pilgrimages. One might therefore expect the Buddhism of Ceylon to be a faith pure in its history, preserved by its insular and monastic defences, untouched by foreign influences, and maintaining, at least in Ceylon, the principles of its great teachers.

Buddhism was a revolt from Brahmanism, directed at the commencement very probably against the rule of the Brahman,* and founded, as all such revolts almost necessarily must be, on a doctrine of universal brotherhood. It has been said that Buddhism was not directed against caste, because caste has survived Buddhism, which has been forced to make terms with it. But at the commencement the immediate object of the teachers of Buddhism must have been to obtain as many followers as possible for a faith for which at the time there was a popular demand—a faith which would not associate itself with a minority daily becoming more tyrannical. The whole teaching of Buddha was directed against caste—

> " By birth is no one an outcast, nor is any one by birth a Brahman ;
> By deeds is one an outcast, and by deeds is one a Brahman."†

In the Assaláyana Sutta the Gotama Buddha points out that " the flame kindled by an outcast by means of two pieces of wood, belonging to a dog's drinking vessel or a pigsty, will light a sacred fire as shining and beaming and bright, and as good for sacrificial purposes, as a flame kindled by a Brahman or a Khattiya by means of sweet smelling sandalwood."

Bishop Copleston, though he considers " it is an exaggeration to describe Gotama as a champion of equality against caste tyranny," allows that " both his system and his teaching were indirectly opposed to caste. All castes (of well-born men) were equally admissible to the community ; it is not clear that any outcast would have been admitted. The idea of caste being a claim to *status* within the community is repudiated ; all such distinctions are merged in the community, as the rivers in the sea. And as regards the dominion of caste outside the community, his teaching was calculated to undermine it. It was noble and just." ‡

It is at least probable that the earliest teachings of Buddhism were directed against all caste distinctions, but as a measure of protection Buddhism was obliged to ally itself with a strong caste. It is generally believed that the cultivator class was selected as the most favourable for the Buddhist religion, because cultivators were not tempted to take life " either from pride or from poverty." " Buddhism always favoured and was productive of an agricultural condition of society." The elements of Buddhism are philosophical, everything ephemeral is despised. The great ideal of the creed is release from earthly existence ; it is not concerned with the improvement of the actual conditions of

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* " In one place—the only place where he (Asoka) definitely disparages any form of religion—he says he has made those that used to be the gods of India to be its gods no longer. M. Senart thinks he means the Brahmans."—" Buddhism," by Bishop Copleston, p. 273.

† *Vide* p. 219, *supra.*

‡ " Buddhism," by Bishop Copleston, pp. 228, 229.

life. The doctrine of Karma,* or "course of consequence," which finds a place in Buddhism as well as in Hinduism, goes far to justify, and make men satisfied with, caste distinctions.

The Buddhist priesthood has not, however, been altogether free from such distinctions. In the reign of Kirti Sri (about 1750 A.D.), when the Siamese succession was introduced, a decree was issued that ordination should be conferred only upon members of the Govi or agricultural caste. It is clear that this was an innovation, for great dissatisfaction was caused amongst the other castes, culminating in the establishment of the Amarapura sect (about 1800 A.D.), and later of the Ramanya branch. "The object of the Amarapura priests is to bring back the doctrines of Buddhism to its pristine purity, by disentangling them from caste, polytheism, and other corruptions to which it has been subject for ages. The Amarapuras differ from other sects, as they publicly preach against the doctrines of Hinduism, and do not invoke the Hindu gods at the recitation of pirit; they give ordination to all castes associating with them, indiscriminately."†

While admitting that Buddhism may have been forced to make terms with caste, there can be no doubt that Ceylon owes much of its freedom to-day from the most irksome social distinctions made by the caste system to the spirit of Buddhism. Buddhism has been absorbed in Brahmanism in India; ‡ in Ceylon it has held its ground, but the long period of Tamil supremacy has left its mark on the Buddhist religion, and has largely influenced its development in Ceylon.

It was impossible that Hinduism could be divorced from Buddhism when the Tamils ruled, but the whole struggle against "the foreign invader" was largely a continuation of the revolt against Brahminism. Out of these struggles the Buddhists of Ceylon won freedom from the rule of a priestly caste, emancipation from the severest caste regulations, and a separate worship of their own, in which all, save the outcast, could take part.

"In the courtyard of nearly all the Viharas there is a small dewala in which the Brahmanical deities are worshipped. The persons who officiate in them are called Kapuwas. They marry, and are not distinguished by any particular costume. The incantations they use are in Sanskrit, but they do not understand the meaning of the words, and repeat them merely from memory ...... In the sanctum are the amulets or foot-rings of Pattini, or the weapons of the other deities, with a painted screen before them; but there are no images, or none that are permanently placed; in some of the 'ceremonies' temporary images are made of rice, or some other material equally perishable.

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* "The power that controls the universe is karma—literally, action; consisting of kusala and akusala, or merit and demerit. There is no such monad as an immaterial spirit, but at the death of any being the aggregate of his merit and demerit is transferred to some other being, which new being is caused by the karma of the previous being, and receives from that karma all the circumstances of its existence. Then, if the karma be good, the circumstances are favourable, producing happiness; but if it be bad they are unfavourable, producing misery." —Spence Hardy's "Eastern Monachism," p. 5.

† "A native writer," quoted by Spence Hardy in "Eastern Monachism," pp. 328, 329.

‡ The statement in the Census Report for 1901, Vol. I., p. 91, that "no Buddhists are now left on the Indian peninsula," is not correct. 237,893 Buddhists were found in Bengal at the 1901 Census, and about 7,000 in the Punjab, but it is said of these that they are reported to be falling under Hindu influences, though their religion is still given by them as Buddhism.

Buddhism in Ceylon has preserved, through the influence of the more educated of its priests and followers, a distinct identity of its own, but it is not surprising that many Tamils from India should declare themselves Buddhists in Ceylon, and insist upon their belief in a religion which they identify with their own form of worship. It is the less surprising when one realizes that these Tamils are usually of so low a caste that they would not be allowed to enter a temple of their own faith, either in India or Ceylon, while they are freely admitted to the Buddhist temples, where they usually find images of the gods whose names they have learned to worship. All that they understand by worship is fully provided for in the temples of a faith, the name of which, if it means anything to them at all, merely conveys the idea of the incarnation of a god, whom they would call by another name in their own country. No illiterate Tamil would understand what was meant if he was asked whether he was a Hindu. His only idea of a religion is the worship of certain gods, and the only means of ascertaining exactly what that religion represents to him is by ascertaining the particular god worshipped. Some would no doubt reply that they worshipped Buddha, but the Buddha of their faith would have little connection with the teaching of Buddhism, and would probably be regarded as the local representation of Vishnu. To appreciate clearly the distinction without a difference which seems to the ordinary villager—whether he is Buddhist or Hindu—to exist between the worshippers of deities bearing different names and attributes, but all included in an elaborate and complicated pantheism, one must realize the toleration shown by these religions to the *objects* of worship.*

The religious bias of Buddhist or Hindu is in no way exclusive, and both recognize that while one man may favour one particular deity in preference to another, it by no means follows that he is right or wrong. Each is prepared to regard the other's object of worship with equanimity and even approval. The tendency is now to adopt the god of every religion, either as a new addition to the list of gods deserving of worship, or else as an incarnation of a god already recognized. This tendency does not confine itself only to gods, but is so liberal that it is willing to make gods of men. The worship of the hero becomes the cult of a new god. There are many such instances in Ceylon. King Rája Sinha I. was deified under the curious designation of Adharmisṭha Deviyó. Wattimi Kumariar of Kurunegala is worshipped under the title of Galé Bandára;† Keppitipola Disawa of Uva, executed for rebellion in 1818, is worshipped in Uda Dumbara as Monaruwila Alut Deviyo; and Kiwulegedara Mohottála, hanged for the same offence, is worshipped in Wiyaluwa in Uva as *a devil*. The Dodanwẹla Maha Dewale in Yatinuwara is dedicated to five kings and princes, including Rajasinghe II. and "64 Bandaras who are now devils." Famous Portuguese leaders, as Siman Kure Rála, were even made divinities. When the statue of Sir Edward Barnes was erected seventeen years after he had ceased to be Governor of the Colony, it was necessary to fence it with an iron railing on account of the crowd of pilgrims who made offerings round the pedestal of the statue.‡

* "In this country" (India), writes the author of "A Naturalist on the Prowl," "a man believes in all gods and worships his own, just as he believes in the Queen of England and the Czar of Russia, but offers his limes to the Collector of the District."—"A Naturalist on the Prowl," by E. H. A., Chapter XVIII.

† "The Animal-shaped Rocks of Kurunegala," by F. H. Modder, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), Vol. XI., pp. 387 *et seq.*

‡ "Fifty Years in Ceylon," by Major Skinner, p. 217.

These they say are the Souls of good men, who formerly lived upon the Earth. There are Devils also, who are the Inflicters of Sickness and Misery upon them. And these they hold to be the Souls of evil men. There is another great God, whom they call Buddou, unto whom the Salvation of Souls belongs."* "These Spirits or Gods are local. For those which they worship in one County or part of the Land, are not known or owned to have power over the People in other parts. But each Countrey hath several Spirits or Devils, that are peculiar to those places, and do domineer over them, and are known by several names they call them by ; under whose subjection the People do acknowledge themselves to be : and, as I well perceive, do stand in a greater awe of them, than they do of them, whom they call and own to be their Gods. And indeed it is sad to consider, how this poor People are subjected to the Devil, and they themselves acknowledge it their misery, saying their Countrey is so full of Devils, and evil Spirits, that unless in this manner they should adore them, they would be destroyed by them."† "They debar none that will come to see the Ceremonies of their worship; and if a stranger should dislike their way, reprove or mock at them for their Ignorance and Folly, they would acknowledge the same, and laugh at the superstitions of their own Devotion, but withall tell you that they are constrained to do what they do, to keep themselves safe from the malice and mischiefs that the evil spirits would otherwise do them, with which they say, their Country swarm."‡

The villager lives in a world of spirits, whom he fears more than anything else in the world. *Though one may escape the cast of a stone, one cannot escape the glance of an evil eye,*§ is a Tamil saying the truth of which no villager would deny, whether Sinhalese or Tamil. As far as his religion is one of fear, he is a devil worshipper—to avert trouble is to him the be all and end all of religion.

The religion he professes he associates with the joy of living, with holidays and festivals, with the great events of his life, but purely as an agency for his use and not as his controlling destiny. It is not through his religion that he lives secure from trouble, that he enjoys life, it is by the non-interference of a malignant demon, whose existence he recognizes as a force, which he must propitiate. He does not even find consolation for his troubles in his religion ; it teaches him that relief from life is only to be found in its termination. His natural idea then is to safeguard himself from the powerful influences against him—according to his intelligence he fluctuates between hope and fear.

The Buddhism of the educated classes has been considerably strengthened in recent years by the attention which has been devoted to education by the leaders of the Buddhists in Ceylon. There has been a marked revival of Buddhistic studies, and the doctrines of Buddha have been set forth in publications which have had a very large sale. Until recently the Buddhist in the villages depended entirely for his knowledge of the tenets of the creed on the interpretation given by the priest, who was often as ignorant as himself. One of the principal objects of the Buddhist revival has been to diffuse a knowledge of the teachings of Buddha among the masses, and to improve the general intelligence of the priests.

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* Knox's "Historical Relation," pp. 114, 115.
† *Ibid.*, p 123.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 132.
§ கல் எறிக்குத் தப்பினாலும் கண் எறிக்குத் தப்பக்கூடாது.

The influence of Buddhism on the language and literature of Ceylon has been already referred to.* The high standard of scholarship amongst the Buddhist priests had considerably suffered, and men of learning and ability were rare. Very few works by Buddhist priests were published in the nineteenth century. The Committee on Oriental Studies, formed in 1902 through the efforts of Mr. S. M. Burrows of the Civil Service, then Director of Public Instruction, has largely revived the study of Sanskrit and Pali literature, the translation of manuscripts preserved in the temples, and the general interest in Oriental scholarship. The late H. Sri Sumangala, Principal of the Vidyodaya College, who died in 1911, was recognized as the leading Pali scholar of his time, and his fame and example did much to stimulate the revival in Buddhism.

There have been many signs during the decade of the influence of the West on Buddhism in Ceylon, no doubt largely due to the work of the Theosophical Society.

A "Buddhist Funeral Discourse"† has been published in *English* for the use of Buddhists; its form in many respects resembles that of the Church of England burial service. "This Discourse is meant to be read by a Bhikkhu, but in the absence of one any layman can read it. A Buddhist Funeral Discourse in English is at the present day a want," writes the author in the "Foreword to the Discourse."

Wesak carols and cards have been introduced in imitation of the carols and cards popular amongst the Christians. Buddhistic pictures now find a large sale. These pictures are usually representations of the history of Prince Siddhartha, of the adoration of the Prince as a babe, of his rising into the air at a ploughing festival, of his marriage, of his renunciation, of his life in the forest, &c.

These pictures bear striking resemblances to pictures by Christian artists of events in the life of Christ. The adoration of the prince might have been copied from a picture of the adoration of Christ by the Magi; the manger, the halo round the infant's head, are conspicuous. In several of the pictures figures are represented in the sky wearing tiaras, directly copied from the works of the Italian artists of the middle ages.

These signs of the times deserve mention, as they indicate that the Buddhists are not content with the formulæ of their creed's philosophy, but realize that its hold upon a people passing through a stage of Western civilization must largely depend upon its popularity. That Buddhism has an enormous hold to-day upon a very large proportion of the people of Ceylon no one would attempt to deny, nor has this influence decreased during the decade.

The Census Commissioner for India, in his report on the Census of India in 1901, says, "the most obvious characteristics of the ordinary Hindu are his acceptance of the Brahmanical supremacy and of the caste system, and when it is a question whether a member of one of the Animistic tribes has or has not entered the fold of Hinduism, this seems the proper test to apply;" ‡ and the Commissioner goes on to point out that "considerations of their history and past political importance have led to the elevation of Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism to the rank of independent religions, while the numerous other schismatic bodies are held to be only sects—of such sects there is a legion."

* *Vide* pp. 205 *et seq.*, *supra*.
† "A Buddhist Funeral Discourse," by J. E. R. P.
‡ Census Report for India, 1901, Vol. I., p. 360.

The *Hinduism* professed by the Ceylon Tamils is Sivaism, but the Ceylon Hindus may be described as pure Animists, Animists and Sivites, and pure and orthodox Sivites. The Animists are principally composed of all castes, from the barber caste downwards, who are not allowed to enter a consecrated Hindu temple, and who are not ministered to by Brahmans. Dhobies, apparently on account of the services they perform, are admitted to worship in such a temple.

The orthodox Sivite worships certain gods, of whom Siva, Parvati, Ganesha, Skanda, Vairava, and Virabhadra are the principal, but these gods merely represent ideals for meditation ; they are not worshipped as supreme beings. The Supreme Parama Sivam is held to be beyond the conception of the mind of man. Of the manifestations of Siva, each is considered by many Hindus superior at certain ages. In the present age, called Kali Yuga, the worship of Skanda is considered the most important, and he is given the title Kaliyuga Varatar (கலியுகவரதர்). Kataragama* is the chief shrine of Skanda in Ceylon.

The circle of gods is considerably enlarged by the admission of various other gods of local, caste, or traditional significance to their worshippers. Most of these gods are endowed with special attributes, which render their invocation desirable at certain seasons or to effect certain cures, &c. Each caste has its own protecting deity. Every disease is a gift of a particular god. These gods should be propitiated by offerings. The gods who are recognized as outside the main circle worshipped by the pure and orthodox Sivite are offered animal sacrifices, usually of goats and fowls,† at their temples or before their images, which are often placed at the foot of a tree. Brahmans do not officiate at any of these temples. The persons who conduct these sacrifices are called Pandarams and Pusaris, and may be compared to the Kapuralas amongst the Sinhalese.

It must be realized that Hinduism freely recognizes the right of any man to worship any particular god he likes, provided that the act of worship does not require him to declare his adherence to a belief professedly hostile to the elements of Hinduism. Hinduism only concerns itself with the mind or intention of the worshipper, and not with the object he selects for his worship. " Whatever god ye may worship, in the form of that god will Siva manifest himself." The philosophy of Hinduism is expressed in a prayer which runs thus : " Who is it that each of the many religions claims to be its god disputing the supremacy of the god of the other ? That one I worship."

The aptitude possessed by many Hindus for finding new gods and adding to their polytheistic collection is shown in the erection of shrines to sages or spirits whom the worshipper endows with mysterious properties, which in course of time raise them even to the rank of divinities. There are many such instances in Ceylon. A temple is built over the grave of a Yogi, who died about twenty years ago, at Vannarponnai, in the Jaffna peninsula. A Sivalingam is placed over the spot where he is buried, and puja ceremony is regularly performed there. Yet nothing was known of the man—neither his native place nor his name—and he was styled the Kadaiyit Swami, from the fact that he was generally to be found near the Grand Bazaar in Jaffna (*kadaiyil*, கடையில்—at the bazaar).

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* *Vide* pp. 114, 115, *supra*.

† " The slaughter of goats and fowls at Hindu temple festivals has been considerably reduced by pressure of adverse public opinion of leading Hindus."—Administration Report for the Northern Province, 1910–1911.

A famous shrine in Jaffna is that of Muniappar, near the Jaffna Fort. This shrine has only come into prominence during the last few years, it is said chiefly owing to the worship paid there by the police, who have made Muniappar their special protector. The popular tradition is that a Muni, or demon, in the jungles of the Wanni, sorely vexed a devout Sannyasi, who at length wearied by these frequent persecutions bound the demon with the help of a charm and brought him to Jaffna, where he established him near the Fort, in the shrine from which he now cannot escape. The moral of the legend is defective, for the demon is now so highly revered that his shrine is a favourite spot for the challenge to an oath in settlement of civil cases in the Jaffna District Court and Court of Requests.

A shrine with a very different history, and one which is famous in all Hindu literature, is the ruined temple of Siva at Tirukketichcharam, near Mantai, in the Mannar District, the site of which can only to-day be identified by the heap of broken bricks and tiles, &c., in the neighbourhood.* This spot is now visited by an increasing number of pilgrims yearly. When the Indo-Ceylon railway connection is opened, it is not unlikely, if restoration is attempted and any traces of the temple can be successfully recovered, that this spot, which is probably only eclipsed in sanctity by Benares and Ramesveram, may become the scene of vast pilgrimages. It will be the natural conclusion to a pilgrimage to Ramesveram—the journey from Ramesveram to Tirukketichcharam will probably take not more than three or four hours.

Muhammadanism in Ceylon is principally represented by the Moormen and Malays. It is practically indissolubly connected with race, and reference has already been made† to its principal features in Ceylon. The Ceylon Moors belong to the Sunni sect; there are very few of the Shia sect in Ceylon, and those only amongst the Indian Moors. The very few Moors and Malays in Ceylon who are entered as belonging to any other religion than Muhammadanism are Sinhalese women, living with Moors and Malays, who gave Moor or Malay as their race and Buddhism or Christianity as their religion, and in some cases the children of these women, who, after their father's death, have gone back with their mother to her village and been brought up in her faith. Muhammadanism is an instance of a religion which has largely proselytized at the expense of caste. In Ceylon it has not been a proselytizing religion, except amongst the Tamils, who intermarried with the earlier Moorish settlers. The toleration shown by the Buddhists,‡ and the fact that the Moors settled in Ceylon rather as traders than as

* There is a tradition that this temple was destroyed by a dust storm after the spot had been cursed by the Sun-god, because a South Indian Brahman performed a sacrifice there with the object of eating the meat of the sacrifice, finding that such was the practice amongst the Brahmans of the north. This was contrary to the Agamic principles which were proscribed for the Brahmans in the south, and vindicated in the destruction of the temple.

† *Vide* pp. 232 *et seq.*, *supra.*

‡ "Nor are they (the Sinhalese) charitable only to the poor of their own Nation, but as I said to others—and particularly to the Moorish beggars who are Mahometans by religion. These have a Temple in Cande. A certain Former King gave this Temple, this Priviledg, that Every Free-holder should Contribute a Pounam to it. And these Moors go to every house in the land to receive it. And if the house be shut, they have power to break it open, and to take out of goods to the value of it. They come very confidently when they beg, and they say they come to fulfill the Peoples charity and the people do literally relieve them for charity sake . . . . . . These Moor Pilgrims have many pieces of Land given them by well disposed persons out of charity where they build houses and live. And this land becomes theirs from generation to generation for ever."—Knox's "Historical Relation," p. 136.

conquerors, seem to be the causes why Muhammadanism has not spread in Ceylon to the same extent as elsewhere. Muhammadanism is actually inferior in numbers to Christianity, which in its earliest days in Ceylon adopted the policy Muhammadanism has so successfully acted upon in other parts of the East—conversion by the sword.

There is a tradition of the existence of Nestorian *Christianity* in Ceylon in the time of the Emperor Justinian, and St. Thomas, St. Bartholomew, and the Eunuch of Candace, whose conversion by St. Philip is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, are all alleged to have preached Christianity in Ceylon. But it was not until the arrival of the Portuguese that there is any historical evidence of the existence of Christianity in the Island.

Christianity was protected and promoted in every way possible by the Portuguese, who were the first to create the idea of a "Government religion." Though the Dutch followed the policy of the Portuguese in forcing Christianity upon the people of Ceylon by every means in their power,* the influence of Christianity to-day is due to the religious enthusiasm, zeal, and devotion to duty of the missionaries who have preached Christianity, rather than to the Governments who made outward observance of the faith a requirement for Government service, rank, and even State protection.

The most famous of all the missionaries to Ceylon was St. Francis Xavier, the "Apostle of the Indies," who came over from India in 1544 on a mission to the Tamils of the north of Ceylon. His mission was chiefly directed to the people of Mannar. Its influence is seen to-day in the fact that half the population of this District is Christian, and that 97 per cent. of the Christians are Roman Catholics.†

The Roman Catholic religion found the largest number of its converts in Ceylon, as in India, amongst the fishing population, and amongst those "who go down to the sea in ships."

Among the Buddhists the great cardinal principle of their religion is that taking of life in any form is abhorrent, and those who took it, whether by hunting or by fishing, were guilty of an offence against their religion. A faith whose first apostles and teachers were fishermen would therefore naturally appeal to the fishermen and coast population of Ceylon. Buddhism, too, had identified itself so strongly with the agricultural caste that, as has been shown above, caste distinctions

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* A story is told of an old native Headman, whose memory went back to Dutch times, and who could therefore well remember the coercive measures then taken for forcing Christianity upon the people. Being urged by a Missionary to adopt Christianity, the Mudaliyar, wearied of the Missionary's efforts, quoted with much animation a Tamil proverb: "Will the tamarind fruit which has resisted an iron hook (used in pulling down the fruit) shake at a sacred song ?" (இரும்புத் தறட்டிக்கு அசையாத புளியங்காய் திருப்பாட்டுக்கு அசையுமா ?)

† "In the Island of Mannar were five residences, with a Superior depending immediately on the Father Provincial. He was also the Father of the Christians, whose duty it was to take charge of the catechumens, and to look after the interests of the Christians before the ecclesiastical and civil tribunals. Of the residences, the first was that of the Careas, the fishermen who were engaged in the pearl fishery, and had for its patron St. Thomas; the next was called after its patron San Pedro. The residence of Careel was dedicated to Our Lady of Good Success, and had attached to it the church of Talaimannar, patron St. Lawrence. The last, Tatavali, patron St. Andrew, represented the first converts under St. Francis Xavier, and from among them came the six hundred martyrs. The total number of Christians in this Island was 5,450." (The number of Christians in Mannar Island at the Census of 1911 was 5,347.)—Extract from a report by the Father Provincial of the Society of Jesus to the Superior-General of the Society in 1644, published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), Vol. XXI., p. 111.

were arising, which would tend to increase the ranks of a religion which preached the equality of mankind.*

On the other hand, the toleration shown by Buddhism to all religions made it easy for Buddhists to profess Christianity and Buddhism at the same time.

"And God's Name be magnified," wrote Knox,† "that hath not suffered him to distrust or molest the Christians in the least in their Religion or ever attempt to force them to comply with the Countrey's Idolatry. But on the Contrary both King and People do generally like the Christian Religion better than their own: and respect and honour the Christians as Christians; and do believe there is a greater God than any they adore. And in all probability they would be very easily drawn to the Christian or any other Religion."

"Prodigious numbers of nominal Christians designate themselves 'Christian Buddhists,' or Government 'Christians,' and with scarcely an exception they are either heathens or sceptics. When we ask the people their religion, the common reply is, We are of the Government religion."‡ The consequence was that the number of Christians given in the early records is out of all proportion to actual fact. The numbers are those of baptized Christians, and baptism was regarded as a Government regulation, and was actually known as *Christiyani karanawa*, or making Christian. "It had been declared honourable by the Portuguese to undergo such a ceremony; it had been rendered profitable by the Dutch; and after three hundred years' familiarity with the process the natives were unable to divest themselves of the belief that submission to the ceremony was enjoined by orders from the Civil Government."§

"Philalethes," in his History of Ceylon,‖ says that the number of native inhabitants who professed the Protestant profession of the Christian faith was estimated in 1801 to exceed 342,000, while the Roman Catholics were considered to be still more numerous. (The total population of Ceylon in 1801 was estimated to be 1½ million.) Lord Valentia, in his "Travels" (1803–1804), says that "the Protestant natives have been estimated above 240,000; whilst the Catholics are supposed to be still more numerous. Many of these indeed," he adds, "are only nominal Christians, who retain a great reverence for the rites of Paganism and the doctrines of Boodh, when at a distance from the inspection of Government they consult the priests with Confidence both as Conjurors and Physicians."¶

According to Spence Hardy, "in the first ten years of the British rule the number of heathen temples in the Singhalese provinces had increased from between two and three hundred to twelve hundred. In 1810 the Singhalese Protestants were estimated at 150,000 and in 1814 at 130,000."** The same author considered that at the time at which he wrote (1864) there were 40,000 "Protestants" and 100,000

* The Dutch made special efforts to convert the dhobies, and by edict in 1759 certain privileges were granted to those dhobies who professed the Reformed religion. But whether this was an attempt to secure the adhesion of a caste, or whether it was due to any feeling on the part of the Dutch that clothes washed by idolatrous washermen could not really be clean, it is now impossible to say.

† Knox's "Historical Relation," p. 133.

‡ Manuscript notes by the Rev. J. Davies, Baptist Missionary, Ceylon, quoted by Emerson Tennent, "Christianity in Ceylon," p. 89.

§ Emerson Tennent's "Christianity in Ceylon," p. 88.

‖ Philalathes' "History of Ceylon from the Earliest Period to 1815," p. 191.

¶ Lord Valentia's "Travels," Vol. I., pp. 306, 307.

** Spence Hardy's "Jubilee Memorials," pp. 40, 41.

"Romanists" in Ceylon. He divided the Protestants as follows:—Episcopalians 17,000, Presbyterians and Congregationalists 10,000, Wesleyans 10,000, and Baptists 3,000. Amongst the Christians he included "the whole of the 6,500 Europeans and European descendants, 1,000 of the Veddahs, 92,000 of the Singhalese, and 40,000 Tamils."* The figures forty-seven years later (1911) are 339,300 Roman Catholics and 69,868 Protestants, total number of Christians 409,168, of whom 339,300, or 83 per cent., are Roman Catholics, while there are 41,095 Church of England, 6,524 Presbyterians and Congregationalists, 17,323 Wesleyans, and 3,306 Baptists.

The Christians amongst the Europeans alone exceed the whole number of Europeans and European descendants given by Spence Hardy; there are more than two and a half times as many Christian Sinhalese and more than three times as many Christians amongst the Tamils. The number of Christians amongst the Veddas is, however, only 89.†

The strength of Christianity at the present day compared with fifty years ago is not merely a question of numbers. All religions to-day meet on a different footing; the only material advantage which any one religion can offer beyond another is in improved educational facilities. The battle ground of religious conversions is the school, hence the bitterness of the struggle for denominational and undenominational education.

The preponderance of *Roman Catholicism* at the present time is very marked. In seven out of the nine Provinces more than 70 per cent. of the Christians are Roman Catholics. The Districts with the largest proportions are Chilaw with nearly 98 per cent., Mannar 97 per cent., Mullaittivu 93½ per cent., and Trincomalee 90½ per cent. Puttalam, including the pilgrims at St. Anna's on the Census night, shows a proportion of nearly 99 per cent. of the Christian population as Roman Catholics; excluding the pilgrims, the proportion is 98 per cent.

The enormous and increasing popularity of the great Roman Catholic pilgrimages at St. Anna's ‡ and Madu § are abundant proof of the strength of the Roman Catholic Church in Ceylon.

Roman Catholicism has improved its position in every District, and is the predominant sect in every District of the Island. At the last Census Matara was the one exception, but at this Census the Roman Catholics are in a majority in this District also. The proportion of Roman Catholics amongst the Christians is 83 per cent., as compared with 82 per cent. at the last Census.

One of the most remarkable events in the religious history of the decade has been the decrease in the number of Independent Catholics, and their inclusion—with very few exceptions—in the ranks of the Roman Catholics. In 1901 there were 1,718 Independent Catholics; in 1911 there were 82. In 1901 there were 981 Independent Catholics in the Mannar District and 235 in the Anuradhapura District, and they formed respectively 8 per cent. and 18·2 per cent. of the Christian population of these Districts. At the Census of 1911 there was *one* Independent Catholic (an old woman) in the Mannar District and *none* in the Anuradhapura District. None were found in the Kalutara District, where there were 112 in 1901.

Up to 1836 the Roman Catholic Mission in Ceylon was under the spiritual charge of the Portuguese Bishop of Cochin. In 1836 Ceylon was made the charge of a Vicar Apostolic of the Pope, but a separate Goanese Mission appears to have continued under the headship of the Portuguese Archbishop of Goa. A concordat was concluded in 1886

* Spence Hardy's "Jubilee Memorials," pp. 5, 6, and 7.
† *Vide* p. 203, *supra*. ‡ *Vide* pp. 100, 101, *supra*. § *Vide* pp. 76, 77, *supra*

Table F.—Number of Christians by Denomination and the Proportion per Cent. of each Denomination to the Total Christian Population, 1911, by Provinces, Districts, and Municipalities.

Province, District, and Municipality.	Roman Catholics.	Church of England.	Presbyterians.	Wesleyans.	Baptists.	Congregationalists.	Salvationists.	Other Christians.
CEYLON	**339,300**	**41,095**	**3,546**	**17,323**	**3,306**	**2,978**	**1,042**	**578**
Western Province ..	171,778	21,936	2,540	10,487	2,221	74	332	295
Central Province ..	26,752	8,665	481	1,164	511	79	74	215
Northern Province ..	45,195	1,801	51	1,307	11	2,742	25	4
Southern Province ..	3,272	2,250	277	1,365	70	25	5	8
Eastern Province ..	7,979	490	28	1,762	..	4	1	1
North-Western Province ..	64,153	2,142	35	378	248	3	233	3
North-Central Province ..	1,439	251	6	36	11	4	..	1
Province of Uva ..	3,476	1,456	73	350	18	24	1	45
Province of Sabaragamuwa	9,008	2,093	55	471	216	23	371	6
CEYLON	**82·92**	**10·04**	**·87**	**4·23**	**·81**	**·73**	**·25**	**·14**
Western Province ..	81·93	10·46	1·21	5·00	1·06	·04	·16	·14
Colombo Municipality ..	72·08	18·28	3·52	3·88	1·56	·09	·19	·39
Colombo District (exclusive of the Municipality)	85·86	7·21	·30	5·53	·90	·01	·16	·03
Kalutara District ..	85·90	8·32	·19	4·87	·53	·02	·02	·14
Central Province ..	70·51	22·84	1·27	3·07	1·35	·21	·19	·57
Kandy Municipality ..	57·11	31·07	2·58	6·78	1·51	·15	·61	·18
Kandy District (exclusive of the Municipality) ..	72·91	21·97	1·03	2·55	·86	·17	·17	·35
Matale District ..	73·42	15·36	·80	2·35	5·25	·07	·14	2·61
Nuwara Eliya District ..	73·14	22·55	1·09	2·03	·47	·37	·01	·33
Northern Province ..	88·38	3·52	·09	2·56	·03	5·36	·04	·01
Jaffna District ..	84·97	4·52	·12	2·77	·04	7·50	·07	·01
Mannar District ..	97·14	·41	·05	2·23	..	·17	..	..
Mullaittivu District ..	93·33	5·11	..	1·08	..	·47	..	..
Southern Province ..	44·99	30·94	3·81	18·77	·98	·34	·07	·11
Galle Municipality ..	55·19	20·37	6·11	16·78	1·19	·27	·08	..
Galle District (exclusive of the Municipality) ..	38·34	41·49	·32	17·98	1·42	·18	·05	·22
Matara District ..	38·19	31·39	5·19	24·13	·35	·50	·10	·15
Hambantota District ..	48·25	37·55	1·75	11·48	·19	·78	..	..
Eastern Province ..	77·73	4·77	·27	17·17	..	·04	·01	·01
Batticaloa District ..	72·89	5·46	·28	21·31	..	·04	·01	..
Trincomalee District ..	90·64	2·92	·25	6·11	..	·04	·04	..
*North-Western Province** ..	95·54	3·14	·05	·55	·36	·01	·34	·01
Kurunegala District ..	86·55	9·91	·19	1·40	·37	·01	1·55	·01
Puttalam District* ..	98·32	1·32	·05	·21	·04	·02	·03	·01
Chilaw District ..	97·79	1·38	·01	·36	·44	..	·02	..
North-Central Province. Anuradhapura District ..	82·32	14·36	·35	2·06	·63	·23	..	·05
Province of Uva. Badulla District ..	63·86	26·75	1·34	6·45	·33	·45	·01	·82
Province of Sabaragamuwa	73·58	17·09	·45	3·85	1·76	·19	3·03	·05
Ratnapura District ..	76·17	19·95	·54	1·89	1·18	·09	·02	·14
Kegalla District ..	72·20	15·58	·40	4·88	2·07	·24	4·62	..

* Excluding the pilgrims at St. Anna's.

between the Pope and the King of Portugal, by which it was recognized that the spiritual control of all Roman Catholic Churches and Missions in Ceylon should rest with the authorities appointed by the Pope. In 1887 the Delegate Apostolic promulgated the Papal decree providing for the creation of Ceylon into an Ecclesiastical Province with the Archbishop of Colombo as Metropolitan, and at the same time declared the Goa jurisdiction to be extinct in Ceylon. A section of the Goanese Catholics, however, refused to accept the agreement, and continued to retain possession of their churches, and constituted themselves the Independent Catholic Mission. There were constant disputes as to the possession of the churches, especially in the Mannar District, where the Independents were stronger than anywhere else in the Island. The congregations were, save in allegiance, Roman Catholics. The Independent Catholic Mission does not seem to have been able to provide priests for its congregations, or to have received any support from Goa. Their leader, who styled himself Archbishop of Colombo, finally claimed to be Prefect Apostolic under the Jacobite Metropolitan of Malabar, Mar Dionysius.*

A number of the Independent Catholics in the Mannar District joined the Wesleyans, who have increased in this District from 83 to 284, but the large majority were received into the Roman Catholic church between 1903–1905.

There are three principal Roman Catholic Missions in Ceylon: the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, the Oblates of St. Benedict, and the Society of Jesus. The Archbishopric is of Colombo; there are four Bishoprics. There are 226 priests of the Roman Catholic Missions in Ceylon: 119 in the Colombo diocese, 53 in Jaffna, 23 in Kandy, 16 in Galle, and 15 in the Trincomalee dioceses.

There are 711 schools managed by these missions, and the number of pupils attending them is given as nearly 60,000.

The most important Roman Catholic schools are in Colombo: St. Joseph's College with 963 pupils and St. Benedict's Institute with 991; St. Patrick's College in Jaffna, St. Anthony's in Kandy, and St. Aloysius' at Galle; and the numerous convents, notably the Good Shepherd Convent, Kotahena, Colombo.

After the Roman Catholics, *the Church of England* come numerically second, numbering 41,000, or less than one-eighth of the number of Roman Catholics. Their numbers have increased by 26 per cent. during the decade.† They form 10 per cent. of the Christian population, and are most numerous in the Western and Central Provinces,

* "There is in South Canara a body of Roman Catholics who have recently seceded from the Church of Rome and call themselves 'Syrian Catholics' in the returns. They are the followers of a priest named Alvarez, who left the Roman Catholic Church in consequence of differences of opinion with his Archbishop, and joined the Jacobite sect of Mar Dionysius. The latter consecrated him as a Bishop. These Syrian Christians have been classified as Jacobites accordingly; but Bishop Alvarez has now quitted that sect and set up for himself in Ceylon under the style and title of His Holiness Julius I., Metropolitan of the Independent Catholic Church of India and Ceylon, and it is not altogether clear what rites his followers now use."—Madras Census Report for 1901, Vol. I., p. 44.

† The rates of increase amongst the Christian sects are to some extent affected by failures to give the denomination at the last Census, when a large number of Christians entered themselves as "Christian" or "Protestant" only, and gave no particulars in regard to the denomination to which they belonged. At this Census the heads of all the churches were circularized and asked to give special instructions to their congregation to ensure the sect being entered. Considerable trouble was taken by all the religious bodies, circulars and notices were issued, &c., with the result that at this Census the figures may be taken as correct, there being very few cases where the denomination was not given.

though their proportion compared with other Christian denominations is largest in the Southern Province (31 per cent.). St. Thomas' College with 450 boys, founded in 1851, and Bishops' College with 120 girls are Church of England schools.

The first Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society arrived in Ceylon in June, 1818, and their work was at first confined to Kandy, Jaffna, and Baddegama. Their principal educational establishment is now Trinity College, Kandy,* and Hillwood School, both of which have made it their special object to provide education for the sons and daughters of the Kandyan chiefs. In Jaffna the Chundicully English High School for girls had 150 pupils in 1910. In the Baddegama District there were in 1910 over 20 schools and nearly 2,000 pupils. In the Cotta District, which has also been a centre of the energies of the Church Missionary Society, there are reported to be more than 40 schools and 3,000 scholars. The Church Missionary Society's Ladies' College in Colombo has nearly 250 pupils with a staff of twenty teachers. In 1906 a church was consecrated at Anuradhapura, which is the only Protestant Christian church in the North-Central Province.

The Tamil Cooly Mission was started in 1854.

The number of workers in the Church Missionary Society in Ceylon is reported to have increased from 4 European workers in 1818 to 47 European workers and 26 Ceylonese clergy and 653 school teachers in 1910.

The *Wesleyans* numbered 17,323 at the 1911 Census, compared with 14,991 in 1901—the largest number are found in the Western Province, and the largest proportion in the Matara District (24 per cent.). There were nearly 1,600 Wesleyan Methodists in the Batticaloa District, of whom 24 were Veddas. The Wesleyan Methodist Mission commenced its work in Ceylon in 1814. The principal educational institutions in connection with the Mission are the Wesley College, Colombo, opened in 1874; Richmond College, Galle (1876); Kingswood, Kandy (1891); and the Wellawatta Industrial Home (1890). The number of schools in connection with the Mission has increased from 65 in 1820 to 212 in 1911.

Presbyterians come next with 3,546, a slight increase (209) on the 1901 figures. The largest number are found in the Western Province. The only other parts of the Island where there are more than 150 Presbyterians are the Kandy District, and Kandy and Galle towns. The Foreign Mission Committee of the Scotch Church has not taken up mission work in Ceylon. It has large missions in India, Africa, and China, and the work of the church in Ceylon is therefore principally confined to the Scotch community. An endowment fund is being gradually collected. The foundation stone of the new Scotch Church in Colombo was laid in August, 1906, and the church was opened on November 21, 1907.

The Dutch Presbyterians, whose principal place of worship is the old Dutch Church at Wolfendahl, still filled with memorials of the Dutch period, are included with the Scotch Presbyterians, though they have their separate minister and Consistory. Most of the Dutch Burghers belong to this church.

The *Baptists* number 3,306, which is almost exactly the same number as in 1901. The largest number are in the Colombo District. In the Matale District they show their highest proportion, 5·25 per cent., and in Kegalla number 166, with a proportion of 2 per cent. amongst the Christian denominations.

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* *Vide* p. 55, *supra*.

The first Baptist Missionary arrived in Ceylon in April, 1812, and the Baptist Mission was therefore the first English-speaking Protestant Mission to commence work in Ceylon. In 1843 a Mission to Tamil coolies on the estates in the Central Province was commenced, which afterwards developed into the "Tamil Cooly Mission." A girls' high school was opened in Matale in 1907, and the centenary of the Society in Ceylon will be celebrated towards the close of 1912; the main part of the funds being raised in this connection will go towards the establishment of a boys' high school in Colombo. There are 46 schools under this Mission with 97 teachers.

The *Congregationalists* number 2,978, as compared with 2,446 at the last Census, of whom 2,709 were enumerated in the Jaffna District, which has been from the first connected with the work of the American Mission. The first American Missionary to Ceylon arrived in 1813, and on his advice the American Board established a Mission in Jaffna three years later; during the first three years of the Mission 15 schools were opened. The Jaffna College was opened in 1872, and now has 175 students on its roll, and at the present time there are 130 schools working under this Mission. The medical work of this Mission has been a great and remarkable feature of its work, and has been attended with great success. The Manippay hospital was opened in 1848, and was under the control of Dr. Samuel Green until his death in 1873. The hospital was re-opened in 1893. The McLeod Hospital for women and children was started in 1898. Missionaries, assistant missionaries, and college professors to the number of 126 have been sent from America to this Mission.

1,042 persons entered themselves as *Salvationists* at this Census; the number in 1901 was 1,011. The largest number in any District was 370 in the Kegalla District, where they form 4·62 per cent. of the Christian population. There were 220 Salvationists in the Kurunegala District. Both these Districts showed the largest numbers in 1901, and in both Districts there has been a decrease in the decade. The Salvationists in the Colombo District have increased from 142 to 215, and in Colombo town from 73 to 113. The Salvation Army work in Ceylon was commenced in 1883 by Commissioner Booth-Tucker. In 1893 the first day school of the Salvation Army was opened in the Kurunegala District, and there are fourteen day schools working in connection with the Army, four of which are grant in aid.

The Salvation Army has undertaken several schemes in connection with agricultural work, and in 1910 the Government silk farm at Peradeniya was transferred to their charge.

Of other Christian denominations, the *Friends' Mission* number 120 in all, 96 of whom were enumerated in the Matale District, where this Mission was first started in 1896. There were 28 schools connected with this Mission in 1907, and 62 teachers and workers, &c., in 1910.

There were 142 *Lutherans* and 42 members of the *Greek Church*, all enumerated amongst the European population.

Other Christian sects given at the Census were Plymouth Brethren (15), United Christian Brethren (10), Syrian Christians (8), Apostolic Faith (5), Advent Christians (3), Catholic Apostolic (1), Jacobite (1), and Undenominational and Non-Sectarian Christians (19). Three persons entered their religion as Christian Theosophists, and four as Christian Scientists.

Thirty-seven persons entered themselves as Free Thinkers, 18 as Agnostics, 28 as Atheists, 2 as Deists, 1 as a Monist, 1 as a Rationalist, 3 as Liberalists, 4 as Theosophists, and 57 as of "no religion."

recognized that the oath to which the party is challenged is substituted for an oath which would be taken in court, and which is generally regarded—certainly in the West—as the most binding form of oath.

To understand what is meant by religion in the East, it must be realized that there are beliefs which cannot be expressed within the narrow limits of any definition of a creed. The heads of religion given sufficiently describe the outward observances of the followers of these religions. How far they are influenced by the spirit of these religions depends largely upon the stage of progress they have reached.

CHAPTER X.

BIRTHPLACES—MIGRATION.

Movements of population—between Ceylon and the Straits Settlements and Malay States—between Ceylon and India—Sinhalese emigrants—Proportion of immigrants to Ceylon-born—Birthplaces of the different races—Internal migrations—Population of districts excluding immigrants—Immigrants in each district—Emigration to contiguous and non-contiguous districts—Proportion of female to male emigrants—Emigration by race—Proportion of Ceylon-born amongst Indians on estates—Proverbs.

THE tables giving statistics regarding birthplaces show the constituents of the population in each district—how far the population is a purely local one, how far it is supplemented or depleted by migration from or into other districts. These figures enable the natural growth of different parts of the Provinces to be ascertained. The information given in Chapter IV., Movement of Population and District Histories, supplies the broad outlines which the figures in this Chapter fill in and explain.

Migration may be divided into three heads: movement of population *within* the country, movement of population *into* the country, movement of population *out* of the country. With the third of these Ceylon is little concerned; the only emigration which is taking place to any considerable extent is that of the Jaffnese to the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States. Reference has already been made to the increasing number of Jaffnese who emigrate to these countries.* The following figures show the extent of the emigration to the Straits Settlements and to the Federated Malay States :—

	Total.	Males.	Females.
Number of persons born in Ceylon enumerated in the Straits Settlements ..	2,121	1,843	278
Number of persons born in Ceylon enumerated in the Federated Malay States ..	7,249	5,975	1,274
Comprising—			
(1) Tamils or "Other Indians" ..	6,003	5,096	907
(2) Sinhalese	739	578	161
(3) Eurasians	322	188	134
(4) Europeans	137	76	61
(5) Malays	47	36	11
(6) Others	1	1	—

There were 377 Sinhalese (305 males and 72 females) enumerated in the Straits Settlements, and 949 Sinhalese (683 males and 266 females) were enumerated—as compared with 584 at the last Census—in the Federated Malay States. The percentage of Sinhalese born and enumerated in the Federated Malay States is 22 per cent., pointing to a small settlement there. The Sinhalese in the Malay States usually find employment as servants, carpenters, and fitters, and the women as ayahs. There are several Sinhalese jewellers in Singapore. Out of 256 Sinhalese in the Federated Malay States whose district of birth

* *Vide* pp. 42 and 68, *supra*.

in Ceylon could be traced, 103 came from the Southern Province, the district from which there is the largest migration.*

Excepting only those born in the State of Perak, more Europeans in the Federated Malay States were born in Ceylon than in any other country outside Europe. Of the Eurasians enumerated in the Federated Malay States, the largest number, excluding those born in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, were born in Ceylon. A number of Burghers are employed in clerical work in the Malay States; nearly half of them are to be found in Selangor. The small number of Malays born in Ceylon and enumerated in the Federated Malay States shows that the Ceylon-born Malay remains in Ceylon, and is not attracted "back to the land," even by the recent prosperous times in his own country.

Ceylon came third in the districts of birthplace outside the Federated Malay States in the Malay States Table for the "Indian Population by Birthplaces," only Madras and the Punjab showing larger representations.

The annexed Tables A and B show (1) the number of Ceylon-born persons enumerated in each Province or State of India at the 1901 and 1911 Censuses, and (2) the number of persons born in the different Provinces and States of India enumerated in Ceylon.†

Table A.—Ceylon-born Persons enumerated in each Province or State of India in 1901 and 1911.

Province, State, or Agency where enumerated.	1901.			1911.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Ajmer-Merwara ..	8	5	3	5	4	1
Andamans and Nicobars ..	7	7	—	4	4	—
Eastern Bengal and Assam	136	112	24	167	96	71
Central Provinces and Berar	36	18	18	22	11	11
Bombay	308	228	80	230	166	64
Burma	504	433	71	846	752	94
Coorg	9	7	2	5	4	1
Madras	3,668	2,041	1,627	4,342	2,417	1,925
Punjab and North-west Frontier Province ..	88	40	48	50	30	20
United Provinces ..	40	22	18	106	71	35
Total Provinces ..	4,804	2,913	1,891	5,777	3,555	2,222
Baroda State ..	1	1	—	—	—	—
Central India Agency ..	6	1	5	3	—	3
Cochin State ..	6	5	1	13	11	2
Hyderabad State ..	18	11	7	20	9	11
Mysore State ..	105	61	44	140	72	68
Rajputana Agency ..	2	2	—	15	9	6
Travancore State ..	331	242	89	206	127	79
	469	323	146	397	228	169
Total Ceylon-born persons enumerated in India ..	5,273	3,236	2,037	6,174	3,783	2,391

* *Vide* pp. 81, 82, *supra.*

† It is not possible to give these figures for 1901, as they could not then be obtained.—*Vide* Ceylon Census Report for 1901, Vol. I., p. 116.

Table B.—India-born Persons enumerated in Ceylon at the Census of 1911.

Indian Birthplaces.	Males.	Females.	Persons.
Ajmer-Merwara ..	—	—	—
Andamans and Nicobars	—	—	—
Baluchistan ..	169	1	170
Bengal ..	407	155	562
Bombay ..	2,195	569	2,764
Burma ..	84	29	113
Central Provinces and Berar	15	8	23
Coorg ..	3	—	3
Eastern Bengal and Assam	—	—	—
Madras ..	277,269	188,260	465,529
Anantapur	*71*	*83*	*154*
Bellary	*221*	*151*	*372*
Chingleput	*3,648*	*2,955*	*6,603*
Cochin	*2,514*	*372*	*2,886*
Coimbatore	*5,463*	*3,810*	*9,273*
Cudappah	*438*	*271*	*709*
Ganjam	*106*	*48*	*154*
Godavari	*559*	*347*	*906*
Kistna	*1,141*	*430*	*1,571*
Kurnool	*80*	*228*	*308*
Madras	*7,061*	*3,637*	*10,698*
Madura	*47,749*	*34,356*	*82,105*
Malabar	*9,514*	*2,220*	*11,734*
Mysore	*5,092*	*3,097*	*8,189*
Nellore	*623*	*278*	*901*
Nilgiri	*172*	*137*	*309*
North Arcot	*9,627*	*7,694*	*17,321*
Pudukotah	*9,918*	*7,978*	*17,896*
Salem	*22,114*	*17,136*	*39,250*
South Arcot	*7,432*	*5,666*	*13,098*
South Canara	*366*	*313*	*679*
Tanjore	*35,139*	*24,980*	*60,119*
Tinnevelly	*47,781*	*22,612*	*70,393*
Travancore	*4,420*	*2,448*	*6,868*
Trichinopoly	*55,611*	*46,706*	*102,317*
Vizagapatam	*391*	*303*	*694*
Unspecified	*18*	*4*	*22*
North-west Frontier Province	283	135	418
Punjab	592	391	983
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	10	—	10
Goa ..	37	7	44
Kashmir	14	10	24
Unspecified	8	—	8
Total ..	281,086	189,565	470,651

A comparison of these tables shows the enormous indebtedness of Ceylon to India, and the extent of the migration from India to Ceylon. Of the 6,174 Ceylon-born persons enumerated in India, 4,701 were enumerated in South India, and, with very few exceptions, are Tamils born on Ceylon estates. Similarly, in every planting district in India will be found estate coolies born in Ceylon. The number of Ceylon-born persons in Burma may be partly due to this cause, but the disparity between the males and females in 1901 and 1911 points to other causes as well. The intercourse between Ceylon and Burma has always been considerable. Both countries are Buddhist, and parties of pilgrims constantly pass between Ceylon and Burma and Siam.

The number of persons born in Ceylon and enumerated in the Andaman Islands is likely to be larger at the next Census, as transportation of criminals to the Andamans has now been introduced. (Ordinance No. 13 of 1911.)

The number of persons enumerated in Ceylon and born in India is 470,651, or $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total population of the Island.

This population was distributed by race as follows :—65 Low-country Sinhalese, 2,352 Ceylon Tamils, 430,853 Indian Tamils, 644 Ceylon Moors, 26,571 Indian Moors, 232 Europeans, 220 Burghers and Eurasians, 35 Malays, and 9,679 Others.

The proportion of Indian Tamils and Moors and other South Indian races, who, with very few exceptions, came from the Madras Presidency, to the rest of the immigrants from India is $99\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Ceylon has always been regarded as an *El Dorado* by the population of South India, and the wealth to be acquired in Ceylon has become proverbial. Many sayings amongst the Tamils refer to the riches to be obtained in Ceylon; *e.g.*, *Will an old torn mat go to Ceylon to tie up sugar?* * The point of the saying is that a stage has been reached where *even* going to Ceylon cannot be of any advantage.

The birthplaces of the persons born in the Madras Presidency have been separately tabulated. The work involved has been very heavy, for in spite of careful instructions the names of villages only were entered in a very large number of eases, and all these had to be traced by the help of postal guides, gazetteers, &c. The difficulties were further increased by the fact that the enumerators were in most cases ignorant of any Indian place names—and in many cases of any Indian language—and transcribed the names given them according to the sound they conveyed to them. The districts from which the Indian Tamil population comes is a matter of special interest to the planting community, and will be dealt with in the section devoted to the Estate Population.†

Figures have been obtained for Ceylon-born persons enumerated in Hong Kong (11), New Zealand, and Australia.

The number of persons born in Ceylon and enumerated in New Zealand was 109 (67 males and 42 females). In Australia there were 408 Sinhalese (354 males and 54 females). Of these, 32 males and 22 females were entered as half-castes. 202 (178 full blood and 24 half-caste) of the Sinhalese in Australia were enumerated in Queensland, where a small colony, who came originally from Galle, have acquired land.

There appears to be an increasing tendency on the part of the Sinhalese to emigrate. The numerous exhibitions at which Ceylon has been represented, Ceylon tea shops, and travelling troupes of Ceylon dancers and jugglers in Europe, have given many Sinhalese an opportunity of seeing the world. One result has been the necessity for the introduction of fresh legislation (*vide* Ordinances Nos. 5 of 1902 and 32 of 1908) to deal with the repatriation of the natives of Ceylon, who have too often been left stranded in Europe after being taken there as servants, &c., and discharged on arrival.

The foot of the traveller is worth a thousand times the foot of the man who remains at home, whose foot is not worth more than that of a dog, ‡ say the Sinhalese. *Though a cat be taken to Europe it will cry mew-mew,* § is another saying, frequently applied to those who affect to despise the manners and customs of the East after their return from Europe, or to those whose racial characteristics are not disguised by a veneer of Western civilization.

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* சிலம்பாய் ஈழம்போய்ச் சீனி சர்க்கரை கட்டுமா.

† *Vide* chapter on the Estate Population.

‡ ඇවිද්ද පය දහස්වටී; ගෙයි හිඳ පය බළු නොවටී.

§ එරෝපෙට ගෙනිච්චත් බළලා ඤාව් ඤාව් කියාවි.

Of the population of Ceylon, 11½ per cent. were born beyond Ceylon and 88½ per cent. in Ceylon. The proportion of females born in Ceylon is 90 per cent., of males 87 per cent. In India at the Census of 1901 90½ per cent. of the population were born in the *district* where they were enumerated and 9½ per cent. were immigrants.

The following table shows the population of Ceylon by birthplaces, and the proportion to 10,000 persons of the number of persons born in Ceylon and elsewhere :—

Table C.—Population of Ceylon, 1911, by Birthplace in and out of Ceylon.

Birthplace.	Persons Enumerated.			Proportion to 10,000.		
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.
Ceylon ..	**3629655**	**1890004**	**1739651**	**8839**	**8690**	**9007**
India	470651	281086	189565	1146	1292	982
Asia (excluding Ceylon and India) ..	542	388	154	2	2	1
Europe	5047	3327	1720	12	15	9
Other countries ..	455	225	230	1	1	1
Total ..	4106350	2175030	1931320	10000	10000	10000

India alone contributes 99 per cent. of the immigrants, while all the other countries taken together account for only 1 per cent. As compared with the last Census, the proportion of immigrants has decreased by 1 per cent., as might be expected, on account of the proportionate decrease in the estate population.

Table D gives the proportion of the Ceylon-born to a thousand persons of each race in 1901 and 1911 :—

Table D.—Proportion of the Ceylon-born to a thousand Persons of each Race, 1901 and 1911.

Nationality.	Persons. 1901.	Persons. 1911.	Males. 1901.	Males. 1911.	Females. 1901.	Females. 1911.
Sinhalese (Low-country and Kandyan) ..	999	999·96	999	999·95	999	999·98
Tamils (Ceylon and Indian)	577	591	539	561	622	625
Moors (Ceylon and Indian)	879	898	822	846	951	963
Europeans ..	360	275	290	223	470	358
Burghers and Eurasians ..	984	989	977	987	990	992
Malays	979	995	970	993	989	998
Veddas	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Others	357	202	264	152	597	344

With the exception of the Europeans and the "Others," a larger proportion of each of the principal races is found at this Census to have been born in Ceylon than was the case at the last Census.

All the Veddas were born in Ceylon. Only 1 in every thousand—and the percentage is really even smaller—Sinhalese was born outside Ceylon. Only 5 in every thousand Malays were not born in Ceylon, and the proportion of Ceylon-born has increased since 1901 by 16 per thousand, from which it would appear that there have been no new arrivals of Malays in Ceylon ; the small increase in the number of the

Malays confirms this conclusion. Only 2 per thousand of the Malay women were born outside Ceylon. Their birthplaces were India 6, Siam 3, Straits Settlements 3, China 1, and Hong Kong 1.

Of Burghers and Eurasians, only 11 per thousand gave a birthplace outside Ceylon. This is surprising when one considers the large Eurasian population of India, very few of whom appear to come to Ceylon. Not a single person gave his race at the Ceylon Census as Anglo-Indian—the term adopted in India at this Census for all who were formerly described as Eurasians.

Of the Moors, 102 per thousand were born outside Ceylon. The proportion of Indian Moors in every thousand Moors was 123, the difference being accounted for by children born to Indian Moors in Ceylon.

The proportion of Ceylon birthplaces to birthplaces outside Ceylon amongst the Tamils was 591 : 409, of Ceylon to Indian Tamils 499 : 501, the difference being also due to births of Indian Tamils in Ceylon, especially amongst the estate population, who usually bring their wives over with them.

More than one-fourth of the Europeans were born in Ceylon, there being a considerably higher proportion of European women born in Ceylon than men. Slightly more than half the European men (545 out of 1,034) and more than half the European women (615 out of 1,054) born in Ceylon were born in the town of Colombo or in the Kandy District. Of the *Europeans* born beyond Ceylon, 2,098 males and 1,079 females were born in England and Wales, 555 males and 204 females were born in Scotland, and 172 males and 173 females in Ireland, 165 males and 85 females were born in France, and 101 males and 34 females in Germany. 155 European men and 77 women were born in India, and 59 men and 72 women in Australia. 13 men and 2 women were born at sea. The birthplaces of the Europeans included nearly all parts of the world: Arabia, the Andaman Islands, China, Japan, Persia, St. Helena, Gibraltar, and British Guiana. No Europeans in Ceylon were born in the Malay States—137 Europeans born in Ceylon were enumerated in the Malay States—and only five were born in the Straits Settlements.

Of the *Burghers and Eurasians*, 147 males and 73 females were born in India, 27 (11 males, 16 females) were born in the Straits Settlements, 5 (1 male, 4 females) were born in Holland, and 2 were born at sea.

Of the 1,716,859 *Low-country Sinhalese*, only 95 were born outside Ceylon. Of these, 65 were born in India, 9 in the Straits Settlements, 6 in England, 5 in Australia, 1 in France, 1 in Egypt, and 1 in British Guiana.

Of the 998,561 *Kandyan Sinhalese*, only 3 were born in foreign countries : 1 man and 1 woman in the Straits Settlements and 1 woman at sea.

Of the *Ceylon and Indian Tamils*, 134 were born in the Straits Settlements, 1 in England, France, Germany, and Scotland, respectively; 7 Indian Tamils were born in Natal.

Of the *Ceylon and Indian Moors*, only 1 was born outside Asia, in Egypt ; only 7 others were born out of Ceylon and India (2 in the Straits Settlements, 2 in Afghanistan, 1 in Arabia, 1 in Burma, and 1 in the Maldive Islands).

Of the *Malays*, only 62 were born beyond Ceylon, and all of these in Asia. It is noteworthy that none gave the Malay Peninsula as their birthplace ; 17 were born in the Straits Settlements (which was probably entered as the birthplace of all persons who gave Malaya or the Straits

as their birthplace), 35 Malays were born in India, 3 Malays were born in Siam, 2 in China, and 1 in Java.

The birthplaces of the "*Other*" races were scattered all over the world, the largest number—7,685 males and 1,994 females out of a total of 9,443 males and 3,278 females—being born in India. The other birthplaces included Arabia, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Cambodia, China, Japan, Siam, Crete, Egypt, the Seychelles, Mauritius, Zanzibar, Newfoundland, &c.

There are no signs at this Census of any considerable immigration to Ceylon from other countries than India, which has always provided the labour forces on the estates.

Movements of population within the country, rather than movements of population into the country, have been affected by the rubber "boom."

Of the 3,629,655 persons enumerated who were born in Ceylon, 110,892 were Indian Moors, Indian Tamils, Europeans, and others, who should properly be excluded to obtain the total of the Ceylon-born population, as they are only entered as inhabitants of a certain district by accident of birth. Of the remaining 3,518,763 persons, 3,280,189 persons, or 93 per cent., were enumerated in their native districts; 201,732, or 6 per cent., in the adjoining district; and 36,843, or 1 per cent., in other parts of the Island.

These figures cannot be compared with the figures given in the last Census Report, as those included Europeans and others born in Ceylon in the Ceylon-born population.* It was not then possible to separate Ceylon and Indian Tamils and Moors, as they were not separately enumerated.

At this Census the birthplace of 95 persons is entered as Ceylon only, as the district of birthplace could not be ascertained. Practically all these persons were inmates of the lunatic asylum, hospitals, &c. At the last Census 10,060 were entered under the head "District not specified"—a proportion of 3 persons in every thousand, a somewhat high percentage to be omitted in considering the movements of population. For all entries which had not been properly filled up with the district of birthplace at this Census, correction slips were issued, and the district of birth subsequently discovered.

In ascertaining the extent of migration into a Province and from a Province, it is necessary first of all to ascertain (*a*) in what districts the largest numbers of immigrants from other districts are found; (*b*) in what districts there are the largest numbers of persons born in those districts; (*c*) in what districts there are the smallest numbers of persons born in those districts; (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*) being considered relatively to the total population of these districts.

Suppose a decree to have "gone out that all the world should be taxed," and that "all went to be taxed every one to his own city,"† or the place where he was born, the population of several districts in Ceylon would have been considerably affected.

The annexed Table E shows—

(i.) The population of each district according to this Census.

(ii.) The population of each district supposing all foreigners—or persons *not born* in the district—were excluded from it;

(iii.) The population of each district supposing that all persons were ordered to reside in the district where they were born.

* *Vide* Census Report for 1901, Vol. I., p. 118.

† Gospel of St. Luke, chapter II., verses 1 and 3.

Table E.

District.	Population according to the Census of 1911.	Persons born and enumerated in the District.	Total Number of Persons born in the District.
Colombo District	615,554	569,204	678,571
Kandy District	408,429	264,347	305,951
Jaffna District	326,712	323,795	346,105
Kurunegala District	306,807	247,794	258,709
Galle District	291,001	275,488	316,990
Kalutara District	279,493	234,196	260,900
Kegalla District	242,529	166,417	176,743
Matara District	227,308	218,289	244,908
Badulla District	216,692	149,391	157,616
Colombo Municipality	211,274	95,174	110,154
Ratnapura District	165,992	119,335	126,058
Nuwara Eliya District	155,462	62,303	71,408
Batticaloa District	153,943	150,576	155,277
Hambantota District	110,508	101,237	106,219
Matale District	108,367	69,232	75,230
Chilaw District	87,644	69,940	80,639
Anuradhapura District	86,276	73,001	75,233
Puttalam District	33,198	21,968	23,078
Trincomalee District	29,755	24,000	25,972
Mannar District	25,603	19,611	20,638
Mullaittivu District	17,336	12,694	13,161

Imagine a Ceylon from which all persons not born in the country were excluded, and in which the inhabitants were obliged to live in the districts in which they were born, the population of Ceylon would then be 3,629,655 instead of 4,106,350 (exclusive of military and shipping); the Colombo District would still be the most densely populated District, and with the town of Colombo would include 788,725, or more than one-fifth of the population. The Jaffna District would come second, Galle third, and Kandy fourth, Kurunegala dropping from fourth to sixth, Kalutara coming fifth, Batticaloa would go above Ratnapura and Nuwara Eliya, Kegalla would drop below Matara, Nuwara Eliya would come sixteenth instead of eleventh amongst the Districts, Matale falls from the fourteenth District to the fifteenth, below Chilaw and Anuradhapura, but above Nuwara Eliya. Trincomalee goes above Puttalam. The position of the up-country Districts would be likely to be considerably more affected in a very short time, for the distribution of their native-born population depends to a very great extent upon the "foreign" element in the District; were this removed a large settled population would be obliged to migrate to other Districts in search of employment, and the planting districts of to-day would soon be populated only by the resident cultivators and the considerably smaller number of traders required to supply their wants.

From Table E it appears that the Colombo, Jaffna, Galle, Matara, and Batticaloa Districts can show a larger population born in the District than was actually enumerated in it; that is to say, these are the only Districts which would have gained in population had all persons been enumerated in their District of birthplace and had all "foreigners" been excluded. One would, therefore, expect to find that these Districts retain the largest proportion of their native population, or else send out the largest proportion of emigrants to other Districts—such is the case.

Table F shows the proportion of "foreigners" enumerated in each District in 1901 and 1911.

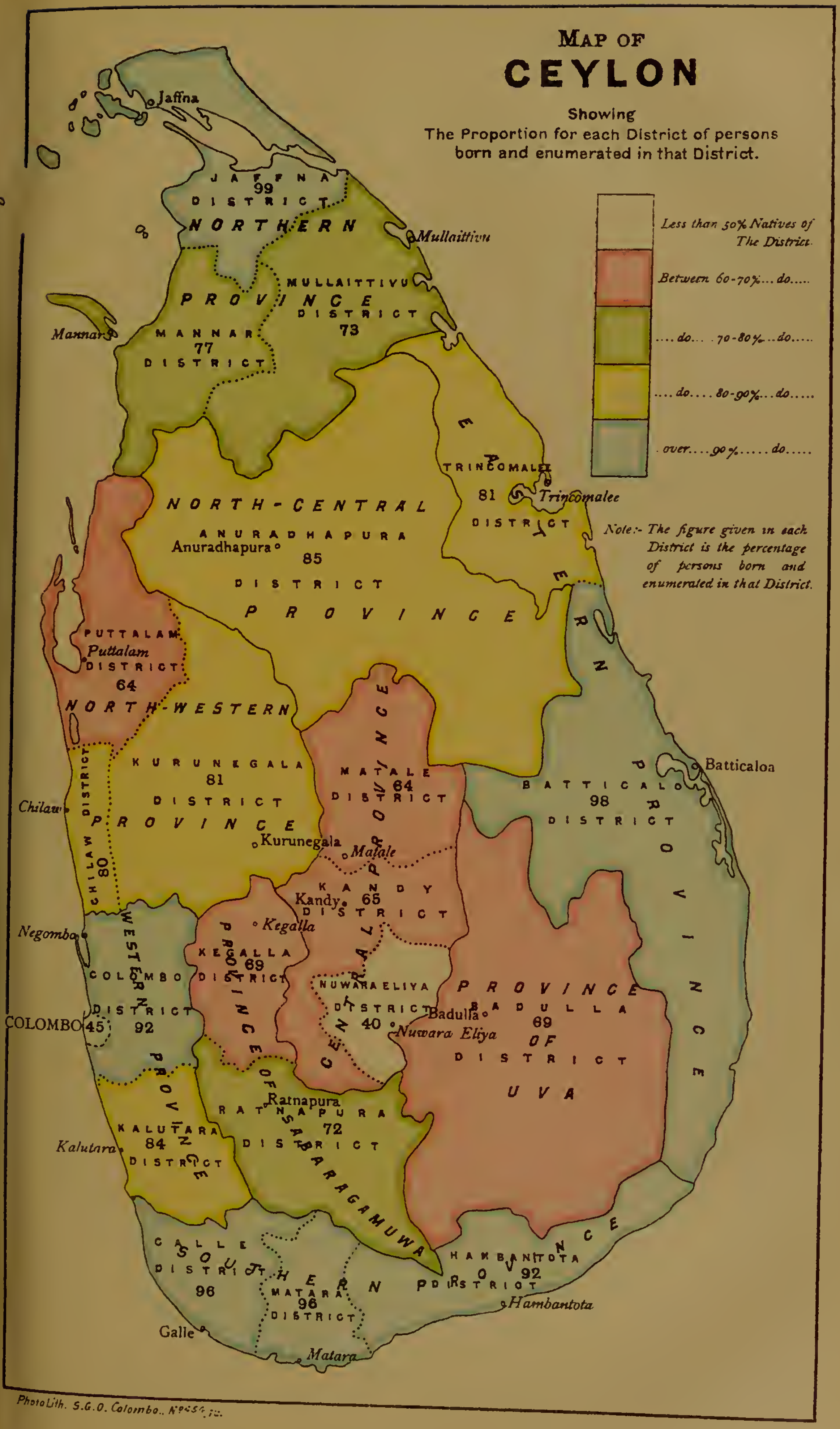
Table F.—Percentage in each District of Persons born in the District and Persons born outside it.

District.	Persons born in the District. 1901.	1911.	Foreigners. 1901.	1911.
Jaffna ..	99·4	99·1	0·6	0·9
Batticaloa	96	98	4	2
Matara	95	96	5	4
Galle ..	94	96	6	4
Colombo	92	92	8	8
Hambantota	90	92	10	8
Anuradhapura	85	85	15	15
Kalutara	87	84	13	16
Kurunegala	83	81	17	19
Trincomalee	75	81	25	19
Chilaw ..	76	80	24	20
Mannar	76	77	24	23
Mullaittivu	77	73	23	27
Ratnapura	79	72	21	28
Badulla	70	69	30	31
Kegalla..	70	69	30	31
Puttalam	67	66	33	34
Kandy ..	56	65	44	35
Matale ..	65	64	35	36
Colombo Municipality	53	45	47	55
Nuwara Eliya	33	40	67	60

The Jaffna District has less than 1 immigrant in a hundred of its population, due to the density of population in the peninsula. There is a very slight increase in the number of "foreigners"—no doubt due to the railway; Batticaloa comes next with 2 foreigners in every 100, half the number in 1901. The difficulties of transport and of opening up the wilder parts of this District deter immigrants; that there is ample room for them is evident from the sparseness of population in a District with two divisions (Bintenna and Panawa pattu) of 701 and 473 square miles, and 4 and 9 persons respectively to the square mile.

The only Districts which show any considerable change in the proportion of "foreigners" in the District are the Ratnapura, Mullaittivu, Kalutara, and Kurunegala Districts, and the Colombo Municipality, which show increases in the number of "foreigners" of 7, 4, 3, 2, and 8 per cent. respectively. The increases in the Ratnapura, Kalutara, and Kurunegala Districts are due principally to the "rubber boom" and to the increases in the estate population. The increase in the number of foreigners in the Mullaittivu District is owing to the two lines of railway—the Northern Railway and the Mannar Line—which have brought a number of immigrants, chiefly persons employed on the railway and on construction work, into the District since the last Census. The increase in the Colombo Municipality has already been fully dealt with.* That the percentage of "foreigners" in the Anuradhapura District has remained stationary is disappointing. It was hoped that the opening of the Northern Railway would have brought a considerable number of immigrants into the District. It is now possible that the opening of the Mannar Line and the South Indian connection will introduce a population which may settle under the great restored irrigation works in this District, and open up the land with coconuts, which have been shown at the Maha Illuppallama Agricultural Experiment Station in this

* *Vide* Chapter V.


MAP OF
CEYLON
Showing
The Proportion for each District of persons born and enumerated in that District.
Less than 50% Natives of The District.
Between 60-70%... do.....
.... do... 70-80%...do.....
.... do.... 80-90%... do.....
over.... 90%...... do.....
Note:- The figure given in each District is the percentage of persons born and enumerated in that District.
Jaffna
JAFFNA 99 DISTRICT
NORTHERN PROVINCE
Mullaittivu
MULLAITTIVU DISTRICT 73
Mannar
MANNAR 77 DISTRICT
NORTH-CENTRAL PROVINCE
ANURADHAPURA
Anuradhapura
85
DISTRICT
TRINCOMALEE 81 DISTRICT
Trincomalee
EASTERN PROVINCE
PUTTALAM
Puttalam
DISTRICT 64
NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCE
KURUNEGALA 81 DISTRICT
Kurunegala
Chilaw
CHILAW DISTRICT 80
MATALE 64 DISTRICT
Matale
BATTICALOA 98 DISTRICT
Batticaloa
KANDY 65 DISTRICT
Kandy
CENTRAL PROVINCE
Kegalla
KEGALLA 69 DISTRICT
Negombo
COLOMBO DISTRICT 92
COLOMBO 45
WESTERN PROVINCE
NUWARA ELIYA DISTRICT 40
Nuwara Eliya
Badulla
BADULLA 69 DISTRICT
PROVINCE OF UVA
Ratnapura
RATNAPURA 72 DISTRICT
PROVINCE OF SABARAGAMUWA
KALUTARA 84 DISTRICT
Kalutara
GALLE DISTRICT 96
Galle
SOUTHERN PROVINCE
MATARA 96 DISTRICT
Matara
HAMBANTOTA 92 DISTRICT
Hambantota
Photo Lith. S.G.O. Colombo.

Province to thrive under irrigation. There is a decrease in the number of "foreigners" in the following Districts:—Kandy (9 per cent.), Nuwara Eliya (7 per cent.), Trincomalee (6 per cent.), Chilaw (4 per cent.), Batticaloa, Galle, and Hambantota (2 per cent.). The decreases in Kandy and Nuwara Eliya are due to the falling off in the estate population; in Trincomalee to the closing of the dockyard; in Chilaw to the natural increase in the resident population, while there has been no increase in the immigrant estate population; in the Galle and Hambantota Districts the proportion of "foreigners" is very small; the decrease in the Batticaloa District is due to the decrease in the immigrant Sinhalese population and the cyclone of 1907.* The Colombo Municipality and the Nuwara Eliya District show a larger proportion of "foreigners" than of persons born in the District and enumerated there. The tea and rubber estate Districts of Matale, Kandy, Kegalla, Badulla, and Ratnapura, and Puttalam with its extensive coconut estates, show the next highest proportions of persons from outside these Districts. The estate population naturally brings with it a further influx of immigrants—carpenters and masons from the Low-country, Moorish rice traders and boutique-keepers, Sinhalese tavern-keepers, and Jaffna Tamils and Burgher clerks, mechanics, &c. The Ratnapura District, with an increase of 7 per cent. in the number of immigrants, is a striking instance of the change effected in the population of a District in a decade of great prosperity in the planting industries.†

The next Table G shows the proportion per cent. of the natives of each district enumerated (*a*) in that District, (*b*) elsewhere in the Island, (*c*) in contiguous Districts, and (*d*) in other parts of the Island.

Table G.—Proportion per Cent. of Natives of each District enumerated in that District, elsewhere in the Island, in contiguous Districts, and in other parts of the Island.

District.	Proportion per Cent. of Natives of District enumerated. (*a*) In the District.	(*b*) Elsewhere in the Island.	(*c*) In contiguous Districts.	(*d*) In other parts of the Island.
Anuradhapura District	97·03	2·97	2·33	·64
Batticaloa District	96·97	3·03	1·98	1·05
Mullaittivu District	96·45	3·55	3·40	·15
Kurunegala District	95·78	4·22	3·63	·59
Hambantota District	95·31	4·69	3·66	1·03
Puttalam District	95·19	4·81	3·21	1·60
Mannar District	95·02	4·98	3·75	1·23
Badulla District	94·78	5·22	3·46	1·76
Ratnapura District	94·67	5·33	4·35	·98
Kegalla District	94·16	5·84	4·93	·91
Jaffna District	93·55	6·45	1·64	4·81
Trincomalee District	92·41	7·59	3·00	4·59
Matale District	92·03	7·97	5·79	2·18
Kalutara District	89·76	10·24	5·84	4·40
Matara District	89·13	10·87	6·13	4·74
Nuwara Eliya District	87·25	12·75	9·17	3·58
Galle District	86·91	13·09	3·76	9·33
Chilaw District	86·73	13·27	12·12	1·15
Kandy District	86·40	13·60	9·40	4·20
Colombo Municipality	86·40	13·60	4·08	9·52
Colombo District	83·88	16·12	12·82	3·30

* *Vide* p. 90, *supra.*

† *Vide* pp. 117 *et seq.*, *supra.*

The District at this Census which shows the largest proportion of its native population retained in the District is Anuradhapura, with 97 per cent.; Batticaloa, which came first in 1901, is now second with 96·9 per cent., as compared with 97½ at the last Census. The explanation of the small decrease in the number of the native population resident in this District is due to the emigration of the Sinhalese from the Bintenna pattu to Bintenna in Uva. Both the Anuradhapura and Batticaloa Districts are large rice-growing districts, with a conservative population averse to going further afield in search of occupation, and possessed of sufficient land to keep them comfortably according to their wants in a good season.

The Mullaittivu (96½), Kurunegala (96), Puttalam (95), Hambantota (95½), Badulla (95), Mannar (95), Ratnapura (94½), Kegalla (94), Jaffna (93½), and Matale (92) Districts all retain over 90 per cent. of their total population; and there are only four Districts, besides the Colombo Municipality, where less than 87 per cent. of the population stay where they were born, and in these Districts over 80 per cent. are stay-at-homes.

These figures sufficiently show the conservative character of the people of the country, and how few emigrate, even during a period of exceptional agricultural and commercial prosperity in certain parts of the Island.

The largest proportion of emigrants from the District of their birth is from the Colombo District (16 per cent.), and taking into account the number of pilgrims from this District enumerated at St. Anna's, Madu, and Adam's Peak on the Census night, the proportion of emigrants is 15½ per cent. These pilgrimages also to some extent explain the comparatively high proportion of persons born in the Colombo Municipality enumerated outside—13½ per cent., or excluding the pilgrims 13 per cent. But a large number of persons who were formerly resident in the town have been forced by the high rents and cost of living in Colombo to migrate into the suburbs of Colombo beyond Municipal limits. Excluding the persons born in Colombo town and enumerated in the Colombo District, the proportion of emigrants to the total number born in the town is 9½ per cent. The emigrants from the Kandy District—13·6 per cent. of the District-born population—are found principally in the Matale and Nuwara Eliya Districts in the same Province, and in the Sabaragamuwa and Western Provinces. Only 43 per cent. of the persons born in the Kandy District and enumerated elsewhere are Kandyans; 28 per cent. are Tamils, chiefly coolies born on estates in the Kandy District, who have found employment on estates in other Districts. The large number of these is further evidence in support of one of the reasons given for the decrease in the estate population of the Kandy District—the transfer of labour forces from highly cultivated areas to Districts where there were new clearings in rubber, &c.* 13 per cent. of the Kandy District emigrants were Low-country Sinhalese, while 4 per cent. were Burghers and 3 per cent. Malays.

The Galle District sends out 18 per cent. of her sons and 8 per cent. of her daughters to other Districts, or 13 per cent. of the Galle District-born population. Reference has already been made to the migratory tendencies of the Galle people, who are certainly the most travelled Sinhalese in Ceylon. As is shown in Table G, nearly 9½ per cent. of the Galle emigrants are found in Districts not adjoining the Galle

* *Vide* pp. 41 and 59, *supra*.

District—a larger proportion of emigrants to non-contiguous Districts than from any other District in Ceylon.

Of 71,408 persons born in the Nuwara Eliya District, 13 per cent. were enumerated beyond this District—55½ per cent. of whom were Tamils, nearly all estate coolies ; as in the Kandy District, the decrease in the estate population is partly accounted for by migration of labour to other Districts.

The actual movement of population among the local-born population was very small. The Chilaw District sent out 13 per cent. of its District-born population, but excluding the pilgrims at St. Anna's whose birthplaces were in the Chilaw District, the proportion of Chilaw emigrants is only 12 per cent., and of these, 10½ per cent. were enumerated in the adjoining Districts. The proportion of the Jaffna-born population enumerated beyond the Jaffna District is only 6½ per cent., but the large number of Jaffnese who find employment in the Straits Settlements, the Malay States,* and India are not included in these figures.

In fact, fully to realize the significance of migration between Districts, it is necessary to consider separately migration to contiguous Districts and migration beyond those Districts.

The large number of the emigrants enumerated in adjoining Districts have merely passed across the boundary line on business, or in the ordinary course of their work have moved to an adjoining village which happens to be in another District. Inter-marriages between people of neighbouring Districts often accounts for the presence in one District of persons born in an adjoining District, and many women, especially amongst the Sinhalese, return to their homes for their confinement.†

The boundary line between such Districts as Negombo and Chilaw, Matara and Hambantota, Colombo and Kalutara, Ratnapura and Kegalla, is a geographical expression. No line could be drawn to differentiate between the peoples on the boundaries of these two Districts. The only Districts which send a larger number of their home population to Districts other than adjoining Districts are Jaffna, Galle, and Trincomalee. The largest number of Jaffnese emigrants in non-contiguous Districts are found in the town of Colombo, the Trincomalee, Anuradhapura, and Kandy Districts ; Galle emigrants beyond adjoining Districts are found chiefly in the town of Colombo, and the Kandy, Colombo, Kegalla, Nuwara Eliya, Badulla, Kurunegala, and Matale Districts. There were over 11,000 natives of Galle enumerated in the town of Colombo. The Galle emigrants find employment chiefly as carpenters, carters, estate contractors, and in the plumbago mines ;‡ a large number are also travelling jewellers, especially Galle Moormen. The Trincomalee emigrants are comparatively few, and are found fairly evenly distributed ; the largest number enumerated beyond adjoining Districts were in the town of Colombo.

No one born in the Mullaittivu District was enumerated in Kalutara, Matale, Galle, Matara, Batticaloa, Kurunegala, Chilaw, Badulla, and Ratnapura. There were no Hambantota-born men in Puttalam, nor Kegalla-born in Mannar.

The annexed statement gives for each District the District which supplied the largest number of immigrants to that District, *e.g.*, the

* *Vide* pp. 67 and 68, *supra*.
† *Vide* pp. 128 and 129, *supra*.
‡ *Vide* p. 82, *supra*.

largest number of persons enumerated in the Colombo District, but born elsewhere, came from the Kalutara District :—

District.	Name of District from which largest Number of Immigrants came.	District.	Name of District from which largest Number of Immigrants came.
Colombo ..	Kalutara	Batticaloa ..	Jaffna
Kalutara ..	Colombo	Trincomalee ..	do.
Kandy ..	do.	Kurunegala ..	Colombo
Matale ..	Kandy	Puttalam ..	do.
Nuwara Eliya ..	do.	Chilaw ..	do.
Jaffna ..	Colombo Municipality	Anuradhapura ..	Jaffna
Mannar ..	Jaffna	Badulla ..	Kandy
Mullaittivu ..	do.	Ratnapura ..	Colombo
Galle ..	Matara	Kegalla ..	do.
Matara ..	Galle	Colombo Municipality ..	Colombo District
Hambantota ..	Matara		

In only six cases—Kandy, Jaffna, Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Puttalam, and Anuradhapura—did the largest number of immigrants not come from an adjacent District, and in three of these six the immigrants were Jaffnese, while the number of persons born in the town of Colombo and enumerated in Jaffna is no doubt explained by the large number of Jaffnese who find employment in Colombo, and who temporarily settle there with their wives and families, returning to Jaffna on pension.

The next statement gives the District of birth and the Districts to which the largest number of persons migrated beyond their District of birth, *e.g.*, the largest number of persons born in the Colombo District, but enumerated elsewhere, are found in the town of Colombo :—

(*a*) District of Birth.	(*b*) District to which largest Number of Persons from (*a*) have Migrated.	(*a*) District of Birth.	(*b*) District to which largest Number of Persons from (*a*) have Migrated.
Colombo ..	Colombo Municipality	Hambantota ..	Matara
Kalutara ..	Colombo	Batticaloa ..	Trincomalee
Kandy ..	Matale	Trincomalee ..	Anuradhapura
Matale ..	Kandy	Kurunegala ..	Chilaw
Nuwara Eliya ..	do.	Puttalam ..	Kurunegala
Jaffna ..	Colombo Municipality	Chilaw ..	do.
Mannar ..	Puttalam	Anuradhapura ..	Mullaittivu
Mullaittivu ..	Trincomalee	Badulla ..	Nuwara Eliya
Galle ..	Colombo Municipality	Ratnapura ..	Kegalla
Matara ..	Hambantota	Kegalla ..	Kurunegala
		Colombo Municipality ..	Colombo District

In only two cases—Jaffna and Galle—have the largest number of emigrants from a District emigrated to a District not adjoining the District from which they came; in all the other cases the largest body of emigrants were enumerated in a contiguous District. These two cases are Jaffnese and Galle Low-country Sinhalese, who have gone to the town of Colombo for employment.

The next Table H shows the proportion of females to 100 males among (*a*) persons enumerated in the District where they were born, (*b*) persons enumerated in a District other than their District of birth.

Table H.

District.	Proportion of Females to 100 Males amongst (a) Persons born in District and enumerated there.	(b) Persons born in District and enumerated elsewhere in the Island.
Jaffna District	105·28	34·12
Galle District	102·43	39·15
Batticaloa District	98·69	57·23
Matara District	98·60	50·88
Kalutara District	98·13	42·57
Colombo District	98·02	65·15
Trincomalee District	97·81	53·22
Chilaw District	96·75	82·67
Kandy District	96·50	79·99
Colombo Municipality	96·29	75·92
Badulla District	95·80	85·71
Hambantota District	94·94	64·80
Mannar District	94·57	57·27
Nuwara Eliya District	90·05	91·24
Mullaittivu District	89·52	55·67
Anuradhapura District	89·21	66·07
Ratnapura District	88·72	85·31
Kegalla District	87·85	98·54
Kurunegala District	87·47	99·80
Puttalam District	87·12	50·61
Matale District	85·61	78·30

It is seen from this table that nearly three times as many men as women emigrate from Jaffna and Galle, and practically twice as many men from Kalutara, Mullaittivu, Mannar, Matara, Batticaloa, Puttalam, and Trincomalee. The high proportions of male emigrants from the Jaffna and Galle Districts primarily account for the high percentage of women in these Districts, which are the only Districts in Ceylon where the women outnumber the men.

The high percentage of female emigrants from Kurunegala, Kegalla, and Nuwara Eliya is noteworthy. It is probably due in the ease of the two first-named Districts to considerable inter-marriage with the men of the adjoining Districts, while the high proportion of female emigrants from the Nuwara Eliya District is found amongst the estate population.

The next Table I shows the distribution of Ceylon races by birthplace, the number of persons born in the District in which they were enumerated, and the number of persons enumerated in Districts other than the District in which they were born.

Taking the figures for the *Low-country Sinhalese*, we find that, with the exception of the Mannar District, Low-country Sinhalese have been born in every District of the Island in which they were enumerated, though only 32 Low-country Sinhalese who were enumerated in the Northern Province were born there—1,166 born in other Districts were enumerated there, nearly all of whom came from Colombo District and town—showing that there are no settlements of Low-country Sinhalese in the Northern Province. Similarly, in the Eastern Province only 307 Low-country Sinhalese born there were enumerated in the Province, while there were 564 Low-country Sinhalese "foreigners" from the Colombo and Galle Districts enumerated there. Besides these two Provinces, in seven Districts the number of Low-country Sinhalese "foreigners," viz., persons not born in the District in which they were

Table I.—Number of Persons (a) born and (b) not born in the District in which they were enumerated.

District of Enumeration.	Ceylon Races.		Low-country Sinhalese.		Kandyan Sinhalese.		Ceylon Tamils.		Ceylon Moors.		Burghers and Eurasians.		Malays.		Veddas.	
	Born in District.	Foreigners.	Born in District.	Foreigners.	Born in District.	Foreigners.	Born in District.	Foreigners.	Born in District.	Foreigners.	Born in District.	Foreigners.	Born in District.	Foreigners.	Born in District.	Foreigners.
Colombo Municipality ..	90362	62305	47739	43851	156	2339	8668	6584	20120	4361	9583	3902	4096	1268	—	—
Colombo District	567217	26716	547802	15901	170	5170	10316	2217	7472	1361	1246	1538	211	529	—	—
Kalutara District	331490	21003	213915	16787	55	1990	976	1053	16323	655	185	321	36	197	—	—
Kandy District	232619	26432	18190	13598	180642	6516	8370	3419	22478	1115	1654	1294	1285	490	—	—
Matale District	64886	10329	3453	3806	56013	4740	761	800	4386	659	97	191	176	133	—	—
Nuwara Eliya District ..	47636	11985	3617	5490	39590	3439	3273	1766	822	537	218	463	116	290	—	—
Jaffna District	323714	1667	13	316	—	74	320102	917	3212	80	375	213	12	67	—	—
Mannar District	19586	4215	—	593	—	46	11839	3402	7713	129	34	43	—	1	—	1
Mullaittivu District ..	12680	4013	19	257	1011	561	10548	2920	980	240	67	27	1	8	54	—
Galle District	274935	11399	263058	9173	35	718	296	496	10813	467	637	397	96	148	—	—
Matara District	218026	6431	210921	5278	12	272	117	346	6727	212	241	273	8	50	—	—
Hambantota District ..	101122	8914	98329	7903	4	171	160	244	1655	434	61	91	913	71	—	—
Batticaloa District ..	150540	2432	160	693	4524	394	82286	1096	60272	111	838	118	11	13	2449	7
Trincomalee District ..	23851	5275	147	236	123	632	13413	3500	8810	719	225	79	594	46	539	63
Kurunegala District ..	246660	47784	11451	35400	222923	8678	1605	1890	10327	1238	85	304	269	274	—	—
Puttalam District	21583	8418	1579	4942	5467	967	3895	1769	10362	599	49	45	231	96	—	—
Chilaw District	69628	13115	63404	9432	29	2018	3327	1067	2586	386	126	173	156	39	—	—
Anuradhapura District ..	72762	9956	385	2419	59939	3084	2595	3024	8199	1151	13	131	38	114	1593	33
Badulla District	133512	10840	6200	6079	119613	1783	2193	1303	4322	1035	229	393	404	205	551	42
Ratnapura District ..	116545	20657	2474	16552	111763	1590	968	954	1240	1284	93	222	7	55	—	—
Kegalla District	160835	21957	6440	13656	145835	5460	1114	1371	7303	998	86	295	57	177	—	—

enumerated, exceeded the number of Low-country Sinhalese born and enumerated in the District, viz., in Matale, Nuwara Eliya, Kurunegala, Puttalam, Anuradhapura, Ratnapura, and Kegalla. It is noteworthy that all but one of these Districts are Kandyan Districts in which the Low-country Sinhalese was an immigrant attracted by the prosperity of the District. In the Ratnapura District there were seven times as many Low-country Sinhalese born in other Districts as there were Low-country Sinhalese born in the District. There are more "foreign" Low-country Sinhalese in this District and in the Kegalla District than there are in the Kandy District, including the town of Kandy. The Low-country Sinhalese immigrants to the Ratnapura District constituted 10 per cent. of the total population of the District. There were ten times as many Low-country Sinhalese in the Ratnapura District as there were Kandyans from other Districts. Of Low-country Sinhalese immigrants into this District, over 10,000 came from the adjoining Colombo and Kalutara Districts, and nearly 5,000 from the Galle and Matara Districts ; in the Kegalla District 11,000 of the immigrants came from the adjoining District of Colombo. The percentage of Low-country Sinhalese immigrants in the Kurunegala District was 11½ per cent. of the total population of the District, and was three times the number of Low-country Sinhalese born and enumerated in the District; 25,000 of these immigrants were born in the Colombo District. The largest number of Low-country Sinhalese enumerated in a District beyond their District of birth (35,400) is found in the Kurunegala District, which, though contiguous to Low-country Sinhalese Districts, is regarded as a Kandyan District. The next largest number (16,787) is found in the Kalutara District. Ratnapura (16,552) comes next, followed by Colombo (15,901), then Kegalla (13,656), and Kandy (13,598).

These figures exclude the Colombo Municipality, in which the number of Low-country Sinhalese enumerated there born in the town and born outside the town are very similar—47,739 were born in the Municipality, 43,851 outside. There were nearly 29,000 immigrants in the town from the Colombo District and 11,000 from Galle. The number of persons born in the town of Colombo and enumerated there was 95,000, so that half the persons born in the town and enumerated there were Low-country Sinhalese. The largest numbers of Low-country Sinhalese enumerated in the District of their birth are found in the Colombo, Galle, Kalutara, and Matara Districts, all with over 200,000 Low-country Sinhalese. The Low-country Sinhalese are found in the smallest number (276) in the Mullaittivu District.

87·6 per cent. of the Low-country Sinhalese were enumerated in the District of their birth, 12·4 per cent. were enumerated in Districts beyond the District where they were born.

Of the *Kandyan Sinhalese*, the largest numbers enumerated in the District of their birth are found in the Kurunegala District (222,923), followed by the Kandy, Kegalla, Badulla, and Ratnapura Districts, all of which contain over 100,000 Kandyans. No Kandyans were born *and* enumerated in the Jaffna and Mannar Districts ; only 120 Kandyan Sinhalese were enumerated in these Districts. Only 4 and 12 Kandyans were born and enumerated in the Hambantota and Matara Districts respectively, and there were only 459 Kandyan Sinhalese enumerated in these two Districts—a striking commentary on the respective enterprise of the Low-countryman and the Kandyan. There were over 48,000 Low-country Sinhalese in the Central Province ; there were 1,200 Kandyans enumerated in the Southern Province.

The largest number of Kandyans enumerated in a District in which they were not born were nearly 8,700 in the Kurunegala District; there were nearly 4,000 Kandyan immigrants into this District from the Kandy District. The next largest numbers are in the Kandyan Districts of Kandy, Kegalla, Matale, and Nuwara Eliya, showing that the emigration of Kandyans was practically confined to contiguous Districts in the same Province, the only exception being in the Colombo District, where there were 5,000 Kandyans who had not been born there, who came from the Kandy, Kegalla, and Kurunegala Districts. There were thirty times as many Kandyans enumerated in the Colombo District and born outside it as Kandyans born and enumerated in the District; though 7,500 Kandyans were enumerated in Colombo town and District, only 326 of them were born there.

The proportion of Kandyans enumerated in the District of their birth was 95 per cent., beyond their Birth district 5 per cent.

Of the *Ceylon Tamils*, the largest numbers enumerated in the District of their birth were in the Jaffna District—320,000, or only 6,000 less than the whole population of this District at this Census. Batticaloa comes next with 82,000. Ceylon Tamils were born and enumerated in every District of the Island. The smallest number born *and* enumerated in any District was 117 in the Matara District, and the smallest number of Tamils found in any District was 404 in the Hambantota District.

The largest number of Ceylon Tamils enumerated beyond the District of their birth was 6,500 in the town of Colombo, of whom nearly 3,500 were born in the Jaffna District. 8,668 Ceylon Tamils were born and enumerated in Colombo, where there is a considerable settlement of Tamils, who have lived there for generations. The Colombo Chettis were entered as Ceylon Tamils, and are included in this figure. Trincomalee comes next with nearly 3,500 Ceylon Tamils born outside the Trincomalee District. 2,700 immigrants to this District came from the Jaffna District, chiefly for fishing and trade, and 700 from the Batticaloa District.

The Kandy, Mannar, and Anuradhapura Districts all contained over 3,000 Ceylon Tamils born elsewhere than their place of enumeration. The proportion of Ceylon Tamils enumerated in their birth District was 92·3 per cent.; beyond that District 7·7 per cent.

Ceylon Moors are found in considerable numbers in every part of the Island; *there are over a thousand Ceylon Moors in every District.* The fewest number of Ceylon Moors born *and* enumerated in a District was 822 in the Nuwara Eliya District; the lowest number of Ceylon Moors found in any District was 1,220 in the Mullaittivu District. Of the 60,383 Ceylon Moors enumerated in the Batticaloa District, only 111 were born in other Districts—a remarkable proof of the conservative character of the Batticaloa Moor, and evidence that the District is a self-supporting one, while it does not attract settlers from outside. The itinerant Moor trader finds little scope for his energies in this District, and the trade and barter are in the hands of the local population. The Indian Moors only numbered just over 300. In all the Districts where there are settlements of Moors the proportion of persons of the same race born elsewhere is extremely small. In Kalutara, Kandy, Galle, Matara, and Puttalam Districts the locally-born Ceylon Moors are respectively more than over twenty times as numerous as those born in other Districts but enumerated in these Districts; and in the Mannar and Jaffna Districts the proportions of Ceylon Moors born and enumerated in these Districts to those enumerated beyond the

District of their birth are respectively 60 and 40 to 1. The largest number of Moor "foreigners" is found in the town of Colombo, over 4,000; the next largest number in the Colombo District, 1,300. The percentage of Ceylon Moors enumerated in the District of their birth is 92·3; enumerated beyond their birthplace District 7·7 per cent., exactly the same figure as for the Ceylon Tamil.

The Ceylon Moors are settlers in every District. There appears to have been practically no migration amongst them during the decade.

The *Burghers* of Ceylon are by disposition and occupation a non-migratory race. They are found principally in the towns of Colombo, Kandy, and Galle, but of recent years they have been obliged to seek employment, generally of a clerical kind, further afield. There appear to have been considerable movements of the Burgher population during the decade. Many Burgher families from Galle have migrated to Colombo or to the suburbs outside Municipal limits. The Burghers, as a rule, now reside beyond the Municipality, instead of in those parts of the town which they had occupied from Dutch times. The figures for birthplaces of the Burghers enumerated in the Colombo District bear this out. 1,246 were born in the District, 1,538 were born outside it, the large majority in Colombo town. The town of Colombo is still the residence of 50 per cent. of the Burghers and Eurasians.

The figures for Eurasians are included under this head, and the Eurasians as a body will generally be found outside their place of birth. Their occupations, as a rule, are only followed in towns. The birthplace statistics for Burghers do not, therefore, only represent the movements of the Dutch and Portuguese Burghers, but are considerably influenced by the large body of Eurasians who come under this head. The largest number of Burghers and Eurasians born *and* enumerated in any one District is found in Colombo town (9,583), as well as the largest number of persons born outside the District of their enumeration (3,902). Most of these Burghers were born in the Colombo and Kandy Districts, and the towns of Kandy and Galle. Burghers and Eurasians were born *and* enumerated in every District of the Island; the smallest number enumerated in the District of their birth was 13 in the Anuradhapura District; the smallest number of Burghers found in any District was 77 in the Mannar District.

There appears to have been a movement of Burghers and Eurasians into the Kurunegala District, where there were 304 born outside the District to 85 born and enumerated in the District. In every District except Kandy, Jaffna, Mullaittivu, Galle, Batticaloa, Trincomalee, and Puttalam, the number of Burghers and Eurasians born outside the District in which they were enumerated exceeded those born and enumerated in the District.

The percentage of Burghers and Eurasians enumerated where they were born was 60·6, leaving 39·4 per cent. enumerated in other Districts than their District of birth.

The *Malays* are employed in large numbers in the towns and on estates as policemen, watchers, peons, &c. The nature of their occupations involves frequent changes of station, and the percentage of Malays enumerated elsewhere than the District where they were born is consequently high: 33 per cent. were enumerated beyond their birth districts; 67 per cent. where they were born. The town of Colombo shows the largest proportion of Malays born and enumerated there and enumerated beyond their birthplaces. No Malay was born and enumerated in the Mannar District, and only one Malay was enumerated there. Malays have migrated to some extent to the

Kalutara, Nuwara Eliya, and Kegalla Districts. Their principal settlements are in the towns of Colombo and Kandy, and the Hambantota and Trincomalee Districts.

It is remarkable that as many as 146 *Veddas* should have been enumerated beyond the Districts where they were born, and the number can only be regarded as further evidence of the unreliability of the race description given by the people who described themselves as Veddas.

The nearest approach to true Veddas—those found in the Batticaloa District—show 2,449 born and enumerated in that District and 7 "foreigners." The Trincomalee "Veddas" were 539 Trincomalee-born and 63 born elsewhere ; many of these are so-called Coast Veddas from the Batticaloa District. At the last Census 53 Veddas gave Kurunegala as their birthplace, at this Census none ; showing that these "Veddas" at least have probably been absorbed into the Sinhalese population.

Detailed figures are not given for Indian Tamils, Indian Moors, Europeans, and "Other" races, as they cannot be said to belong to any Ceylon District. Of the Indian Tamils born in Ceylon, 79,718 or 79½ per cent. were enumerated in the District of their birth. Of the Indian Moors, "Others," and Europeans born in Ceylon, 87 per cent., 72 per cent., and 42 per cent., respectively were enumerated in the District in which they were born—nearly all being children born in the District in which their parents are temporarily settled.

The annexed Table J shows the percentage of persons enumerated in the District where they were born and in other Districts than their birthplace District amongst Low-country and Kandyan Sinhalese, Tamils and Moors, Burghers and Malays, for 1901 and 1911, and Ceylon and Indian Tamils and Ceylon and Indian Moors for 1911 :—

Table J.—Percentage of Persons according to Race enumerated in the District where they were born and in other Districts than their Birthplace District.

Race.	Enumerated in District of Birth. 1901.	Enumerated in District of Birth. 1911.	Enumerated in other Districts. 1901.	Enumerated in other Districts. 1911.
Low-country Sinhalese	88·3	87·6	11·7	12·4
Kandyan Sinhalese	94·4	94·9	5·6	5·1
Tamils	90·9	90·6	9·1	9·4
Ceylon Tamils	—	92·3	—	7·7
Indian Tamils*	—	79·6	—	20·4
Moors	93·1	92·5	6·9	7·5
Ceylon Moors	—	92·3	—	7·7
Indian Moors*	—	87·1	—	12·9
Burghers and Eurasians	65·8	60·6	34·2	39·4
Malays	70·3	67·1	29·7	32·9

There has been a slight increase in the amount of Low-country Sinhalese emigration, due to the number of Low-country men who have migrated to the Province of Sabaragamuwa and the Kurunegala District. There are 5 Low-country Sinhalese emigrants to 2 Kandyans, and the latter have migrated in smaller numbers than in the previous decade.

* The figures given are for Indian Tamils and Moors *born in Ceylon.*

Figures are given for the Moors and Tamils collectively, and for Ceylon and Indian Tamils and Moors separately. The extent of migration of the two races is almost exactly similar. There are increases of 5 and 3 per cent. in the number of Burgher and Eurasian and Malay emigrants respectively, partly due to the increased employment afforded them on estates and in Colombo, caused by the agricultural prosperity of the decade—more conductors, clerks, peons, watchers, &c., being required.

Amongst the *Estate Population* the proportion of persons enumerated in the District of their birth is naturally small. Figures are given below only for the Indian Tamils and Moors and "Others," as the estate population is almost entirely composed of these races :—

District of Enumeration.	Percentage of Indian Tamils, Moors, and "Other" Races on Estates born and enumerated in the District.
Badulla	22·13
Kandy	20·01
Nuwara Eliya	15·18
Matale	11·50
Kalutara	10·61
Ratnapura	10·15
Kegalla	9·29

The figures are just what might have been expected. The principal "rubber" Districts—Kalutara, Ratnapura, and Kegalla—show the lowest proportions of persons born in the District and enumerated there, while Badulla and Kandy Districts show the largest proportions. Only one in ten on an estate in the three first-named Districts was born in that District, while one in five was the proportion of District-born in Kandy and Uva. This proportion is comparatively high, and is evidence that estate labour is conservative, and remains on the same estates or in the same District for considerable periods. The figures also show that comparatively large numbers of children are born on the estates, for most of their parents must have been born in India. Those Indian Tamils and Moors and persons of "Other" races born in Ceylon, who are not children born on estates, are coolies who have come back to work on the estate, or in the District where they were born, or who have never left the estate. The larger the proportion of Ceylon-born Indians on the estates, the better the outlook for the labour supply of Ceylon. The percentage in the principal planting Districts is encouragingly high. Figures cannot unfortunately be given for 1901 for purposes of comparison, as Indian Tamils and Moors were not shown separately.

There are not many native sayings which refer specially to birthplaces or place names.

Reference has already been made to the Sinhalese saying, "*To be born at Kalutara and educated at Matara is the best fortune a man can have.*" *

This saying is sometimes varied to : "*To be born at Bentara, educated at Matara, and live at Kalutara is the best fortune one can have.*" Bentara or Bentota being a favourite health resort.

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* *Vide* pp. 52 and 85, *supra*.

Another adage which has two renderings is the saying, "*What is the use of being born at Totagamuwa, if you are not versed in bana?* (the Buddhist Scriptures).* Totagamuwa was the birthplace of Sri Rahula Sthavira, the author of "Kavyasekhara," &c. This village, which is on the Galle road, obtained such a bad reputation for cattle-stealing and highway robberies that the proverb was changed in the District to: "*What is the use of being born at Totagamuwa, if you do not know how to steal?*" †

Other sayings which throw light on the past reputation or traditions of Districts or places in the Island are, *Even in the coast of Soli there are starving men, and even in Gilimale there are white-teethed men;* ‡ the first part of the proverb refers to the reputed prosperity of the Coromandel coast. Gilimale, a village in Sabaragamuwa, was remarkable for the excellence of its betel—no person who chewed betel would be white-teethed.

Like the man who was tired of eating kurakkan pudding (talapa) and went to Uva in search of baked cakes of the same grain. § The point of this proverb is that kurakkan pudding (*talapa*), though unappetizing, is preferable to the kurakkan cakes (*pittu*) eaten in Uva. This proverb shows that the Province of Uva was regarded as even worse off than still wilder Districts, and that migration to Uva would be regarded as an act of folly.

Like one who went to Runa because he could not eat kurakkan, || kurakkan being formerly the staple food there.

It is like Siman Gamarala asking his wife for a chew of tobacco after returning from Nainamadama. ¶ Nainamadama in Pitigal Korale South, Chilaw District, is famous for the quality of the tobacco grown there.

There is a rock at Madduvil, near Jaffna, which bears an impression said to be made by the fingers of a devil. The story is that a devil who was passing through this District went in search of water to the neighbouring villages, but could only obtain it at Neerveli. The devil was so infuriated that he struck his hand on this rock, uttering this curse, "*Let Neerveli and Koppay be blest with all riches, Puttur and Chiruppiddi be arid hillocks, Punnalaikkadduvan be deserted and ruined.*" ** Neerveli and Koppay have shown increases in population at the last three Censuses; Puttur is stationary for the last two Censuses; and Chiruppiddi has decreased; but, unfortunately for the legend, Punnalaikkadduvan is steadily increasing in population.

There are many sayings illustrating the folly of the people of certain Districts.

Though he is the Chief High Priest, is he not from Tumpane? ††

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* තොටගමුවේ උපන්නාට මොටද බන බැරිනම් ?

† තොටගමුවේ උපන්නාට මොටද හොරකම බැරිනම් ?

‡ සොළිකරෙත් බඩසුප්පන්නෝ ඇත ; ගිලිමලෙත් දත සුද්දෝ ඇත.

§ අකුරම්බඩගලාට තලප කාලා ඇතිවෙලා මහ බිත්තැත්තට කුරක්කන් රොටි කන්ට ගියා වගෙයි.

|| කුරක්කන් කන්බැරුව රූණ ගියා වගෙයි.

¶ සිමන් ගමරාල නයිනමඩමටත් ගොසින් ඇවිත් අඹුගෙන් දුන්කොල විටකට ඉල්ලුවා වගෙයි.

** நீர்வேலி கோப்பாய் நிறை செல்வமாவாய், புத்தூர் சிறுப்பிட்டி பூம்பிட்டியாவாய், புன்னாலைக்கட்டுவான் பாழ்பட்டுப்போவாய்.

†† මහා නායක නමුත් ගම තුම්පනේ නොවේද ?

The story is that a certain high priest of Kandy wished to feed all the dogs of the place, and had them all collected in one pen. When the food was thrown them a free fight took place, which caused the king of Kandy to make this remark.

*Like the man of Ovitigala.**

Like the people of Pasdun Korale, who spread mats for elephants to walk on.†

Like the people of Maggona, who attempted to carry a well, fastening it to a stick.‡

Tumpane, Pasdun korale (Ovitigala is in this korale), Maggona, and the Morawak korale—especially the village of Paragala—are famous for the alleged simplicity or stupidity of their inhabitants.

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* ඕවිටිගල මිනිහා වගෙයි.

A man of Ovitigala was drawing toddy from a kitul tree when he was informed that his wife had given birth to a son. Forgetting where he was, he began to measure his shadow on tho branch of the treo, to ascertain the hour of birth for the calculation of the child's horoscope. He fell down and was killed.

† පස්දුන්කෝරළේ මිනිස්සු අලින්ට පැදුරු එලුවා වගෙයි.

‡ මග්ගොණ මිනිස්සු ලින් තැබලුවා වගෙයි.

The story is that some mon of Maggona finding a pot of sweet toddy near a well thought that it must bo tho water of tho well, whieh they proceeded to dig out for the purposo of carrying it away. In order to lift it they used a tampala (තම්පල) tree as a lever. The story concludes that seeing their shadows in the well, they became frightened, taking them to be tho owners of the well, and ran away.

CHAPTER XI.

SEX.

Proportion of the Sexes—Effect of Immigration—Comparison of figures for Ceylon-born and those born outside Ceylon—Women in excess in the Jaffna and Galle Districts—Proportions in the Districts—by Races—Excess of Males in Ceylon compared with figures for other countries—Causes of excess of Males—Preference for Male children—Sayings in regard to Women—Position of Women—Superstitions in connection with the birth of a Son—the Pumsavanam ceremony—Sex portents—Dreams—Twins—Body of first-born Male child—Infanticide—Infant marriages—Occupations of Women—Male and Female births and deaths—Proportions in different age periods—by race—Female birth-rate amongst Tamils in India and Ceylon—Birth and Death-rate, 1891–1900 and 1901–1910—Mortality at different age periods—Deaths of women at parturition—Puerperal mortality—in the Mannar District—Training of Midwives—The Bodilima—Conclusions—Hermaphrodites.

The Population of Ceylon—exclusive of the Military and Shipping—at the Census of 1911 was 4,106,350, of whom 2,175,030 were males and 1,931,320 females. The excess of males over females is 243,710; to every 10,000 males there are 8,879 females.

At every Census of Ceylon there has been a preponderance of males.

In 1824	there were	8,758	females to 10,000 males.
In 1871	do.	8,751	do.
In 1881	do.	8,779	do.
In 1891	do.	8,876	do.
In 1901	do.	8,806	do.
In 1911	do.	8,879	do.

The proportion of females to males at this Census is greater than at any previous Census.

This is the first Census at which it has been possible to show the proportion of males and females amongst the native races, in which are included the Sinhalese, Ceylon Tamils, Ceylon Moors, Burghers, and Malays. At previous Censuses no distinction was made between Ceylon and Indian Tamils and Moors, and consequently, though it was possible to give figures for the males and females born in Ceylon, the so-called Ceylon-born population included Indian Tamils, Indian Moors, Europeans, and others born in Ceylon, who cannot properly be regarded as forming part of the resident or permanent population of the Island. Before considering the possible causes of the excess of males over females, it is necessary to ascertain how far this excess is natural, and how far it is affected by immigration and emigration. The disparity between the numbers of males and females in such countries as Australia, Canada, the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States, and all new countries which are being opened up by emigration, can be readily explained as caused thereby, and it is necessary first to eliminate extraneous influences to ascertain whether it is the case that in Ceylon amongst the resident or native population there is an excess of males

over females. There is so little emigration from Ceylon that, except in the case of the Jaffna District, this factor may be left out of consideration.

The annexed Table A shows the proportion of females to males in a thousand persons of the population by Provinces and Districts for (*A*) the actual population, viz., the population according to the Census, and including the "foreign" population; (*B*) the native population—Sinhalese, Ceylon Tamils, Ceylon Moors, Burghers, Malays, and Veddas; and for these races separately.

There are 530 men to 470 women in the actual population of Ceylon. There are 520 men to 480 women in the native population of Ceylon.

As would naturally be expected, the excess of males is greater when the "foreign" population is also taken into account, the explanation, of course, being that the immigrants do not bring their women with them.

Table A.—Proportion of Females in a Thousand Persons of the Population.

Province and District.	*A*	*B*							
	Actual Population.	Native Population.	Low-country Sinhalese.	Kandyan Sinhalese.	Ceylon Tamils.	Ceylon Moors.	Burghers.	Malays.	Veddas.
Ceylon	**470**	**480**	**479**	**474**	**491**	**478**	**500**	**476**	**476**
Western Province	465	485	488	408	434	471	503	462	..
Central Province	467	474	399	485	465	479	500	511	..
Northern Province	502	504	209	461	506	486	548	461	473
Southern Province	496	498	498	465	327	496	526	516	..
Eastern Province	486	489	133	448	486	503	479	456	475
North-Western Province ..	446	454	434	468	428	452	472	470	..
North-Central Province ..	448	454	310	470	367	441	431	454	474
Province of Uva	467	467	340	483	396	444	465	455	489
Provincé of Sabaragamuwa ..	448	447	327	467	417	418	427	409	..
Colombo Municipality ..	386	455	456	410	406	457	506	471	..
Colombo District	485	491	493	395	476	440	504	395	..
Kalutara District	481	486	486	439	386	506	393	468	..
Kandy Municipality ..	433	461	456	450	403	467	524	565	..
Kandy District	472	480	401	490	480	489	462	491	..
Matale District	460	467	405	477	400	454	476	456	..
Nuwara Eliya District ..	464	461	330	453	514	439	468	475	..
Jaffna District	511	513	264	297	513	498	570	494	..
Mannar District	423	439	206	217	422	489	468	..	..
Mullaittivu District ..	435	439	152	476	441	430	479	222	481
Gallo Municipality ..	497	504	506	535	344	502	514	502	..
Gallo District	503	504	505	458	321	466	470	440	..
Matara District	495	495	495	486	337	519	580	379	..
Hambantota District ..	483	484	485	394	307	437	467	528	..
Batticaloa District ..	491	493	125	447	490	506	480	375	483
Trincomalee District ..	462	467	149	454	467	483	477	459	445
Kurunegala District ..	449	454	400	467	389	439	470	449	..
Puttalam District.. ..	417	432	376	469	432	467	382	505	..
Chilaw District	452	465	465	527	453	442	505	467	..
Anuradhapura District ..	448	454	310	470	367	441	431	454	474
Badulla District	467	467	340	483	396	444	465	455	489
Ratnapura District ..	437	434	268	465	406	311	435	355	..
Kegalla District	456	457	383	467	426	450	420	423	..

Amongst Europeans there are 612 males to 388 females in 1,000 persons.

Amongst Indian Tamils there are 568 males to 432 females in 1,000 persons. Amongst Ceylon Tamils there are 509 males to 491 females in 1,000 persons. Amongst all Tamils there are 538 males to 462 females in every thousand.

Amongst Indian Moors there are 803 males to 197 females in 1,000 persons. Amongst Ceylon Moors there are 522 males to 478 females in 1,000 persons. Amongst all Moors there are 557 males to 443 females in every thousand.

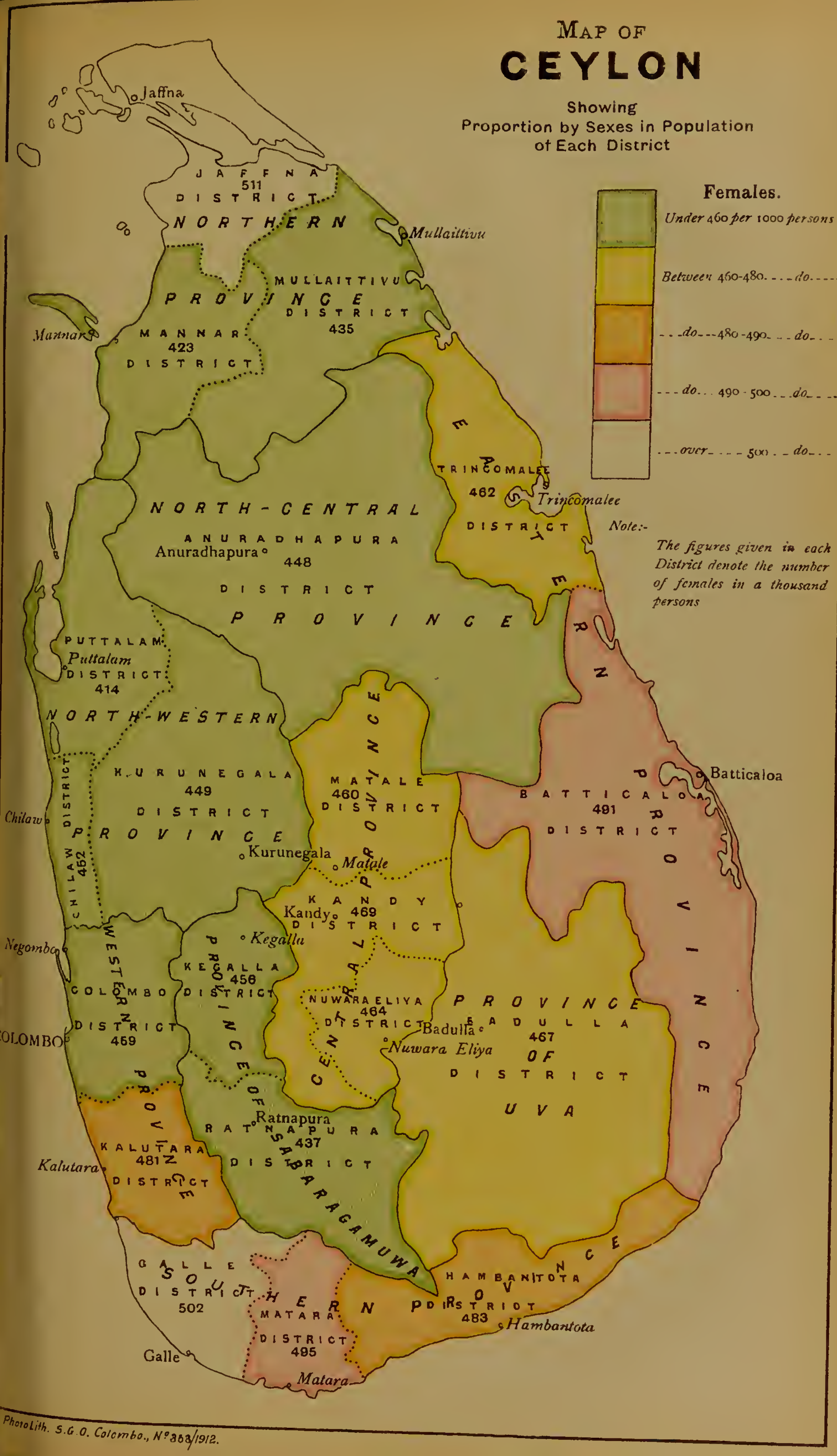
Amongst " Other " races there are 742 males to 258 females in 1,000 persons.

Taking the figures for birthplaces, on which the figures for the Ceylon-born population were calculated at the last Census, we find that of the 476,695 persons who returned birthplaces outside Ceylon, 285,026 were males and 191,669 females, *i.e.*, 402 females and 598 males in a thousand persons ; while in the Ceylon-born population the proportions were 479 females and 521 males. At the 1901 Census, amongst persons born outside Ceylon there were 387 females and 613 males in every 1,000 persons. Amongst persons born in Ceylon the proportions were 480 females and 520 males. These figures are, however, of considerably less value than the figures given above *for the native population*, as they throw no light on the race distribution by sex, the large number of children born of Indian Tamil parents on Ceylon estates being all included amongst the Ceylon-born population, while their parents belong to the foreign population. But it is curious that the proportion of males and females amongst the Ceylon-born is practically exactly the same as the proportion of the sexes amongst the native population of Ceylon, which would tend to show that the proportion of males and females amongst the children of Indian Tamils and Indian Moors is very similar to the proportion amongst the Ceylon Tamils and Ceylon Moors.

The largest differences in the proportion of males and females in a thousand persons of (*A*) the actual population and (*B*) the native population are found in the Colombo Municipality. In the actual population there were only 386 women to every 614 men ; in the native population 455 women to 545 men. There are considerable differences in the Kandy Municipality, where the proportions of females are respectively 433 and 461, Mannar District 423 and 439, Puttalam (including the pilgrims) 417 and 432 and (excluding the pilgrims) 414 and 432, and Chilaw 452 and 465. In the Colombo and Kandy Municipalities there are a large number of immigrant traders and others who have not brought their wives with them. Similarly in the Mannar District, where the immigrants are nearly all men employed on the railway construction works ; in the Chilaw District amongst the Indian Tamils the proportion of males to females is 3 to 1, while amongst the Kandyan Sinhalese and Burghers in this District the women are actually in excess.

In two Districts, Nuwara Eliya and Ratnapura, the proportion of the women to the men is larger if the foreign population is taken into account, the explanation being that the proportion of females to males amongst the Indian Tamils in these two Districts is comparatively high, being 468 to 532 in Nuwara Eliya and 452 to 548 in Ratnapura. The proportion of females amongst the Kandyan Sinhalese in Nuwara Eliya is low (453), and of the Low-country Sinhalese in the Ratnapura District only 1 in 4 is a woman.

The only two Districts where the women are in an excess amongst the *actual* population are Jaffna, with 511 women to 489 men, and Galle, 503


Map of
CEYLON
Showing
Proportion by Sexes in Population
of Each District
Females.
Under 460 per 1000 persons
Between 460-480 ... do ...
... do ... 480-490 ... do ...
... do ... 490-500 ... do ...
... over ... 500 ... do ...
Note:-
The figures given in each District denote the number of females in a thousand persons
Jaffna
JAFFNA 511 DISTRICT
NORTHERN PROVINCE
Mullaittivu
MULLAITTIVU DISTRICT 435
Mannar
MANNAR 423 DISTRICT
EASTERN PROVINCE
TRINCOMALEE 462 DISTRICT
Trincomalee
NORTH-CENTRAL PROVINCE
ANURADHAPURA DISTRICT 448
Anuradhapura
PUTTALAM DISTRICT 414
Puttalam
NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCE
KURUNEGALA 449 DISTRICT
Kurunegala
CHILAW DISTRICT 462
Chilaw
CENTRAL PROVINCE
MATALE 460 DISTRICT
Matale
KANDY 469 DISTRICT
Kandy
NUWARA ELIYA 464 DISTRICT
Nuwara Eliya
BATTICALOA 491 DISTRICT
Batticaloa
PROVINCE OF UVA
BADULLA 467 DISTRICT
Badulla
WESTERN PROVINCE
COLOMBO DISTRICT 459
COLOMBO
Negombo
KEGALLA 456 DISTRICT
Kegalla
PROVINCE OF SABARAGAMUWA
RATNAPURA 437 DISTRICT
Ratnapura
KALUTARA 481 DISTRICT
Kalutara
SOUTHERN PROVINCE
GALLE DISTRICT 502
Galle
MATARA DISTRICT 495
Matara
HAMBANTOTA DISTRICT 483
Hambantota
PhotoLith. S.G.O. Colombo., No 353/1912.

women to 497 men, due in both cases to migration.* In both these Districts the largest excess of females is at the age period 20–30, evidence that the excess of females is principally due to emigration of males to other Districts. At the 1901 Census in the Galle District, though the males were in excess for all ages, for the period 20–30 there was an excess of females of over 5,000—at this Census the excess was 7,500.

Both in the Jaffna and Galle Districts the males are in the majority in the earliest age period (0–10). In the Galle District there is an excess of over 8,000 males; in the Jaffna District the male majority is only 800—further evidence of a higher male birth-rate amongst the Sinhalese than amongst the Tamils, these two Districts being typical ones, and having the largest proportion respectively of Sinhalese and Tamils for any Districts in the Island.

In the Jaffna District the females are in excess in every period between 10 and 60; in a large majority in the 20–30 period; only 33 in excess between 30–40. Before 10 and after 60 the males predominate; the largest male majority in any period is 800 between 0–10. In the Galle District the females are in excess in the 10–20 period—an excess of 2,000, as compared with 400 in the Jaffna District—evidence that the Galle youth emigrates at an earlier age than the Jaffna Tamil, as is the case—and between 20–50, after which the males are in a majority. The largest male majority in any age period is over 8,000 for under 10.

In only three Districts in the Island are the females in a majority in the period 0–10, viz., Colombo (the majority being 640), Kurunegala (183), and Mullaittivu (57). In only two Districts are the females in a majority between 10–20, viz., Jaffna (427) and Galle (2,123). These same Districts are the only two Districts where there is an excess of females between 30 and 40 and 40 and 50. Matara and Hambantota take the place of Galle with Jaffna for excess of females between 50 and 60. In the period 20 to 30 the females preponderate in every District in the Southern Province, and in the Jaffna (6,512), Nuwara Eliya (1,193), Batticaloa (1,026), Kalutara (750), and Badulla (452) Districts. In the last four named Districts there is a marked increase since the last Census in the proportion of males in the previous age period 10–20; at the 1901 Census the females were in the majority at this period in the Batticaloa and Badulla Districts, so that the excess may be accounted for by the survivals of the female majorities of the previous decade and by ages being given more or less inaccurately, few native women in Ceylon between 15 and 30 being able to state their ages correctly.

The lowest proportion of women amongst the actual population is found in the Colombo Municipality (386).

If we take the *native* population only, Galle Municipality must be added to the Jaffna and Galle Districts as showing a majority of women. The men are in the largest majority amongst the native population of Ceylon in the Puttalam District—568 to 432—which is exactly the same proportion which the males bear to the females amongst the Ceylon Tamil population of this District. The Low-country Sinhalese, who are included in the native population, show only 330 women to 670 men, excluding the pilgrims enumerated in this District.

Amongst the races the largest proportion of *Low-country Sinhalese* women is found in the Galle District (505) and Municipality (506), the only divisions in which they are in excess of the men.

In the Colombo District, from which there is less male migration than from Galle, the women are in the proportion of 493 to 507 men.

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* *Vide* pp. 68, 69, 81, and 82, *supra*.

Taking the Hambantota and Chilaw Districts as Low-country Sinhalese Districts, from which there is little migration, the proportions of females are 485 and 465 respectively. The proportion *for the Island* for the Low-country Sinhalese is 479 women to 521 men.

The lowest proportion of Low-country Sinhalese females is found in the Batticaloa District, in which, as in the Trincomalee, Mullaittivu, Mannar, Jaffna, and Ratnapura Districts, three or more Low-country Sinhalese men are found to one Low-country Sinhalese woman, showing that the emigrants to these Districts leave their wives behind them.

The proportion for the Island for the *Kandyan Sinhalese* is 474 women to 526 men—the lowest proportion of women amongst any of the Ceylon native races.

In two divisions the Kandyan women are in a considerable majority—in the Galle Municipality 535 women to 465 men and in the Chilaw District 527 women to 473 men. There are, however, only 142 Kandyans in the town of Galle; the number in the Chilaw District is 2,047, the women being in an excess of 109 only, probably due to marriages between Low-country Sinhalese men and Kandyan women on the Kurunegala boundary.

The lowest proportion of Kandyan women is found in the Mannar and Jaffna Districts—there are only 120 Kandyans in both Districts; in the other Districts the proportions are similar to those for the Island—further evidence that the Kandyans do not migrate, and when they do they take their wives with them.

In the North-Central Province, where the Kandyans are found in the largest proportion to the rest of the population, there are 470 women to 530 men. In the Kurunegala District, where there are the largest number of Kandyans, the proportion is 467 women to 533 men. In the Kandy District the proportion of women is higher (490).

Taking the Low-country and Kandyan Sinhalese together, the proportion of females to males for the Island is 477 to 523, which is an increase of one male in every thousand since the last Census.

The disproportion of females amongst the *Ceylon Tamils* is not so great: for the Island the proportions are 491 women to 509 men. The two principal Tamil Districts are Jaffna and Batticaloa. In the Jaffna District there are 513 women to 487 men, due, as already explained, to emigration; in the Batticaloa District there are 490 women to 510 men. In only one other District, besides Jaffna, are there more Ceylon Tamil women than men—Nuwara Eliya, where the proportions are 514 to 486; there are only 5,000 Ceylon Tamils in this District, mostly immigrants. In the Mannar District the proportion of women is very low for a Tamil District—422 women to 578 men. The explanation in this case probably lies in the heavy mortality amongst women in childbirth, puerperal mortality, &c.,* and the number of male immigrants.

There are 478 women to 522 men in Ceylon amongst the *Ceylon Moors*. In three Districts and one town the women are in a majority. In the Batticaloa District, where there are more Ceylon Moors than in any other part of the Island, there are 506 females to 494 males, which can scarcely be explained by migration. In the Matara District the proportion of women to men is higher than anywhere else—519 to 481, due to migration of the males. In the Kalutara District and Galle Municipality the Moorish women are also in a majority. The lowest proportion of females is found in the Ratnapura District (311).

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* *Vide* pp. 73 and 74.

Percentage of Sexes

IN DISTRICTS WHERE THERE IS THE LARGEST PROPORTION OF WOMEN FOR EACH RACE

JAFFNA DISTRICT.

Ceylon Tamil (Male) 49 %

Ceylon Tamil (Female) 51 %

GALLE DISTRICT.

Low Country Sinhalese (Male) 49 %

Low Country Sinhalese (Female) 51 %

Ceylon Moor (Male) 49 %

Ceylon Moor (Female) 51 %

BATTICALOA DISTRICT

Estate Indian Tamil (Male) 57 %

Estate Indian Tamil (Female) 43 %

KALUTARA DISTRICT

The female birth-rate amongst the Moors between 1901 and 1910 is higher than amongst any of the native races of Ceylon except the Sinhalese.* The number of male Moorish children born during the decade was 46,150, of female children 43,573. The number of deaths amongst male children under one year during the decade was 11,136; amongst female children under one year 9,565. The percentage of females amongst the Moorish population under 10 years of age was 484—the highest proportion of females in any age period. These figures include Indian Moors, but there is only one Indian Moor to twenty Ceylon Moors under 10 years of age.

The Burghers and Eurasians are the only race in which the females are not in a minority; the proportions are exactly equal, 500 males to 500 females—an increase of 3 males per 1,000 since the last Census. The largest proportion of Burgher females is found in the Matara and Jaffna Districts, where there are 580 and 570 females to 420 and 430 males respectively. Burgher females are in the lowest proportion in the Puttalam District (382).

This is the first Census at which the males have not been in a minority amongst the Burghers and Eurasians. Between 1901 and 1911 the male births numbered 3,908 and the female 3,658, while the male deaths numbered 2,831 and the female deaths 2,838. The natural increase to the population should then have been 1,077 males and 820 females.

In 1901 there were 120 more females than males amongst the Burghers and Eurasians; in 1911 there is a majority of 19 males. Allowing for the fact that the number of Burghers and Eurasians born outside Ceylon was 282 at this Census compared with 384 at the last, and that the decrease probably means a decrease in males, as nearly all the Eurasian immigrants are men, the natural increase in males almost exactly accounts for the male majority obtained for the first time at this Census.

The number of marriages between Burghers and Sinhalese and Tamils is on the increase†—there were 48 such marriages in 1910; it would be of interest to note whether the issue of such marriages is more usually male than female.

Amongst the *Malays* the females are in the proportion of 476 to 524 males, which is the highest proportion reached by them at any Census. There has been an increase of 15 females in every 1,000 persons since the last Census. The age periods show that under 10 years of age the females are in a majority—527 females to 473 males being the proportion. At every other Census the males have been in the majority at this age period.

These figures point either to a large increase in the number of female children born, or to a heavy rate of mortality amongst the male children. There were 1,989 male births and 1,860 female births between 1901 and 1910, while 1,857 male and 1,834 female Malays died during the period. The number of deaths of children under 10 years of age amongst the Malays during the period 1901–1910 was 1,016 males and 933 females, so that it would appear that the increase in females in this age period is due to a heavier mortality amongst the male children.

Reference has already been made to the high death-rate amongst Malays in the town of Colombo,‡ where they are found in the largest

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* The Sinhalese female birth-rate is 20·1, the Moor 17·6, the Tamil 15·3 the Malay 15·0, and the Burgher 14·7 per 1,000 persons living.

† *Vide* Chapter XII., *infra.*

‡ *Vide* pp. 129, 130, *supra.*

numbers ; but this death-rate cannot have been principally amongst the males, unless it was counterbalanced by migrations of Malay men to Colombo from other parts of the Island, for the proportion of females is lower than the average for the Island and is 471 females to 529 males. It is probable, however, that there was a considerable migration of Malay males to Colombo, as in the town of Kandy the females are in a proportion of 565 to 435 males, and they are also in a majority in the Hambantota and Puttalam Districts and in the town of Galle. In the Hambantota District, where there is a settled Malay population, there was an excess of deaths of male children.

The figures for the "*Veddas*," though they prove little as regards pure Veddas, are yet of interest from the light they throw on the sex proportions amongst the jungle tribes. There are 476 women to 524 men in every 1,000 "Veddas"—an increase of 13 men in every 1,000 since the last Census.

Table B.—Number of Males in a Thousand Persons of each Race by Age Periods, 1911.

Race.	All Ages	0–10	10–20	20–30	30–40	40–50	50–60	60 and over.
Europeans ..	612	465	464	671	624	659	672	601
Burghers and Eurasians ..	500	508	498	457	521	538	524	497
Sinhalese ..	523	515	518	497	551	548	524	567
Tamils ..	538	502	539	521	584	570	558	564
Moors ..	557	516	554	562	608	582	576	596
Malays ..	524	473	488	530	602	602	606	592
Veddas ..	524	512	530	451	583	593	566	605
Others ..	742	463	703	812	807	770	741	804

Taking the races which have not been included amongst the native races, and for which figures by districts are not given, the *Europeans* (*vide* Table B) are in the proportion of 388 females to 612 males in every 1,000—a decrease of 1 female in every 1,000 Europeans since the last Census.

The proportion of European females to European males in Ceylon increased at every Census up to the last, due no doubt principally to the improved means of transport to Europe and the higher standard of comfort now obtainable in the Colony. The proportions now appear to be stationary, the large number of young men who have come out to Ceylon for estate work during the decade counterbalancing the increase in the number of European married women in Ceylon.

Females are actually in excess in the age periods 0–10 and 10–20.

The number of European children born between 1901 and 1910 was 1,552, of whom 807 were boys and 745 girls. The number of deaths of European children under 1 year was 91 males and 69 females, of children under 10 years 135 males and 142 females. It does not therefore appear that the excess of females over males in these two age periods is due to a higher birth-rate of female children or a higher death-rate of male children. The explanation probably is that girls are kept out in the East longer than boys, who are sent to Europe earlier for educational purposes, while the excess of females over males in the age period 10–20 may be due to girls coming out to the East earlier than men. The male immigrant from Europe is usually 20 or over.

In every other age period European males largely predominate.

Of the Europeans enumerated in Ceylon who were born in Ceylon, 1,034 are males and 1,054 females—further evidence that girls are kept out longer than boys, while the number of sons of Europeans who were born in Ceylon and return to Ceylon for estate work, &c., appears to be more than counterbalanced by the number of daughters who come out to their parents and who marry in Ceylon.

Amongst the *Other* races, males largely predominate: there are 742 males to 258 females, an increase of 20 males in every 1,000 persons since the last Census.

The next Table C gives the number of males and females in Ceylon for all age periods, and shows an excess of males over females in each age period:—

Table C.—Population of Ceylon by Sex and Age Periods and the Proportion per 1,000 Persons in each Age Period and Percentage to the Total Population by Sex, 1911.

Age Periods.	Population.		Excess.		Proportion per 1,000 Persons in each Age Period.		Proportion per Cent. of the Total Population by Sex.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0–10 ..	600,895	571,555	29,340	..	513	487	27·6	29·6
10–20 ..	449,445	404,623	44,822	..	526	474	20·7	21·0
20–30 ..	401,103	384,738	16,365	..	511	489	18·4	19·9
30–40 ..	316,491	242,263	74,228	..	566	434	14·6	12·5
40–50 ..	190,113	150,827	39,286	..	557	443	8·7	7·8
50–60 ..	116,671	101,352	15,319	..	536	464	5·4	5·2
60–70 ..	65,903	48,882	17,021	..	573	427	3·0	2·5
70 and over ..	34,434	27,074	7,330	..	559	441	1·6	1·4

The figures given above show that there is a marked preponderance of males over females in Ceylon which cannot be explained by the number of immigrants in Ceylon, and, with the exception of the Jaffna and Galle Districts, where there are excesses of females over males, emigration may be left out of account.

But, in the whole of Europe—excluding the south-eastern corner—in spite of a general excess of males at birth, there is an excess of females in the actual population, as is shown in the following figures :—

Number of Females per 1,000 Males.

Portugal	1,090 (1900)
Norway	1,084 (1900)
England and Wales	1,068 (1911)
Scotland	1,062 (1911)
Denmark	1,053 (1900)
Spain	1,049 (1900)
Sweden	1,049 (1900)
Austria	1,035 (1900)
Germany	1,032 (1900)
Holland	1,025 (1899)
France	1,022 (1901)
Italy	1,010 (1900)
Ireland	1,004 (1911)
Ceylon	**888 (1911)**

In all other parts of the world for which statistics are available there is an excess of males.

In the south-east of Europe the proportion of females per 1,000 males ranged from 921 to 944 on the Censuses of the last decade. At the Census of 1903 the proportion of females was 980.

At the 1901 Census of India the proportion of the sexes was 963 females per 1,000 males, at the 1911 Census 953 females per 1,000 males.

The population of India is more than one-third of that of the whole of Asia, and these figures appear correctly to represent the facts. They tend to show that the conditions in Europe are exceptional. As already stated, even in Europe there is an excess of males at birth, but this excess, according to the age figures for all Censuses up to 1901, disappears at the age of 15 or earlier owing to the relatively greater mortality amongst males. The excess of females in Europe cannot be entirely explained by migration. In most European countries emigration can be entirely disregarded.

The heavier mortality amongst males in Europe is ascribed to their being more delicate than females in early life, while in later life they are exposed in various occupations to risks from which females are comparatively free.

Is the excess of males in the East due to heavier mortality amongst females, as a result of the heavier work they are required to do, and the conditions of life which make the woman of the lower classes often little more than a beast of burden, or is the excess of male children born so great, or is it due to incorrect enumeration of women, or to such causes as female infanticide, neglect of female children, infant marriage and premature sexual intercourse and child-bearing, unskilful midwifery, prohibition of widow marriages ? Many other causes may be suggested which are peculiar to life in the East and the relations of the sexes. The disproportion of males and females in Ceylon affords specially valuable data for the investigation of this subject, for many of the elements which must be taken into consideration in India have comparatively little bearing on the problem in Ceylon.

No disinclination to give all particulars in regard to the female population was shown in any part of Ceylon. In fact in most places at the preliminary Census the information was usually given by the women. The Muhammadans of Ceylon are far less strict as regards their women than the Muhammadans in perhaps any other parts of the world. In the Batticaloa District, where there are more Muhammadans than anywhere else in Ceylon, and where they form a strong and separate community, the women actually outnumbered the men. There is no reason to believe that there were any more omissions of women at this Census than there were of men.

Infanticide is practically unknown in Ceylon, and is regarded by the Buddhists as a particularly atrocious crime, as also is abortion in the case of a pregnant woman.

As amongst all Eastern people, there is, of course, a general desire for a son, though it is said that female children are preferred to male amongst the Malays. The Sinhalese and Tamils are no exceptions to other Eastern races in their low opinion of women. Further reference will be made to the subject in dealing with female education. The following common sayings amongst the Sinhalese and Tamils, however, illustrate the prevailing opinions in regard to the gentler sex, and throw light on the way in which women are regarded in the East.

*Women increase and the water pots become empty.**

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* ගෑනු බෝවේ, කළගෙඩි වෙලේ.

It is the business of the women to draw water, and when there are too many in a house, they are apt to neglect their duty.

*Woman is the way to prison.**

Why take a ladder to the gallows when you can go there easily by the help of a woman? †

It is said that even a hen reared by a talkative woman crows.‡

Are there those who have no pity? If the word "woman" be uttered, even a demon will be moved by compassion.§

"Though we may give credit to the word of a man who affirms that he has discovered flowers on a fig tree, or that he has discovered white-coloured crows, or even that he has traced the footsteps of fishes, yet we can never by any possibility rely on the heart of a woman," says the author of the *Pratya Sataka.*|| The same authority writes elsewhere: "As destruction awaits us on the one hand by keeping a close intimacy with kings, fire, tutors, and women, and, on the other hand, we stand equally in danger of the same being indifferent to them —the middle station of life is assuredly best."¶

Among the Sinhalese, however, woman has always been treated with considerable respect, and the position of the wife in her husband's house is highly regarded. The terms used for the wife in Sinhalese show this—the *gedara etto* (ගෙදර ඇත්තෝ), or the house owner, or she of the house, or amongst the higher classes the *walawwe mahatmayó* (වලව්වෙ මහත්මයෝ).

According to Kandyan law the wife is entitled to a life interest over her husband's land when the latter dies, and on separation to half the property acquired during married life (*vide infra*, Chapter XII., Civil Condition).

The position of woman throughout the East is undergoing a very great change, and, as is seen from the statistics for female education, there is to-day a general demand for the education of girls as well as boys.** The number of occupations open to women has laigely increased, so that a female child is still less likely to be neglected.††

There are numerous sayings amongst the Tamils and Sinhalese which express the general preference for a son and the burden a daughter is felt to be upon the family.

The destitute brings forth a female child, and that on a Friday, under the star Puradam,‡‡ say the Tamils, as denoting the depths of misfortune.

In times of prosperity even a slave woman may bring forth a female child.§§

A fourth girl is born, and there are no means in the house even to procure a staple for a bolt! ||||

Those who have no capital have no gain; those who have no sons to lean on have no support.¶¶

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* සිරගෙට මාර්ගය නම් ගෑණිලු.

† පෝර්කයට යාමට ඉණිමගක් නැතුවාට ගෑණියෙක් ඇතිලු.

‡ කටබහ ඇති ගෑණි ඇතිකරණ කිකිළිත් අඬලනවාලු.

§ பெண்ணென்றாற் பேயு மிரங்கும்.

|| *Pratya Sataka*, stanza 16, quoted in Selkirk's "Recollections of Ceylon," p. 137.

¶ *Pratya Sataka*, stanza 31.

** *Vide* Chapter on Education, *passim*.

†† *Vide* Chapter on Occupations, *passim*.

‡‡ அகதி பெறுவது பெண்பிள்ளை, அதுவும் வெள்ளி பூராடம்.

§§ ஆகுங்காலத்தில் அடியாளும் பெண் பெறுவாள்.

|||| நாலாவது பெண் நாதாங்கி முளைக்கும் திக்கில்லை.

¶¶ முதல் இல்லார்க்கு ஊதியம் இல்லை, மதலையாம் சார்பில்லார்க்கு நிலையில்லை.

*If my elder brother has a daughter, her paternal aunt becomes an alien,** the meaning being that the person who would naturally be the most affectionately disposed—and who if a son had been born would most probably become his mother-in-law as well as his aunt—would be the most disappointed at the birth of a daughter.

According to the Hindu scriptures, however worthy a man might be in all other respects to take his place in the company of the gods, if he has no sons he can find no place in heaven. He must beget a son to perform his last funeral rites, and to continue the periodical offerings to the shades of his ancestors. It is considered of paramount importance that a man when dying should lay his head on the lap of his son, who should repeat the greatest of all the *mantras*—the *Panchakshara*—into the ear of his dying father.

In addition to these cogent reasons for desiring the birth of a son, a daughter is regarded as a burden on the family until she is married.

When a virgin is yet unmarried, may the youth her brother marry?† In the East, where it is considered essential that every woman should be married, it is often a very heavy strain on the resources of a poor family to dispose of their daughters.

One of the reasons given for the existence of polygamy amongst the Kandyans was that no dowry was given with the daughter, and a daughter married in *díga* forfeited her rights to her father's property. The dowry now plays a very important part in all marriage transactions. There is another proverb which runs thus: "*Never mind should the youth at the plough become lean; take care of the girl who has received the nuptial present.*"‡

So great is the desire for a son that the superstitions on the subject and the charms which can be employed to procure the desired object are innumerable. How far the excess of males in Ceylon can be attributed to the ceremonies and prescriptions of the astrologer and the *vedarala* is matter for speculation.

In all the important ceremonies in a girl's life, amongst the Tamils the desire that she should be the mother of sons is never lost sight of, and care is taken to avoid at all important events in her life any circumstance which may be regarded as likely to prejudice her chances in this respect. A childless woman, however great her social importance, can take no part in such great occasions in social life as weddings. She cannot even be in the same room with the bride, nor assist her in any way; she should not be seated at any spot by which the bride might pass, and her very presence must be concealed.

When a girl is purified after attaining puberty, the ceremony of pouring water on the head of the girl is invariably performed by a woman whose husband is alive and who is the mother of several sons, the first-born being also a son. After the bath the *Álátti* ceremony§ is performed by two women—mothers of many sons. At the wedding ceremony the fire to kindle the sacrificial fire before which the nuptials are celebrated, is brought on a tray by a married woman with a husband and several sons alive.

There is also a special ceremony known as the *Pumsavanam* (*pum*. Sanskrit — male), which is performed at the third month of pregnancy, or on the wife perceiving the first signs of pregnancy, with the object

* அண்ணனுக்குப் பெண் பிறந்தால், அத்தை அசல் நாட்டாள்.

† கன்னி இருக்கக் காளை மணம்போகலாமா ?

‡ ஏர் உழுகிற பிள்ளை இளைத்துப்போனால் போகிறது, பரியம்போட்ட பெண்ணைப் பார்த்து வளர்.

§ *Vide* p. 236, *supra*.

of securing the birth of a son. Certain religious ceremonies are performed, during which the husband, standing behind the pregnant woman, draws her head back until it is in such a position that the face is turned upwards, when he pours through the right nostril the juice of certain herbs. The right nostril is always selected when a son is desired, as the right side is considered male and the left female—the right being ruled by the sun, the left by the moon. These rites, though performed by the Hindus, are referred to in Sinhalese works, and were no doubt in vogue amongst the Sinhalese, and are still practised in some Districts.

In a Sinhalese medical work entitled *Yogaratnakaraya* it is stated that if four drops of the juice obtained by powdering and mixing with milk the tender leaves of the *nuga* (*Ficus altissima*), or of a plant called *laptella*,* be poured into the right nostril of a woman, she will bear a son, and if poured into the left nostril a daughter. There is a very general belief in the value of this prescription. The juice of leaves of the *thela* (*Convolvulus flavus*) is also considered to produce the same results.

The soothsayer and astrologer play a very important part as diviners of the sex of the child to be born, and are frequently consulted before marriages are finally arranged, as to whether the horoscopes of the pair denote that the offspring will be a male. The hour for the celebration of the marriage, and the many events in connection with it, are usually fixed in accordance with lucky hours and times propitious for the procreation of male offspring.

There is also a special ceremony which should be performed, called *anavalobhana*—to avert miscarriage.

The idea that causation of sex can be produced by any special prescription or treatment is opposed to the Buddhistic idea of Karma, according to which causation of sex is entirely brought about by Karma, or continued action proceeding from one birth to another.† It is not considered impossible for a person born a male during one lifetime to be born a female in the next life, or *vice versâ*. Such changes and all re-births depend upon the merits or demerits of previous births. Another theory conceives a number of individuals wandering in a never-ending ocean of *Samsára* (continuous change of existence) to take birth in male or female form according to the asterisms governing the day on which the conception takes place.

The explanation according to Buddhism of the re-birth of a being in this world and its wanderings in another life is desire. If all sense of desire can be overcome, Nirvana may be attained. The sex will be determined by the merits or demerits of the past existence.

The anxiety to divine the sex does not cease until the actual time of delivery. If the uterus of the mother is small and round, if the right breast shows signs of milk before the left, if the right thigh swells, if the right eye appears larger than the left, if the woman leans on her right elbow rather than on her left, if her gait is inclined to the right, if she uses a broom and sweeps on the right side, and sleeps on her right side—all these are signs of the birth of a male child, while the opposite would denote a female child.

One method formerly resorted to in order to ascertain the sex was to sprinkle charmed oil on the centre of the pregnant woman's breasts while she lay on her back. If the oil trickled to the right, it denoted the birth of a son, if to the left a girl.

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* This plant is said to be the *Amorphophallus campanulatus*—Sanskrit *Putra-kanda.*

† *Vide* note on p. 257 *re* Karma.

Considerable credence is attached to dreams. If a woman dreams of mangoes, water lilies, a cobra, a ring set with precious stones, leeches, ornaments worn by men, horses, elephants, an officer in uniform, the child will be a boy; if she dreams of a rat snake, jewellery worn by a woman, a girl will be born.

Another method of divining sex is by examination of the pregnant woman's milk. If the milk of a pregnant woman when left in a cup of water does not mix with the water and floats on the surface, a male will be born; if the milk is diffused or sinks, a female; if the milk is composed of two parts of two different colours, white and dark brown, the child will be a male; if the milk is of single colour similar to the sap of the plantain tree, a female.

Great importance is also attached to the longings of a woman in pregnancy—*doladuka* (දොළදුක) as they are called. These are held to show what sex the child will be. If the woman asks for things usually desired by men a son will be born, and *vice versâ*. The desires of a woman at this time are also held to denote the character of the child to be born. If these wants are not satisfied, the child will suffer in consequence, and will be affected in appearance, character, temper, &c. There is a general belief that if these longings are not granted, the child's ears become sore.

Other methods employed by soothsayers to determine sex are by comparing two charmed betel leaves left out for a night, by charming a *kétalé* (කේතලේ), an earthen vessel containing turmeric water, and then throwing it away to some distance—if it breaks a female will be born, if not a male. A lime is sometimes cut and put into water, and the sex is determined by the position in which the two halves remain. Another method sometimes employed is to take a particular colour to represent the male sex and another to represent the female, and to place flowers of these colours wrapped up separately before an image in the temple. After *pújá* has been performed the priest receives the offerings and brings the flowers to the interested party, who takes one of the bundles and opens it, and the sex is supposed to be now determined according to the colour of the flowers found therein.

Twins are usually not regarded with favour. It is believed by some that if the mother in her previous birth had a strong desire for two children, and was in the habit of carrying two children, one on each side of her waist, she will give birth to twins in her next life. During the first three months of gestation a woman is not allowed to divide or cut anything into two.

It is believed by many Buddhists that persons who have lived together in unbroken affection, and who happen to have died at the same time, may be conceived in one womb, if it was their wish that they should be born again in the same birth.

It is considered unlucky if the twins are of opposite sex, and it is believed that one of them is sure to die, and if both grow up it will lead to misfortune. *Only demons are born twins of opposite sex.**

There is a curious superstition, which is widely prevalent, that sprains are cured by the touch of twins.

The dead body of the first-born male child of parents, both of whom are themselves the first-born of their parents—known as the *Thunkulundul* (තුන්කුළුඳුල්) child—is regarded as possessed of miraculous powers, and astrologers and magicians will resort even to acts of violence to obtain the corpse for the manufacture of *pilli*, charms, &c. So great is the fear that the body may be exhumed—its use for such ends

* ජාති දෙකින් නිඹුල්ලුව උපදින්නේ යක්කුය.

is also believed to produce evil effects upon the child's mother and to prevent her giving birth to any more children—that among the Tamils the body of a first-born male child is often buried beneath the threshold, and among the Sinhalese in their own gardens.

In the Sammanturai pattu of the Batticaloa District the Vanniah reports that "it is said that a certain kind of oil is prepared from the fat or brain of the dead child (viz., a first-born male child). It is supposed that by the mere touch of this oil a woman or young girl may be made to fall in love and accompany the person possessing the charm wherever he may choose to take her. It is also used in burglaries, a wick being lit in the oil, and it is believed that by the light of this oil the thieves cannot be seen by the inmates of the house, who can also be sent to sleep by its use ...... The body of a first-born male is watched in the grave for about forty days until the body is decomposed."

The superstitions in regard to causation of sex referred to above still exist both amongst the Sinhalese and the Tamils. The superstitions of both races are so clearly allied—most of them coming from a common source—that it is not possible to say exactly whether any one is confined to one race only. The progress of civilization will undoubtedly make the profession of faith in such omens, observances, &c., extremely rare, but generations will pass away before the secret faith of the villager is destroyed.

Though daughters were certainly in the past regarded with disfavour, in modern times there is no reason to suppose that attempts to create abortion when the child is believed to be a female are frequent, or that there is any infanticide. The Sinhalese are particularly affectionate in their family relations, and treat their children, sons and daughters alike, with the greatest kindness.

As a Low-country Sinhalese Mudaliyar writes: "A man will carry out ruthlessly a long-meditated murder, he may take away life on slight provocation, he may kill a natural child which is an obstacle to his gaining a desirable wife, he may secure an abortion for other reasons, but not abortion because the child is to be a girl. At the worst it is looked upon as a sign of ill-luck, to be guarded against in the future by propitiation." That infanticide did at one time exist, however, we know from Knox. "As soon as the Child is born, the Father or some Friend apply themselves to an Astrologer to enquire, whether the Child be born in a prosperous Planet and a good hour or in an Evil. If it be found to be in an evil they presently destroy it, either by starving it, letting it lye and die or by drowning it putting its head into a Vessel of water, or by burying it alive or else by giving it to somebody of the same degree with themselves; who often will take such Children, and bring up by hand with Rice and Milk; for they say the Child will be unhappy to the Parent, but to none else. We have asked them why they will deal so with their poor Infants, that come out of their Bowels. They will indeed have a kind of regret and trouble at it. But they will say withal, Why should I bring up a Devil in my House? For they believe, a Child born in an ill hour, will prove a plague and vexation to his Parents by his disobedience and untowardliness. But it is very rare that a First-born is served so. Him they love and make much of. But when they come to have many, then usual it is, by the pretence of the Child's being born under an Unlucky Planet, to kill him. And this is reputed no fault, and no Law of the Land takes cognizance of it."*

* Knox's "Historical Relation," pp. 150, 151.

It may, however, be accepted that these crimes are now rarely if ever resorted to in Ceylon. Nor is there any reason to suppose that female children are taken less care of than male children. In fact, the observer is always struck by the healthy and well-fed appearance of the young women and girls. The theory that male children are usually born where the woman has the physical advantage of the man might receive some support from the general appearance of the young women in most Sinhalese districts, which compares very favourably with that of the youths.

Other factors which have to be taken into consideration in India and are absent in Ceylon are notably infant marriages, with the attendant results of premature sexual intercourse and child bearing.

The number of married females under 10 years of age in Ceylon is 107, or only ·006 per cent. of the total number of women. The proportion in India at the 1901 Census was 1·6 in every 100 women. The number of married between 10–15 is 5,108, or ·3 per cent. of the total female population, as compared with a proportion of 4·6 per cent. in India in 1901.

Infant marriages are most common amongst the Ceylon Moors and Ceylon Tamils of the Batticaloa District. The number of deaths of females between the ages of 10–20 amongst the Tamils and Moors of this District were 5·8 per cent. and 1·2 per cent. respectively of the total number of deaths of Tamil and Moor women in this District during the decade. The percentages for these age periods to the total number of deaths for the whole Island for Tamil and Moor women were 9·4 per cent. and 6·8 per cent. respectively. The proportion of deaths of women between these age periods in the Batticaloa District was, therefore, below the average for Tamil and Moor women of these ages in the rest of the Island, so that it does not appear that the death-rate is—at any rate in the Batticaloa District—affected by infant marriages.

Re-marriage of widows is nowhere prohibited in Ceylon, and the life of a widow amongst a charitably disposed population is very little harder than that of other women.

Sinhalese women are not treated as beasts of burden, and the work done by those who live by their own efforts is usually very light; 18½ per cent. of the Sinhalese women in Ceylon gave an occupation on which they depended for their livelihood, but a large number were married women, who merely added by their earnings to the family income. The occupations most numerously followed by women were the manufacture of coir, lace making, mat weaving, domestic service as ayahs, and the management of their own landed property, none of which requires great physical exertion.

Many of the conditions which undoubtedly affect female mortality in India are absent in Ceylon, which therefore presents a particularly valuable field for the consideration of the fact that in the East, unlike the West, the males predominate in the population.

This majority of males is not new in Ceylon. Davy, writing in 1821 of the Census made by the Collectors of the Districts in 1814, gives the figures for males and females: "Above the age of puberty, males 156,447, females 142,453; below that age, males 95,091, females 81,892, forming a grand total of 475,883 and an excess of the number of males over the females of 27,193." "This excess," Davy adds, "appears to be in a large proportion; perhaps the Census is not quite correct; perhaps the disproportion of the sexes is above the truth; yet from examining the particular returns, and from considering the manner in

which they were made out, I cannot help thinking that the Census is not much below the truth, and that the number of males is greater than that of the females. The disproportion appears to be greatest in the poorest parts of the country, where the population is thinnest, and it is most difficult to support life; and smallest where there is least want. Indeed, in some of the fishing villages, where there is abundance of food, the number of females rather exceeds that of the males."*

Pridham,† writing in 1849, also comments on the disparity in the number of the sexes, and remarks that "it exists in the greatest degree among the Sinhalese, where the disproportion of females averages 12 per cent.; but it is even observable in the case of the Malabar population in the Northern Province, where the disproportion averages 6 per cent. This disparity is greatest in the poorest parts of the country and where the population is thinnest, and where it is most difficult to support life, and smallest where there is least want."

The disparity is greatest to-day in the Puttalam, Ratnapura, Mannar, and Mullaittivu Districts. In the case of three of these Districts the native population is scanty and poor, but in the Ratnapura District this is not generally the case; but here immigration from other Districts affects the figures. The explanation does not lie in the prosperity or the reverse of each District, though of course the birth and death-rates are considerably affected by the conditions of life in the District.

The birth-rate between 1901 and 1910 was 37·8 per 1,000 persons living; the rate for the previous decade was 34·4, which was 5 per 1,000 in excess of the rate for the decade 1881–1890 and 7 per 1,000 in excess of the rate for the decade 1871–1880.

The number of births between 1901 and 1910 inclusive was 1,459,618, of whom 747,718 were males and 711,900 were females, or an excess of 35,818 males, as compared with an excess of males of 38,167 in the previous decade, when 107 males were born to every 100 females, as compared with 105 males to every 100 females born between 1901 and 1910.

Assuming that no deaths had occurred during the period, the number of males at the end of 1910 would have been 2,643,930, and the number of females 2,381,642, or 9,008 females to every 10,000 males, while the actual proportion was 8,879 females to every 10,000 males.

Therefore, though the birth-rate for females has increased in the decade, the death-rate for males must have decreased or the death-rate for females increased during this period. The total number of deaths between 1901 and 1910 was 1,103,471, of whom 563,441 were males and 540,030 females, or an excess of 23,411 deaths of males. There were, however, 96 deaths of females to every 100 deaths of males, compared with 95 deaths of females to every 100 deaths of males between 1891 and 1900.

From these figures it would appear that while more males are born than females—the average for the decade being 105 males to 100 females—female births are increasing. On the other hand, the mortality amongst females has increased, and the proportion of deaths of women as compared with deaths of men is increasing. One more woman died to every 100 men during the decade. But these figures are for all age periods, and give no indication as to the proportion of

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* Davy's "Interior of Ceylon," pp. 106, 107.
† Pridham's "Ceylon," Vol. I., p. 451.

male or female children who survive, and it is the deaths of children born in the decade which will principally affect the proportions of the sexes in years to come.

There were 263,044 deaths of infants under one year during the period 1901–1910 inclusive—138,775 were male and 124,269 female children. In every 100 deaths of infants under one year 53 were males and 47 females. But in every 100 births during the same period 51 were males and 49 females.

The proportion of deaths of males in infancy (under one year) was therefore greater than that of the females. The proportion of deaths of infants to births was 180 per 1,000, the proportion of deaths of male infants to females was 112 to 100.

To ascertain the mortality in the subsequent age periods up to ten years, it is necessary to ascertain the number of deaths under one year in the first period 1901–1902, and the number of deaths under two years in the second period 1902–1903, and under three years in the period 1903–1904, and so on for each year up to the tenth year. The number of births during the period 1901–1910 being calculated as the number of births from July 1, 1900, to June 30, 1910, the deaths under one year in 1901 must include infants born in 1900, while the deaths of infants in 1910 include infants born after June 30, 1910; the figures are therefore approximate, as they leave out deaths of infants who may have been born between January 1 to June 30, 1900, and died between January 1 to June 30, 1901, and infants who were born between July 1 to December 31, 1910, and died between the same period. But these figures are likely to approximate, and the results may be taken as sufficiently accurate. We then find that out of the number of children born during the period (July 1, 1900, to June 30, 1910)—1,446,320—of whom 741,262 were male births and 705,058 female, 224,138 male and 221,641 female children died during the period, or 50·3 males and 49·7 females in every 100 deaths of children.

The largest proportion of both male and female deaths under 10 was in the year 1906, which was an unhealthy year throughout the Island.* The total number of deaths under 10 years of age between 1901 and 1910 was 535,880—267,097 males and 268,783 females—or an excess of 1,686 females. These deaths include a number of children born in the previous decade.

Table C showed the actual excess in numbers of males over females in each age period—there is no period at which the females outnumber the males. The excess is greatest between 30 and 40, where there are 74,228 more males than females—it is lowest—excepting 70 and over, where the totals are small—between 20 and 30, where there are only 16,365 more males. Taking the proportion per thousand persons in each age period we find the males in the largest majority in the age group 60–70, in the lowest between 20 and 30. Taking the proportion of each sex in each age group to the total number of persons of this sex, we find the largest proportion of males and females in the earliest age group, the lowest in the most aged. The proportions are comparatively higher for the females up to 30—after 30 the male proportions exceed the female—evidence of an increase of females in the earlier age groups with more male survivals in the later groups.

The following Table D shows the number of males in a thousand persons of each race by age periods for each Census from 1881–1911. Figures can only be given for Ceylon and Indian Tamils and Moors for

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* *Vide* p. 138, *supra*.

Percentage of Sexes
CEYLON

1911, and for Low-country Sinhalese and Kandyan Sinhalese for 1901 and 1911, as at previous Censuses no distinction was made :—

Table D.—Number of Males in a Thousand Persons of each Race, by Age Periods, for each Census 1881–1911.

Race.	Year.	All Ages.	0–10.	10–20.	20–30.	30–40.	40–50.	50–60.	60 and over.
All Races	1881	532	524	505	519	573	528	624	610
	1891	530	523	502	514	570	528	602	614
	1901	532	519	509	522	574	535	608	601
	1911	530	513	526	511	566	557	536	568
Europeans	1881	658	514	533	718	727	742	764	623
	1891	637	530	553	661	676	722	688	629
	1901	611	514	493	635	645	707	662	630
	1911	612	465	464	671	624	659	672	601
Burghers and Eurasians ..	1881	499	504	493	474	508	502	554	496
	1891	496	505	483	463	527	490	532	515
	1901	497	503	479	479	529	523	519	484
	1911	500	508	498	457	521	538	524	497
Sinhalese	1881	521	526	494	485	543	504	625	611
	1891	521	527	487	494	547	505	602	618
	1901	522	522	492	506	554	511	607	600
	1911	523	515	518	497	551	548	524	567
Low-country Sinhalese ..	1901	521	522	497	502	547	507	597	589
	1911	521	526	513	498	547	542	516	631
Kandyan Sinhalese ..	1901	525	523	484	512	565	519	625	624
	1911	527	513	526	496	558	558	540	583
Tamils	1881	554	509	525	574	631	576	594	584
	1891	547	507	534	549	611	579	583	587
	1901	547	504	541	543	603	578	596	588
	1911	538	502	539	521	584	570	558	564
Ceylon Tamils	1911	509	505	514	479	538	517	506	524
Indian Tamils	1911	568	499	564	546	617	626	636	666
Moors	1881	562	541	537	551	598	593	683	673
	1891	554	534	527	549	595	527	659	645
	1901	556	529	526	561	609	585	657	645
	1911	557	516	554	562	608	582	576	596
Ceylon Moors	1911	522	512	512	506	559	539	535	556
Indian Moors	1911	803	591	834	840	840	810	781	815
Malays	1881	533	520	480	483	566	582	707	695
	1891	531	518	496	485	556	586	667	683
	1901	539	510	492	556	585	550	694	674
	1911	524	473	488	530	602	602	606	592
Veddas	1881	528	548	431	508	600	538	647	604
	1891	531	547	464	494	595	501	756	1000
	1901	511	507	445	497	562	617	552	660
	1911	524	512	530	451	583	593	566	605
Others	1881	642	503	538	690	747	744	796	747
	1891	648	502	624	656	743	745	811	814
	1901	722	535	721	812	775	741	757	789
	1911	742	463	703	812	807	770	741	804

Taking the *Sinhalese* in 1911, we find that the males are in a majority in every period except 20–30, where there are 503 females to 497 males. In the West there would be an explanation available that this was due to women over 30 giving their ages as under 30 ; in the East there is not this temptation, where women marry very young. But the ages given by native women between 18 and 40 are even less reliable—owing rather to ignorance than knowledge—than those given by their Western sisters. This same period is one in which females also predominate amongst the Burghers, Ceylon Tamils, and Veddas, and the proportion of females has been high in this period at all four Censuses ; it was lowest at the Census of 1901.

Men are in a higher proportion at the period 60 and over, which would point to a higher rate of longevity amongst males than amongst females, and with the exception of the Burghers, the males of every race are in a majority of over 125 in every 1,000 persons over 60.

Comparing the figures for the Sinhalese for each age period with those for the previous Censuses, there is a decrease in the number of males under 10, pointing either to a higher female birth-rate or to a higher infantile mortality amongst male infants (*vide* remarks above). The next age period (10–20) shows a marked increase in the number of males—26 more in every thousand. At the Censuses of 1891 and 1901 males were in a minority at this period (487 and 492 per thousand), but now they are in a majority; the decrease in females at this period is found principally amongst the Kandyan Sinhalese—in 1901 there were 484 Kandyan males to 516 females between 10 and 20; in 1911 there were 526 males to 474 females in the age period; amongst the Low-country Sinhalese the change was from proportions of 497 males to 503 females to 513 males to 487 females.

In 1901 the married women between 10–20 amongst the Kandyans formed 21·3 per cent. of the total number of married Kandyan women; amongst the Low-country Sinhalese 14·6; in 1911 8·9 per cent. of the Kandyan and 5·1 per cent. of the Low-country Sinhalese married women are found in this age period. The proportion of young married Kandyan women is therefore higher than amongst the Low-country Sinhalese.

In order to find an explanation for so large a variation, these figures must be taken with the change in the next age period (20–30), where *male* majorities of 4 and 24 in every 1,000 amongst the Low-country Sinhalese and Kandyans have been converted into *female* majorities of 4 and 8 respectively.

It is probable that the ages of the women have been given more correctly at this Census. Similarly, there is considerable variation between 40 and 60 between the 1901 and 1911 figures, probably due to the same reason.

In every other age period except 20–30 Sinhalese males are largely in excess, though there is a considerable decrease from 607 in every 1,000 in 1901 to 524 in 1911 in the number of males between 50 and 60; and in the next period 60 and over, though males are found in the largest proportion for any period, their number has decreased from 600 to 567 in every 1,000, which would appear to show that Sinhalese women are living to a greater age.

Amongst the *Tamils* the period in which the males are found in the smallest proportion is the same for each of the four Censuses, viz., 0–10. At this Census 502 males to 498 females. Amongst the Indian Tamils there were 499 males under 10 to 501 females, amongst the Ceylon Tamils 505 males to 495 females. Amongst all races the births amongst Tamils show the largest proportion of females to males.

It is of interest to compare the number of males to females in the age period 0–10 for Indian Tamils enumerated in Ceylon, and the proportions for the same age period for Hindus enumerated in India in the districts from which the estate labour in Ceylon chiefly comes.

Taking the five districts from which came the largest number of persons born in India and enumerated in Ceylon, we find amongst the Hindu population of these districts in the age period 0–10 a majority of females in each case.

In the Tinnevelly District the number of females in a thousand persons amongst Hindus for the age period 0–10 was 504; in the

Trichinopoly District 507 ; in the Madura District 509 ; in the Salem District 510 ; in the Tanjore District 513.

The figures both for the Hindus in these districts and for the Indian Tamils in Ceylon *for this age period* are unlikely to be affected by migration, for the estate labourer who brings his wife over with him brings also his family, irrespective of sex.

The Indian Tamil women show a higher proportion of workers than any other race in Ceylon. 77 per cent. of the Indian Tamil females earn their own living, being a proportion four times greater than amongst the women of any Ceylon race. This percentage, too, is probably below the mark, as a large number who supplement their husband's earnings by working themselves were no doubt entered as dependent upon their husbands.

These women are chiefly found working on the estates and on the roads, where many of them are stone breakers. They certainly do more and harder work than any other class of women in Ceylon, and they appear, as a rule, exceptionally strong and healthy. It is a matter for the sex theorist to conjecture how far the fact that they appear both in Ceylon and in their own country to give birth to more female than male children may be due to their physical strength or to the nature of their occupations.

Their Ceylon sisters, the Ceylon Tamil women—only 15 per cent. of whom earn a living—show a higher male birth-rate than female birth-rate.

In all the other age periods amongst the Tamils the males are in a majority of 40 or more in every thousand Tamils, due principally to the Indian element, the largest proportion being 584 males to 416 females in the age period 30–40, the period in which the males were in the largest majority at each Census. There is a decrease in the excess of males in every age period, especially between 20–40 and 50–60, as compared with the last Census, due to the comparative decrease in the estate population.

The proportion of males to females for all ages amongst the Ceylon Tamils is 509 to 491, amongst the Indian Tamils 568 to 432 ; and the excess of Indian Tamil men over Indian Tamil women is in every age period above ten years more than a hundred in excess of the majority of Ceylon Tamil men over Ceylon Tamil women.

It is only the inclusion of the Indian Tamils which gives a male Tamil majority in the age period 20–30 ; among the Ceylon Tamils the females are in a majority in the period—521 women to 479 men. The migration of Jaffnese probably explains the excess of women in this period.

The Moors, including Ceylon and Indian Moors, show a higher proportion of males in every age period, the smallest majority (32) being in the first period 0–10, the largest in the 30–40 age period (216). The immigrants as amongst the Tamils account largely for the predominance of males.

At previous Censuses the males have had their smallest majorities in the period 10–20, but there has been an increase of 28 males per 1,000 in this age period at this Census, which appears to be due to a decrease in female Moor immigrants. The proportion for Ceylon Moors between 10–20 are 512 males to 488 females, for Indian Moors 834 males to 166 females.

A cause which would naturally be suggested is an increased number of deaths amongst women in childbirth ; but this does not appear to be the case (*vide* figures *infra*), while the fact that at this period at previous Censuses women have shown a higher proportion than at any

other age period, and early marriages and unskilled midwifery are not on the increase, would also seem to negative this suggestion. This is the period at which the males start work, and it is possible that improved conditions may have rendered their work less trying while they are physically better fitted to cope with it.

The Ceylon Moors show a higher proportion of females in the period 20–30 than in any other period—494 females to 506 males. Except in the first period (0–10), where there are 409 females to 591 males, the Indian Moors have a male majority of over 7 to 2 in each age period. Between 10 and 50 there is only 1 Indian Moor woman to every 4 Indian Moor men—evidence that the figures for *Indian* Moors are correct, as these Moormen in Ceylon are usually itinerant traders, who leave their families in India.

Males are in a majority in each age period except 0–20 amongst the *Malays*, though for all ages the women show a gain of 15 per 1,000. This is the first Census at which there has been a majority of females—527 to 473 males—in the age period 0–10 (*vide supra*, pp. 301, 302).

From 30 onward the males are in a majority of 3 to 2, and have been so since 1881, from which it would appear that Malay women are short-lived as compared with the men, the number of male and female births being nearly equal, and the death-rate amongst the males in the earlier period being higher than amongst the females.

The males amongst the so-called *Veddas* are in a majority in every age period except that between 20–30, and the women, as one might expect amongst a jungle people, are in the proportion of 2 to every 3 men for each period over 30.

In "*Other*" races the males are in majorities of 2, 3, and 4 to 1 in each age period except the first—in which the females are in the proportion of 537 to 463 males, due to a large majority of female children at the ages of 1–2 and 3–4.

The following Table E shows the actual number of registered births and deaths for each sex during the decades 1891–1900 and 1901–1910 :—

Table E.—Births and Deaths, 1891–1910.

Year.	Births. Males.	Births. Females.	Deaths. Males.	Deaths. Females.
1891	50,141	46,252	44,658	41,985
1892	48,718	44,515	44,337	40,600
1893	50,731	47,069	47,756	44,666
1894	54,151	50,150	45,088	42,696
1895	52,577	48,903	45,421	42,880
1896	53,753	50,101	42,110	39,788
1897	64,413	60,606	40,306	38,232
1898	67,645	63,975	46,149	44,107
1899	67,923	64,267	52,905	52,078
1900	70,002	66,049	51,086	49,787
Total 1891–1900	580,054	541,887	459,816	436,819
1901	68,888	65,364	50,977	47,836
1902	72,928	68,965	50,901	48,779
1903	76,046	71,981	48,915	47,169
1904	74,627	70,626	47,397	46,543
1905	77,041	73,744	54,936	53,224
1906	72,639	69,208	69,808	66,463
1907	66,812	63,591	61,826	57.551
1908	82,289	78,424	59,968	58,014
1909	75,912	72,979	62,661	60.308
1910	80,536	77,018	56,052	54.143
Total 1901–1910	747,718	711,900	563,441	540.030

The number of males (excluding Military and Shipping) has increased since the last Census by 14·7 per cent., the number of male births registered has increased by 28·9 per cent., and the number of registered male deaths by 22·5 per cent.

The number of females has increased since the last Census by 15·6 per cent., the number of registered female births has increased by 31·3 per cent., and the number of registered female deaths by 23·6 per cent. These figures confirm the Census figures which have been discussed above. They point to an increase in the proportion of females during the decade, an increase in the number of female births, which would have shown a still larger proportion of females to males had it not been for an excess of deaths of females, the mortality amongst whom was slightly greater than that amongst the males. The Registrar-General in his report on the Vital Statistics for 1910 says: "The average proportion of male deaths to female deaths for the period 1898–1909 was 1,040 to 1,000. These proportions are derived from unequal numbers of males and females living, for there is an excess of males in the population. Had the population comprised an equal number of males and females, the average proportion in the twelve years 1898–1909 would have been 908 male to every 1,000 female deaths."

The following Tables F and G show the yearly average of deaths registered and the average annual rate of mortality per 1,000 living at different ages for the period 1898–1909:—

Table F.—Average Number of Deaths registered at different Age Periods, 1898–1909.

Age.	Average, 1898–1909. Persons.	Males.	Females.
All ages	107,449	54,793	52,656
Under 5 years	45,223	22,649	22,574
5 years and under 10	7,333	3,538	3,795
10 do. 15	4,009	2,132	1,877
15 do. 20	3,487	1,857	1,630
20 do. 25	4,567	1,994	2,573
25 do. 35	10,102	4,551	5,551
35 do. 45	8,247	4,543	3,704
45 do. 55	6,975	4,027	2,948
55 years and upwards	17,444	9,468	7,976

Table G.—Average Annual Rate of Mortality per 1,000 Living at different Ages, 1898–1909.

Age.	Average, 1898–1909. Total.	Males.	Females.
All Ages	28·6	27·5	30·0
Under 5 years	67·4	65·6	69·2
5 years and under 10	13·8	12·7	15·0
10 do. 15	10·5	10·1	11·0
15 do. 20	8·6	9·8	7·5
20 do. 25	12·2	10·3	14·1
25 do. 35	16·9	13·7	20·8
35 do. 45	22·7	22·2	23·5
45 do. 55	31·9	34·5	28·7
55 years and upwards	81·3	75·5	97·7

The proportion of female deaths to male deaths is higher in every period except those between 15 and 20 and 45 and 55, where there is a larger number of deaths amongst the males. The disproportion is greatest between the periods under 5 years, 20 to 35, and 55 years and upwards, but except in the last period it is not considerable.

It is significant that for the period 15–20 the women should show a greater vitality than the men, and between 1881–1890 and 1891–1900 the mortality amongst the males was greater between these ages. The mortality for both males and females is lower between 15–20 than at any other age period. It is at this period that a higher female death-rate on account of early marriage, mortality at parturition, and from unskilled midwifery might have been expected.

In England "as a class females live longer than males, the death-rate among the males being uniformly higher than among females, except at the ages between 10 and 20. Both death-rates, however, are decreasing owing to the great saving of life in the earlier years of age."

The following Statement H shows for the Sinhalese, the Ceylon Tamils, and the Ceylon Moors the proportion of males and females in the age period 10–15, the number of married females between 10–15, and their proportion to the total number of married females :—

Table H.—The Proportion of Males and Females in the Age Period 10–15, the Number of Married Females between the Ages of 10 and 15, and their Proportion to the Total Number of Married Females amongst the Sinhalese and the Ceylon Tamils and Moors.

Province.	Proportion per 1,000 of Males and Females 10–15.					
	Sinhalese.		Ceylon Tamils.		Ceylon Moors.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
CEYLON	**533·4**	**466·6**	**530·2**	**469·8**	**547·8**	**452·2**
Western	522·2	477·8	571·0	429·0	548·9	451·1
Central	532·5	467·5	464·1	535·9	546·8	453·2
Northern	551·2	448·8	518·0	482·0	553·3	446·7
Southern	539·0	461·0	690·4	309·6	535·1	464·9
Eastern	629·1	370·9	557·2	442·8	520·0	480·0
North-Western	538·3	461·7	568·1	431·9	581·4	418·6
North-Central	547·5	452·5	614·9	385·1	630·9	369·1
Uva..	549·3	450·7	634·4	365·6	580·6	419·4
Sabaragamuwa	539·8	460·2	545·5	454·5	583·2	416·8

	Married Females 10–15.			Proportion of Married Females 10–15 to 1,000 Married Females.		
	Sinhalese.	Ceylon Tamils.	Ceylon Moors.	Sinhalese.	Ceylon Tamils.	Ceylon Moors.
CEYLON	**981**	**771**	**2,108**	**2·4**	**7·7**	**47·7**
Western	38	21	123	·3	4·5	13·2
Central	313	24	183	5·7	11·3	31·8
Northern	1	246	72	2·8	3·5	28·3
Southern	21	1	24	·2	7·1	6·5
Eastern	7	426	1,323	6·9	22·4	101·3
North-Western	211	21	230	3·7	9·2	44·3
North-Central	41	12	78	3·5	13·5	42·1
Uva..	257	2	36	12·2	4·9	38·0
Sabaragamuwa	92	18	39	2·1	40·3	21·4

It will be seen that with the single exception of the Ceylon Tamils in the Central Province (who only number just under 1,500), there is a higher proportion of males than females in every case in this age period.

Even in England the proportion of females at the age when puberty is reached falls slightly below par, and if this is so in a European country, one would expect a much heavier fall in an Eastern country, where the maladies due to functional derangement consequent on the attainment of puberty are greatly intensified by premature cohabitation and parturition.

At the Census of India in 1901 there was an extraordinary deficit of females between 10–15, the proportion being 795 females to 1,000 males. It seems unlikely that the comparatively high proportion of females in Ceylon, viz., 868 females to 1,000 males, can be due to mis-statement of age, for the tendency in the case of the young married women would be all the other way—to exaggerate their ages and so reduce the number of females in this age period.

It would appear that the health of girls in Ceylon at this period is generally good, and is improving, probably due to the decrease in early marriages. With the exception of the married women amongst the Ceylon Moors in the Eastern Province—1 in 10 of whom is married under 15—the proportion of married women under 15 is very small.

The fewer the marriages of girls under 15, the lower the mortality amongst women at all ages above 12 is likely to be, and deaths at parturition are likely to decrease. Such is in fact the case.

The average number of deaths of women at parturition to 1,000 births was 14·4 for the period 1901–1910, as compared with an average of 18·8 for the period 1891–1900.

The following Table I shows the average yearly number of deaths of women at parturition according to race for the periods 1891–1900 and 1901–1910 :—

Table I.—Average Number of Deaths of Women at Parturition, 1891-1910.

	Yearly Average Number of Deaths of Women at Parturition.		Yearly Average Number to 1,000 Births.	
	1891–1900.	1901–1910.	1891–1900.	1901–1910.
All Races	2,106	2,107	18·8	14·5
Burghers	8	6	17·5	8·3
Sinhalese	1,638	1,645	20·5	15·9
Tamils	298	322	12·8	10·2
Moors	152	125	18·8	13·3
Malays	8	6	32·4	14·6
Others	2	3	16·7	12·9

These figures show a remarkable all-round improvement. One woman died to every 69 children born alive, compared with 1 death to every 53 children born alive in the previous decade. The improvement is probably more marked than would appear from these figures, as every year there is improvement in correct registration of deaths, and the causes of death are much more accurately given.

Puerperal mortality has always been high in the Mannar District,* which has the heaviest infantile mortality in the Island, chiefly due to the number of deaths of women in childbirth, which is further given as one of the principal reasons for the decline in population in this District. The usual age at which a girl is married in the Mannar District is between 15 and 20 ; the total number of married women between these ages in the Mannar District at the Census was 793, or 18 per cent. of

* *Vide* pp. 73, 74, *supra.*

the total female married population ; the percentage of married women at this age period to the total number of married women for the Island is 8 per cent.

The number of deaths of women between the ages of 15 and 20 in the Mannar District between 1901–1910 was 248, or 5 per cent. of the total number of deaths of females in this District for the decade. The proportion for the Island is 3 per cent.

The number of deaths from puerperal fever and diseases of parturition during the period 1901–1910 was 371. or 15 per cent. of the total number of female deaths in this District during this period, excluding deaths of females under 10 years. That is to say, every year rather more than 1 woman in 7 who dies in the Mannar District dies from puerperal fever or diseases of parturition. It is probable, too, that a larger number of these women are under 20 than are actually shown as such, as the tendency always is to exaggerate the age of married women when their deaths are registered.

The number of deaths from " want of breast milk " between 1908–1910 in the Mannar District was 236, or nearly 1 in 4 of the infantile deaths (under 1 year) in the Mannar District during these three years. To the weakness of the mothers is largely due the very high infantile mortality of this District. The average for the period 1901–1910 was 356 deaths under 1 year to 1,000 registered births.

This District has been specially selected as showing the high rates of puerperal and infantile mortality among women at this age period under the worst conditions. In the Island generally there has been a marked improvement, but much has still to be done to educate the people to accept modern treatment in maternity cases, and to induce the native midwives to use improved methods.

Good work has been done in the training of midwives at the De Soysa Lying-in Home in Colombo, while a few native midwives have been given a free training and maintained at this hospital. The McLeod Hospital at Inuvil, near Jaffna, has also done excellent work.

The number of maternity cases treated at the De Soysa Lying-in Home and other maternity hospitals in Ceylon, for which figures are available, has increased from 500 in 1901 to nearly 1,300 in 1910. The number of pupil midwives trained at Government institutions has increased from 9 in 1901 to 21 in 1909 and 1910.

There is a curious superstition still prevalent in many parts of Ceylon that if a woman dies in childbirth, and the body of the child in the womb is not removed, she will return as a spirit called the *Bódilimá* (බෝදිලිමා), *Bódirimá*, or *Bódiliyá*. The child is therefore removed from the womb and buried separately, or, as is usually done amongst the Tamils, the child is taken out by a barber woman and the body of the mother is cremated. The belief that the child should be removed from the womb to avoid the return of the spirit of the mother is found amongst both Sinhalese and Tamils, but, like many other superstitions at the present day, is rapidly disappearing. To avert the return of the woman's spirit the dead body is sometimes brushed over three times from head to foot with a betel leaf, which is then cut into two, and the two pieces placed on each side of the body. Fringes of thread may be thrown into the coffin, or a lock of hair removed from the dead woman, when incantations and spells are woven over it, and it is worn by the husband or some near relative of the woman as a charm.

The *Bódilimá* is believed to be a sort of Banshee of malevolent aspect and conduct. Sinhalese mothers still frighten their children with the threat *Bódilimá enawá* (බෝදිලිමා එනවා)—the Bódilimá is coming.

The spirit of the dead woman is said to return in the form of a "repulsively ugly pot-bellied woman," the shape of whose figure is said to be like a *karakgediya* (the conical shaped wicker basket used for catching fish in low water). Long drawn out shrieks and lamentations are uttered by this spirit; it will attack men, seizing them round the throat. Its malevolence is said to be directed only against males, and when its cry is heard the men keep indoors and the women go out with brooms and abuse the demon and endeavour to frighten her away.

It is believed that if a new earthen lamp filled with coconut oil specially prepared is lighted and placed on an altar (*mal-pela*, මල්පැල) made of sticks and ornamented with flowers with a betel leaf of a virgin creeper in a spot in the corner of the garden removed from the house, the Bódilimá will go to the lamp, take the betel leaf, and after rubbing it with oil and warming it over the lamp, will smear it on her belly and cease her lamentations.

If the Bódilimá be fired at, on the following morning the dead body of a hooded giant chameleon, it is said, will be found on the spot; by some a green lizard is said to be the form which the body takes, and the sound believed to be made by the Bódilimá is explained as caused by a lizard caught by a snake. There is a very general belief in the Sinhalese villages in the Bódilimá, and its cries are said to be frequently heard.

In some parts of Ceylon amongst the Tamils the body of a pregnant woman is cremated without any rites being observed, an image being substituted, over which the religious rites are celebrated. Sometimes a purificatory ceremony is performed over the body, in addition to the ordinary religious forms. Amongst the Moors in some districts a coffin is used if a woman die in pregnancy or after childbirth; two purificatory ceremonies are performed over the body, the usual one after childbirth and one for the dead.

The general conclusions at which we can arrive from a study of the figures given above are—

(1) The female birth-rate is increasing, every year more girls are being born. It is not proposed to select any one of the very numerous theories on the subject of causation of sex in explanation, but it is possible that improved conditions of living and a higher standard of comfort may generally be associated with an increase in the female birth-rate. Such appears to be the case amongst the nations of the West.

(2) The death-rate amongst females, though still higher than amongst males, shows signs of declining, and every year is likely to decrease. The conditions of life amongst the very large proportion of the inhabitants of Ceylon are as favourable to female as to male life. We have seen that influences which in India are so detrimental to the life of the female child and young woman are practically absent in Ceylon. Infant marriage, where it is found, is on the decrease. Deaths in childbirth are diminishing in number. Women are now generally as well treated medically as men. The prejudices against allowing females to be treated at hospitals and dispensaries are fast dying out.

(3) The enormous strides in female education and the large number of new occupations now open to women in the East have all tended to improve the position of women and to render daughters less of a burden on the family. To mention only a few of the occupations now followed by women, in which their participation was unknown until quite recent years :— School teachers—the Training College sends out an increasingly large number of trained female teachers every year,

and there is a considerable demand for this course—typists, telephone operators, and seamstresses. The sewing machine even in the village has afforded a living to many women.*

The tendencies then are all in favour of the equalization of the sexes, and possibly as civilization progresses similar conditions to those in the West may prevail, and the females may then outnumber the males.

Four persons gave their sex as hermaphrodites at the Census ; and medical examination, which they all consented to, confirmed the description given. They were enumerated respectively in the Kurunegala, Kalutara, Galle, and Hambantota Districts. Two of these persons dressed as females and two as males. The Director of the Clinic of Tropical Medicine, to whom the medical reports on these cases were submitted, states that in his opinion the number is not exceptionally large for the population, and that as far as he is aware sexual malformation is not on the increase.

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* *Vide* pp. 172, 173, *supra*.

CHAPTER XII.

CIVIL CONDITION.

Definition—Number of married, unmarried, widowed — Universality of Marriage—Mother-in-law—Puberty ceremonies—Polygamy—Polyandry —Terms of Relationship—Cousin-marriage—Preliminary arrangements for a Marriage—Wedding Ceremonies amongst the Sinhalese—amongst the Tamils—amongst the Moors—Divorces—Re-marriage of Widows—Comparisons with India—Infant Marriage—Comparison between 1901 and 1911—Proportion of single, married, and widowed—by Provinces—by Race and Sex—Mixed Marriages—Proportion of Married and Single over fifteen years of age—Civil Condition by age and race—The widowed in Ceylon—in India—Ages at Marriage—Married and single in town of Colombo—Proportion of married females to a thousand married males—Registration of Marriages—Wedding expenses.

Civil condition means the condition of being unmarried, married, widowed, or divorced. This is the first Census held in Ceylon at which it has been possible to compare the statistics of civil condition with the figures for a previous Census.

Such vagueness existed as to what was meant by the marriage state in Ceylon that it was decided not to obtain any information on this subject at the Censuses of 1881 and 1891, and although information was collected in 1871, it was considered so untrustworthy that no tables were prepared.

It has been held by the Supreme Court of Ceylon, and ratified by the Privy Council, that in Ceylon cohabitation and repute raise a sufficient presumption of the marriage relation. Enumerators were carefully instructed to accept whatever statements were made to them by persons as to whether they were married or not.

The results may be accepted as a close approximation to the actual facts, but it is probable that, at this Census, the tendency on the part of the enumerators has been to enter persons living together whose marriage has not been registered as unmarried; while at the 1901 Census, being the first at which information on this subject was obtained, enumerators probably entered such persons as married. Allowance must be made for the considerable change in public opinion which is undoubtedly taking place in the country in regard to what may be termed the outward observances of the obligations of civilization. As has been pointed out in dealing with changes in Manners and Customs, it is the tendency for the poorer classes to imitate the customs of their wealthier neighbours, especially where the latter are of the same caste, religion, and race. The spread of civilization has undoubtedly influenced public opinion very largely on the subject of marriage, and the distinction between a wife and a mistress, which it would have been difficult to explain in many parts of the country not so very many years ago, is now widely realized. Consequently registration of marriages has largely increased*—counterbalancing to some extent the advanced opinions of the ordinary enumerator.

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* *Vide* p. 353, *infra*.

For all practical purposes then the figures for 1911 can be usefully compared with those for 1901, and can be accepted as generally correct for the Island.

In 1911 amongst males over 15 the percentage of married was 54, of unmarried 41, of widowed 5. Amongst females over the age of 15 60 per cent. were married, 22 per cent. unmarried, and 18 per cent. widows.

It is evident from these figures that the married state is the natural condition, and that the unmarried are in a large minority. If we take the figures for females and males over 20, we find the proportion of married, especially in the case of the males, still larger.

Of the males over 20 years of age in 1911, 62 per cent. were married, 32 per cent. unmarried, and 6 per cent. widowers. Of the females over 20, the married comprise 65 per cent., unmarried 14, and widows 21. These figures further prove that, according to Western ideas, marriages take place at a very early age.

In accordance with the universal custom in the East, the marriage of the daughters of the house is considered a sacred duty, which should be performed as soon as possible. In considering the subject of sex, the importance attached to the continuance of the family and the birth of a male child has been shown. Similar importance is attached to the marriage of the girls of the family.

" *She who marries will do well, whether her husband be old or poor ;*"* " *After ten years of age a girl should be affianced, even if to a Pariah ;*"† " *She who has no husband is like sand in the bed of a river,*"‡ are some of the numerous sayings on this subject, while there are as many proverbs on the necessity for a married state for a man.

" *It is said that a man who has no wife has one timba* (*four measures*) *of ví* (*unhusked rice*) *; the timba gives him one neliya of hál* (*husked rice*) *; this neliya of hál gives him one nėmbiliya of bat* (*boiled rice*), *which gives him one mouthful.*§ This proverb is intended to show the domestic value of a wife ; the bachelor is robbed by every one.

" *A shrine without fame and wealth without a child are useless.*" ¶

" *A house without an infant is not a house, nor is a curry without sirakam* (*cummin*) *a curry.*" ||

The East appears to regard the mother-in-law from much the same point of view as the comic press of the West.

" *However cruel a mother-in-law may be, she is nevertheless desirable,*"** say the Tamils, who have many proverbs anything but flattering to the mother-in-law.

" *Will my troubles never cease, will my sorrows never end, will my mother-in-law never die ?* "††

" *It is said that six months after the death of the mother-in-law a tear came into the eye of the daughter-in-law.*"‡‡

" *Though a mother-in-law may be reconciled, the broken pieces of an earthen pot cannot be put together again.*"§§

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* கிழவனானாலுங் கெட்டையானாலுங் கட்டிக்கொண்டவள் பிழைப்பாள்.

† பத்துக்குமேலே ஒரு பறையனுக்குந் தள்ளவேண்டும்.

‡ ஆனன் இல்லாதவள் ஆற்று மணலுக்குச்சரி.

§ අඹු නැති මිනිහාගෙ වී තිඹට හාල් නැළියයි, හාල් නැළියට බත් නැඹිලියයි, බත් නැඹිලිය කටකාට බත් කැටයයි.

|| சிறு குழந்தையில்லாத வீடும் வீடல்ல, சீரக மிட்டாக்காத கறியுங் கறியல்ல.

¶ பேரிலாச் சந்நிதி பாழ், பிள்ளையில்லாச் செல்வம் பாழ்.

** கொடும்பாவியானாலும் கொண்ட மாமியார் வேண்டும்.

†† மாமியாருஞ் சாகாளோ மனக்கவலையுந் தீராதோ.

‡‡ மாமியார் செத்த ஆறுமாதம் மருமகள் கண்ணிலே கண்ணீர் வந்ததாம்.

§§ மாமி ஒட்டினாலும் பானை ஒட்டாது.

"*If broken by the mother-in-law it is an earthen vessel, if by the daughter-in-law it is a golden vessel.*" *

The importance which is from the first attached to the marriage of a girl is shown in the elaborate ceremonies performed on her attaining puberty. These observances were formerly regarded as of the first importance, and were as elaborately conducted as the wedding ceremonies. The self-consciousness of a more "civilized" generation denies that the ceremonies are now performed, or only admits that they are performed without public display. In the interior villages, however, these puberty ceremonies generally take place. Differing as they do in most parts of the country, it is difficult to describe a ceremony which fulfils all the conditions, but the following account may be accepted as containing the essential features of the ceremony amongst the Sinhalese.

The hour at which a girl attains puberty is called the *kili-nekata*, and is regarded as even more important than the hour of her birth for the prediction of the future events of her life. A soothsayer is at once consulted, and the performance of the subsequent ceremonies is regulated by his advice. Should a girl attain puberty on an inauspicious day or unlucky hour, ceremonies to avert the evil results are performed, which chiefly consist in giving alms and propitiatory offerings.

As soon as the signs of puberty are discovered, the girl is at once kept in seclusion, formerly in an outhouse, but now usually in a separate room. A younger girl companion usually stays with her, and an unused earthen pot filled with paddy with a coconut flower placed on it is kept in the same room. Care is taken that she should eat no food in which a devil might be concealed.

The period of seclusion usually lasts from three to five days, and depends upon the hour and day selected by the astrologer as a fortunate time for the girl to be removed and the ceremonies to take place. These ceremonies are usually performed in a separate enclosure.

The *dhoby* (washer) woman plays the principal part in the function. It is she who conducts the girl from her place of temporary exile, taking care that she shall be seen by no male, nor see anything which might be regarded as ill-omened. The girl is then divested of all her clothes, jewels, and anything which she wore at the time she attained puberty. If she disrobes herself, she must take care in order to avoid contamination not to use all her fingers. The clothes, ornaments, &c., are then placed in a pot with a hair from the girl's head as a sign that she has entered on a fresh stage of life. These articles belong to the dhoby woman.

The girl is then bathed either by an aunt or female relation (great care being taken that only married women with husband and children alive should be present), or by the dhoby woman. The contents of seven pots of water are poured over the girl, the pot used is then thrown over her head and broken on the ground as evidence that a stage in her life has been passed.

The girl is then dressed in new clothes bought for the occasion, and is led to a room inside the house, where she is received by her women friends. Various ceremonies take place. Great importance is attached to the objects which the girl first sees after her purification; she is usually shown a coconut tree in bearing, or is made to step on a heap of paddy, both being connected with the idea of fruitfulness and the impregnation of the woman. A new broom, an iron rod, coconut flowers, are all considered lucky objects.

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* மாமியார் உடைத்தால் மட்கலம் மருமகள் உடைத்தாற் பொற்கலம்.

It is also believed that the first child born will bear a likeness to the first person seen by a woman after this purification ceremony.

In some places a collection of articles, all associated with good luck, is laid out before the girl. This collection is called *kotahaluwa* (කොටහළුව) and consists of a basketful of cooked rice of seven seers, with curries, seven pieces of fried fish, seven lumps of milk-rice, seven plantains, seven coconuts, seven rice cakes, seven kuruni measures of paddy usually in seven earthenware chatties. The girl is supposed to receive these articles which are placed before her and then to renounce them; she should wipe her cheeks with both hands at the same time while looking at the collection—as an act of renunciation. The girl is often required to extinguish by clapping her hands the flame of seven wicks lighted in a bunch and placed in a coconut oil lamp.

The various articles laid out on this occasion differ according to the age of the girl and the day and hour on which she attained puberty. A *watti* (වට්ටි, basket) containing milk-rice of six seers of rice is sometimes passed round the girl's head three times and then given to the dhoby woman. The dhoby gets, in addition to the discarded clothing and jewellery, all the various offerings and articles used at these ceremonies. Flowers of different colours are sometimes displayed. For those attaining puberty on a Sunday, the flowers should be red; yellow for Tuesday; blue for Wednesday; dark colours for Saturday. Monday, Thursday, and Friday are considered particularly auspicious days, which it is unnecessary to mark by any special kind of flower.

The girl, after the lucky offerings have been made to her, should serve all her friends, offering them betel on a brass stand, and they in turn give her presents. The *rabana* or drum is beaten, and there is general rejoicing. Invocations are usually chanted—sometimes by the dhoby, who recites blessings known as *kotahalu santiya* (කොටහළු සන්තිය), short rhythmical songs interluded with *ayu-bowan* (ආයුබෝවන්), or may you live long !—a refrain which is taken up by all present.

So much importance is attached to the ceremonies to be observed on this occasion that there is a Sinhalese work entitled "*Malwara Patalaya*" (මල්වර පතලය) entirely devoted to the subject.

It is considered unlucky that a younger daughter should attain puberty before her elder sister, and should this happen she should be given in marriage first.

The ceremonies performed by the Tamils on this occasion are very similar, the only difference in some Tamil districts being that the girl is always kept secluded for at least five days.

While the girl is bathed all present should sing loudly to drown the sound of a lizard's cry or a sneeze or any noise which might betoken misfortune. After the bath the girl is dressed as for her wedding, and is brought before a lamp and a *nirai-kudam* (*nirai*—full, *kudam*—pot), the accompaniments of all auspicious ceremonies amongst the Tamils.

The *nirai-kudam* is usually a brass pot filled with water, over the mouth of which five mango leaves and a coconut are placed to cover the mouth. The pot is placed on a plantain leaf on which paddy is scattered.

The girl takes her position before the lamp and the *nirai-kudam* with two of her closest relations (not being widows) on either side; two other women (who should be the mothers of several sons) advance and perform the *álátti* ceremony* while music is played.

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* *Vide* p. 236, footnote.

Similar ceremonies are observed amongst the Moors. A Moor girl, after the bathing is over, is escorted to a room where she should see a lamp which has been lit—an old-fashioned brass lamp is generally used—placed on a table, round which are set out dishes containing rice and sweetmeats, which are afterwards distributed to the poor. For the following seven days the girl puts on special dresses, and is visited by her female relations, who bring her presents.

The age at which puberty is first reached is usually between twelve and fifteen. It is not remarkable, where so great an importance is attached to the ceremonies in connection with a girl attaining puberty, that the next step should be to arrange a marriage for her.

Polygamy and polyandry both prevailed at any rate amongst the Kandyans. But polygamy seems always to have been exceptional, and the feeling of the Sinhalese in regard to plurality of wives is very strongly adverse. The extent to which polygamy was sanctioned is shown in the reply given to the question, "Is bigamy permitted amongst the Cingalese ?" in the interlocutories quoted by Bertolacci.*

The answer to the question is, "It is, and it is not. When a man, possessed of an hereditary estate, consisting of fields, gardens, money, and grain, has had no children by his wife ; if she be a woman of an amiable disposition, and of a sensible and compassionate turn of mind, she will make suitable reflection upon the circumstances of the case ; and, in order to prevent the family from being extinct, she will solicit her husband to take another wife. In such an event, it appears, by the Books, that he may, with propriety, contract a second marriage ; but, on the other hand, even though the wife should have produced no children, if she decline giving her consent to his marrying again, he cannot have recourse to that measure."

Polygamy may also have been practised to prevent subdivision of property ; for instance, where there happened to be three sisters in a family and one of them married her *evessa massina*, viz., her mother's brother's son or father's sister's son, and there were no other *evessayo* (Sinhalese ඇවැස්සෝ), the man who married the first sister might also marry the other two, to prevent any of the family estate going to outsiders.

Again, it might happen that a girl found it difficult to obtain a husband in her own caste. There is a Sinhalese saying, "*Inquire well into the caste before giving a female child in marriage, but do not inquire about caste when taking a girl in marriage.*"†

It is reported from the Kegalla District that in some places Wahumpura caste people will not give their females in marriage to Hali caste people, but the Wahumpura men will marry Hali caste women.‡

The Tamils have a similar saying, "*Know the parentage, and then give a girl in marriage.*"§ But polygamy was comparatively rare. In

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* Bertolacci's "Ceylon," Appendix (A), "Answers given by some of the best informed Candian Priests, to questions put to them by Governor Falk, in the year 1769, respecting the antient laws and customs of their country," p. 471.

† ජිරජක්දෙනකොට බොහො දෙන්වත්. ගේණ්කොට නොබොහො ගේන්වත් වදී.

‡ It is said by some ancient authors that caste was formerly preserved to such an extent that a man of the highest caste, if he failed to find a woman of equal caste as wife, married his own *younger sister*, rather than degrade himself by marrying into a lower caste. Can the statement made by some writers that marriage with one's *younger sister* was allowed amongst the Veddas, while marriage with one's elder sister was considered unchaste, have been based on this alleged caste "privilege," or was the caste privilege adopted from a Vedda custom ?

§ கோத்திரமறிந்து பெண்ணைக்கொடு.

fact, it would appear that from the earliest times in Ceylon women were in a minority, and that it was often difficult for a man to secure a wife.

Both forms of Kandyan marriage—*díga* or *bini*—appear to be adapted for a country where brides were at a premium, for though the husband in the *díga* marriage gets a dowry with his bride, she lost all claim upon her ancestral property and had no rights in the paternal estate, except for maintenance if she became destitute ; while in a *bini* marriage the husband entered the wife's family and was dependent upon her and her family. His position was such that it is a common Kandyan saying that a *bini* husband should not remove any property to his wife's house except a torch and a walking stick, as with these he may at any time depart and find his way back.

The system of polyandry prevailed to a very great extent, and is not yet extinct. Knox refers to the custom : " In this Countrey each Man, even the Greatest, hath but one Wife ; but a Woman often has two Husbands. For it is lawful and common with them for two Brothers to Keep house together with one Wife and the Children do Acknowledge and call both Fathers."*

" Their marriage excites laughter," writes Ribeiro.† " A girl makes a contract to marry a man of her own caste (for they cannot marry outside it), and if the relatives are agreeable they give a banquet and unite the betrothed couple. The next day a brother of the husband takes his place, and if there are seven brothers she is the wife of all of them......she can refuse herself to none of them ; whichever brother it may be that contracts the marriage the woman is the wife of all ; only if the youngest marry, none of the other brothers has any right over her, but he can claim access to the wives of all of them whenever he likes. If it chances that there are more brothers than seven, those who exceed that number have no right over her ; but if there are two, up to five, they are satisfied with one woman, and the woman who is married to a husband with a large number of brothers is considered very fortunate, for all toil and cultivate for her and bring whatever they earn to the house and she lives much honoured and well supported, and for this reason the children call all of them their fathers."

It is the case, as stated by Ribeiro, that the words used by the Sinhalese for paternal uncles and maternal aunts are merely the words for father and mother distinguished by qualifying prefixes, viz., big father (ලොකුඅප්පා) in the case of the father's elder brother, and little father (බාප්පා) in the case of the father's younger brother, and big mother (ලොකුඅම්මා) for the mother's elder sister, and little mother (පුංචම්මා) for the mother's younger sister. Similar terms of relationship are used by the Tamils : குஞ்சியப்பு, பெரியாச்சி, குஞ்சியாச்சி.

The children of a paternal uncle or of a maternal aunt are regarded as having a *quasi*-paternal relationship, and are spoken of as " brothers " and " sisters." These terms are even applied to still more distant collateral relatives, provided always that the connecting links in the chain of relationship are paternal uncles or maternal aunts. For example, a Sinhalese or Tamil will frequently call a person " brother " who only stands in that relation to his father's brother's son as being the son of the latter's mother's sister, and who is really only a very distant connexion from a Western point of view.

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* Knox's " Historical Relation," p. 150.

† Ribeiro's " History of Ceylon " (translation by Paul E. Pieris, C.C.S.), pp. 143, 144.

The Sinhalese have even names for the father's intermediate brother (*madduma appá*, මද්දුමඅප්පා, middle father), mother's intermediate sister (*madduma ammá*, මද්දුමඅම්මා, middle mother).* A Sinhalese husband will regard his wife's *loku appá* (ලොකුඅප්පා) or *báppá* (බාප්පා) as his *mámá* (මාමා). *Mámá*, besides meaning maternal uncle, means also a father-in-law, so that a husband regards his wife's "big father" or "little father" as his father-in-law; that is to say, he regards all his wife's father's brothers in the same light as her father, that is to say, as if they all stood in the relation to her of male parent.

Where a system of polyandry prevailed, it is easy to understand how such terms originated and their significance.

Further, the children of two brothers or of two sisters could not marry each other any more than if they were children of the same parents, and such a marriage is still regarded as wrong.

The system of polyandry in Ceylon appears to have been rarely other than fraternal. A husband was not allowed to take an associated husband for his wife without her consent and that of her near relations. Even when such consent was given, the associate must be of equal or superior caste, rank, and position, and should be a bachelor or a widower without children. The principle underlying this custom is, as explained by Joinville,† "a whole family goes in a body to ask a girl in marriage; the more numerous the family, the greater title it has to the girl. It is the whole family that marries, consequently the children belong to the whole family in the same way as the lands which are never divided." Polyandry—while at first it may have been partly due to paucity of women, which is the usual explanation in most countries where it is found, and where inheritance takes place through a sister's children, as among the Nairs and Mukkuvars‡—in its modified form of fraternal polyandry, was no doubt adopted as a means of preventing subdivision of lands.

Further, under the Sinhalese kings a member from nearly every family in the country had to be in attendance at the capital at certain periods, which might be indefinitely prolonged, while it was a matter of uncertainty whether once at court a man would ever be allowed to return home. To look after the home and fields during the absence of the owner, his brothers were the natural persons, and associated husbands and a home in common became the custom.

Mr. Arunachalam, in his Report on the Census of 1901, says, "Polyandry has ceased to exist."§ Such is far from being the case. It is undoubtedly now rare in Ceylon, and it may not be admitted to exist in many parts, but it undoubtedly does prevail, and only in so far as public opinion is influenced by being in touch with modern civilization is the practice considered objectionable.

The Ratemahatmaya of Pata Dumbara (R. E. Paranagama, R.M.), one of the most prosperous and civilized divisions in the Kandy District, writing of the changes in Manners and Customs in his division since the 1901 Census, says: "Although the Kandyans are very conservative regarding the preservation of their ancient customs and habits, I am glad to report that polyandry, one of the most ancient of

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* *Vide* Article by J. P. Lewis, C.C.S., "On the terms of Relationship in Sinhalese and Tamil," published in the "Orientalist," Vol. I., pp. 217–223; Vol. II., pp. 64–69.

† Joinville, "On the Religion and Manners of the People of Ceylon," Vol. VII., p. 425.

‡ *Vide* p. 224, *supra*.

§ Census Report for 1901, Vol. I., p. 109.

institutions, has, with the spread of education, almost died out in the division." While the Muhandiram of the Kalutara Kachcheri (Mr. R. de Silva) reports that "polyandry exists to a very limited extent in the district. It is fast disappearing." Cases are not infrequent in most courts in Sinhalese districts where women admit without hesitation in court that their husband's brothers are associated husbands.

The expressions generally used in reference to this custom by the Kandyans are well known. The joint husbands will not say that they have a wife in common; the phrase employed is *Api ekageyi raksávenavá* (අපි එකගෙයි රක්ෂාවෙනවා), "We earn our living in the same house." Nor does the woman say "I am their wife," but "I cook rice for all of them," *Mama é detundenátama bat uyá denavá* (මම ඒ දෙතුන්දෙනාටම බත් උයා දෙනවා). With the spread of education polyandry will no doubt soon become extinct, but it is not so to-day.

Among the Tamils, though undoubtedly it did exist—in the *Mahabharata* the heroine Draupadi was the wife of Yudhishtra and his four brothers—it is now only found in remote villages where the number of women is small.

By Ordinance No. 13 of 1859 polyandry and polygamy were made illegal, and punishable with three years' rigorous imprisonment.

While marriage with a father's brother's child and mother's sister's child was forbidden, marriage with a father's sister's or mother's brother's child was regarded as the most suitable marriage that could be arranged, especially marriage with a father's sister's daughter. If a man could not marry his father's sister's daughter, he should marry her daughter, if possible.

The importance attached to this marriage can, of course, be traced to a period when there was a plurality of wives or husbands. Inheritance passed through the sister's child, and descent was traced through the mother instead of through the father. To ensure property being kept in the family cousin-marriage was the best means.

"*Why inquire after the relationship of the daughter of one's maternal uncle?*"* is a Tamil saying, the point of which is that the relationship is so close, or likely to be so. The prominent position taken by the maternal uncle at weddings and in all social matters is due to his special position in the family.

"*If one's maternal uncle had breasts to give milk he is equal to a mother.*"†

"*It is said that the thumb of the maternal uncle secretes milk.*"‡

The greatest affection is to be looked for from one's mother's brother, who, if childless, would naturally make his nephew or niece his heir, and between whose children and their father's sister's children marriages would be arranged as a matter of course.

Among the Tamils, when a girl attains puberty, it is the custom in some parts to inform her father's sister's son by offerings of *kunkumam* (குங்குமம், red powder) and red flowers.

When a girl or youth attains a marriageable age, the parents endeavour to arrange a suitable match. Sometimes a professional matchmaker or marriage broker (මඟුල්කපුවා, *magul kapuwá*) is employed, whose duty it is to make all the preliminary inquiries. In many parts the dhoby or the barber acts as the intermediary.

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* அம்மான் மகளுக்கு முறையா.

† තනේ ඇත්තම් මාමා අම්මාලු.

‡ මාමාගේ මාපටැඟිල්ලට කිරි එරෙනවාලු.

"*That which is bad or out of the ordinary in a village is known to its washerman.*"*

When the matchmaker has performed his delicate duties—"*Seven thunderbolts are the reward of a matchmaker*,"† say the Sinhalese—and the parties who employed him are satisfied, a proposal is made, either through the matchmaker or direct to one of the chief relations of the other party, that the marriage is desired. If the proposal is approved, a day is fixed for the bridegroom and his friends to visit the bride's house, where they are usually entertained. A return visit of the bride's parents may be made. The dowry is then agreed upon. The next important step to be taken is to compare the bride's horoscope with that of the bridegroom, and great importance is attached to this, as according to its good and bad aspects the marriage will be finally agreed upon, or broken off, and the lucky hours for the wedding, &c., will be fixed.

Forbes, in his "Eleven Years in Ceylon," ‡ states: "I recollect in a case tried by myself, in which a marriage was required to be proved, that the unpropitiousness of the stars could not prevent a young couple from coming together. The bridegroom's horoscope would not suit that of his intended; he produced that of his younger brother, an infant; it corresponded; the child, carried in the arms of an attendant, personified the bridegroom in the procession; and the young woman was brought home to the ill-starred youth, who dared not attend the ceremony. The marriage was pronounced legal; the evasion being only considered a pious fraud, or a suitable concession made to the will of the planets."

Amongst the Tamils, if at the time of birth the planet Mars is near the Western horizon, this is believed to forecast the early death after the wedding of the wife or husband of the person born at this time. Accordingly there may be a difficulty in arranging marriages for such persons. If, however, in all points the marriage is desirable, fate may be cheated by a series of mock marriages. The bridegroom ties the *táli* to seven plantain trees, one after another, each being cut down before the *táli* is tied to the next in succession. After the mock marriages with the seven plantain trees, the real marriage ceremony takes place.

The astrological calculations involved in the comparison of the two horoscopes is a very complicated business. It is stated that a well-known astrologer in Madras, who is sometimes consulted by persons in Ceylon, charges five hundred rupees to ascertain the agreement of the *Dasaporondama* (Ten Points of Agreement). There is a Sinhalese poem entitled the *Makaradhvaja Urala* (මකරධවජ, God of Love), which describes the characteristics, &c., of persons who should marry one another. The poem divides the classes of persons who should marry into ten groups, according to physiognomy, physique, &c.

The next step is the publication of the forthcoming marriage, and when the day (*nekata*—නැකත) is finally settled on the advice of the astrologer, a letter couched in the most erudite and high-sounding Sanskrit or Pali is taken to the bride's house by the bridegroom's closest relatives, and there read aloud before her and her relations.

The invitations to the wedding were generally conveyed from house to house orally. To the higher castes betel was offered on a silver tray,

* සත්‍රිත්තගේ වගතුග ගමේ අපුල්ලන රදවා දනී.
† මඟුල් කපුවාට හෙන හතක්ලු.
‡ Forbes's "Eleven Years in Ceylon," Vol. I., p. 328.

on which a piece of white cloth was spread. To the rest betel was offered on the white cloth without the tray.

On the wedding day the bridegroom, accompanied by his relatives, goes to the bride's house, usually with music and attended by the dhoby, the talipot-holders, and other attendants required for the ceremony. At one time the hour for the entry of the bridegroom's party to the bride's house was fixed at nightfall,* which may have been a survival of marriage by capture. The bridegroom's procession is usually met by a procession led by one of the bride's nearest male relations. At the entrance to the house at a Kandyan wedding a man clad in white stands ready with a knife and a coconut placed on a white cloth. As the bridegroom steps into the house the coconut is split in two with one stroke of the knife. This is to propitiate *Ganéswara*, and is called the *Ganadevi-pújá* (ගණදෙවිපූජා). The ceremony appears to be borrowed from the Tamils, who make an invocation to Ganésa whenever they commence any undertaking.

On each side of the entrance two rows of maidens stand clad in white, garlanded, and with jessamine flowers bound in their hair. Each bears a *manda* (මණ්ඩ) or metal hollow vessel filled with water and containing a paste made of saffron with a light floating on the water. The maidens chant a welcome and invocations of good fortune.

A brother of the bride should wash the feet of the bridegroom on his entering the bride's house, who, in recognition of this service, drops a ring set with precious stones or a gold coin into the water.

The registration of the marriage then usually takes place.

This ceremony is followed by the *póruwé hitawima* (පෝරුවේ හිටවීම) or conducting the pair to a raised platform—the *magul-poruwa* (මගුල් පෝරුව)—which is canopied and decorated. Husked coconuts, clean rice, and silver or gold coins are scattered on the floor. Pots with coconut and lotus flowers, usually eight of each, are placed around this dais with coconut oil lamps.

The bride and bridegroom are escorted to the *póruwa* from opposite entrances at the lucky hour, preceded by the bride's maternal uncle, whose presence is always regarded as essential, and the bridegroom's father or maternal uncle. In the Low-country, as the bride mounts the platform a coconut is broken into two parts. It is said that if the top part broken off happens to be the larger piece the majority of the children of the wedded pair will be females, while if the piece struck off is the smaller the majority of the offspring will be males.

The presents to the wedded pair by the parents may then be made, the bridegroom handing the gifts made to him to the bride and the bride hers to the bridegroom.

The priests, who should be standing near the *póruwa*, then recite a number of stanzas—*Jayamangala gáthá* (ජයමංගල ගාථා)—invoking blessings.

In a Kandyan wedding the maternal uncle of the bride at this point ties the little fingers of the bridegroom's left hand and the bride's right hand with a silk or gold thread, and the bride and bridegroom should

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* "The day being come, the Bridegroom attended with his friends goes to the Bride's house, *which is always in the Evening*, and brings Provisions and Sweet meats with him according to his Ability, towards the charges of the Wedding, which is never more than two Meals, Whereof Supper is the first. Then the Bride and Bridegroom both eat together in one Dish, which is to intimate that they are both of one rank and quality and sometimes they tye their Thumbs together, but not always, and that Night go to sleep together."—Knox's "Historical Relation," p. 148.

then turn three times round to the right. Certain prayers are recited, and scented water poured on the knot thus tied from a gold vessel or chank. This ceremony is performed by a *guru* (ගුරු, teacher), if one is procurable. After this the *Maha Samaya Sutta* (the sermon preached before a great assembly) is recited by the priests, and *mangalya slókas* by *gurus* or others learned in them. After this the knot is severed. Then the bridegroom presents the bride with a silk cloth and jewellery, and garlands her with a gold chain. Rings are exchanged, and balls made of cake, rice, and milk are handed to the bride and bridegroom, who then exchange them. The bride's mother is presented with a *kiri kada-helaya*, a long white cloth. The couple then leave the *póruwa*, when a *Ganadevi-pújá* is again performed, and the maidens again chant their greeting. The bride and bridegroom then bow to the elder relations present, and presents are given. The bride distributes trays of betel to all the relations present. The wedding feast then follows. People of equal caste only sit together: the rest are accommodated in different apartments, according to their castes. The feast is composed of rice and thirty-two dishes of various curries and an equal number of varieties of sweetmeats and plantains and other fruits. *Kewun* (කැවුන්, oil cakes) and *kiribat* (කිරිබත්, milk-rice) should be eaten first. After every one assembled has been fed, there is dancing, tom-tom beating, and singing. The chief amusement is *wiridu-kíma* (විරිදුකීම), extemporaneous singing by the *kavikáramaduwé* (කවිකාර මඩුවේ) bards.

An auspicious hour is fixed for the entry of the bridal bedchamber by the married couple, who then leave their guests.

According to the *Níti Nighanduva*, seven days after a *díga* wedding the ceremony of pouring water on the head takes place. A maternal aunt and uncle of the bride together, or some other two chief persons of the bride's family, go to the bridegroom's house, and at the lucky hour the uncle pours water on the heads of the married couple, and both relatives then depart.

A few days after this the bride's parents or her principal relations pay the husband and wife a visit, and according to their means present a dowry of movables and lands. After this the husband and wife visit the wife's parents.

These ceremonies differ considerably in various parts of the Island, and in some places are completely out of date. The presence of the Buddhist priests was at one time confined to the Kandyans. Marriage before the registrar has done away with many of these customs, and the wedding ceremonies in the towns and among the wealthier classes are now usually in imitation of the fashions of the West.*

The account given above shows that the earliest ceremonies amongst the Sinhalese were largely influenced by their close connection with the Tamils.

Among the Tamils the rites and ceremonies performed at a marriage are no doubt of Brahminical origin. The castes which cannot enjoy the privilege of being ministered to by the Brahmin priests observe no elaborate ceremonies. The serving of rice and curry to the bridegroom by the bride on an auspicious day is the simple ceremony observed. After the meal the bride will formally present the bridegroom with betel. The marriage consummated with the least ceremonial is dissolved as unceremoniously, and polygamy and polyandry are found amongst the lower classes. The tying of the *táli* and the serving of

* *Vide* pp. 174, 175, *supra*.

rice and betel constitute all the ceremonies connected with their marriages. The *táli* is regarded as the essential feature of the wedding; it corresponds to the wedding ring, and is the token throughout life that a woman has been married.

"*It is said that he forgot to tie the* táli *owing to the bustle at the wedding.*"* The saying is intended to mean that there was so much confusion at the wedding that the bridegroom even forgot the most important feature of it.

"*A sumptuous cloth is not required in one's native village nor a* táli *where one is known as a wife.*"†

Amongst the castes entitled to Brahmin ministrations, though the husband and the wife may separate, and though the woman may live with another man, she is still considered the wife of the man who tied the *táli*, which is never removed until his death.

Among the classes to whom the Brahmins minister elaborate ceremonies are performed. Marriage is regarded as a religious ceremony. Even those who usually eat animal food should not partake of it at their wedding feast. The bride and the bridegroom should fast while their relations and friends are feasting. The bridegroom must fast until he receives food from his bride for the first time on that day, and the bride fasts until she eats what is left from the food served by her to the bridegroom.

The preliminaries before the wedding is arranged are very similar to those described as customary amongst the Sinhalese. On the arrival of the bridegroom at the bride's house the brother of the bride washes the bridegroom's feet and receives a present of a ring. The bridegroom is then conducted into the house and seated on a raised dais. A piece of thread, which has been previously consecrated, is tied round his right wrist, and on his leaving the dais a curtain is drawn round it, and the bride with her attendants enter it. A consecrated thread is also tied round her left wrist, the significance of the ceremony being that from that moment until the thread is removed the bridegroom and the bride are no longer to be considered as individuals, but as representing the Creator and the Divine Mother. Viewed in this aspect they are seated on a higher level than even the officiating priest. Then the bride leaves the dais and the curtain is removed. The officiating priest invokes the presence of all the *dévas* to witness the wedding. Pots with coconuts on them are placed round the dais as being emblematical of the *dévas*, or as signifying their presence. The bridegroom and the bride are brought in together and seated, the bride sitting on the right. A woman who retains her *táli* (a woman who has married again is considered as a widow) and who is blessed with a number of sons brings embers on a tray to kindle the sacrificial fire before which the nuptials are to be celebrated. The embers have been previously consecrated, and the sacrificial fire is then kindled.

The *táli* and the wedding dress are then blessed by the priest and shown to the guests to be blessed in turn by them. The dress is handed to the bride, who retires and returns wearing it. On her taking her seat, the father and the mother of the bride take their seats at the foot of the dais next to the priest, and the parents of the bridegroom on the opposite side. The bridegroom's feet are washed by the father-in-law and flowers are offered. The bride is then given away in the presence of the priest and his assistants, who invoke the presence at the ceremony

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* கல்யாணச்சந்தடியில் தாலி கட்ட மறந்தானும்.

† பிறந்த ஊருக்குச் சேலை வேண்டாம் பெண்டிருந்த ஊருக்குத் தாலி வேண்டாம்.

and the blessing of the God of Fire, the Sun and the Moon, Siva and Parvati, the thirty-three crores of gods and goddesses, the divine Brahmins, and the assembled guests, and pray that the couple may be man and wife not only in this world, but also in the next. Three times the formula is chanted. The *táli* is then tied, and when this is done the bride takes her seat on the left and her veil is removed. The bride and bridegroom garland each other. They then walk round the sacrificial fire three times making offerings. After each round the bridegroom lifts the foot of the bride and places it on a grindstone. On the last round, as she removes her foot from the grindstone, she is shown by the bridegroom the fixed star *Arundati*, a small star in the constellation of Ursa Major ; the bridegroom asks the bride whether she sees *Arundati*, and receives the reply " Yes." Then camphor is lit and *Arundati* is worshipped. The meaning of the grindstone and the star *Arundati* is explained thus: One Ahalya, the wife of a sage Gautama, was transformed into a stone by the curse of her husband, who wrongfully suspected her of infidelity, because he found her in the company of Indra, who made overtures to seduce her, but was repulsed. She was of the Brahminical caste. *Arundati* was a pariah girl. Her chastity and devotion to her husband were so great that she has been raised to the skies. The symbolism signifies that a woman, though of a high caste, if even *suspected* of infidelity, deserves to be put under the feet and trampled on like a stone, but one, though an outcaste, if chaste, deserves to be worshipped. Thus, the bride pledges her word to follow the example of *Arundati*. Sometimes the bride in her turn asks the bridegroom whether he sees the Polar Star, and he replies " Yes," the Polar Star being the emblem of constancy. The effect of this ceremony is a contract between the two parties to be faithful to each other.

The couple then return to the dais, and the consecrated threads are removed. They then drink milk before the sacrificial fire out of the same cup, the bridegroom first and the bride next. The religious ceremony is then concluded.

The bridegroom and the bride retire into the house. The guests are then served with rice and betel.

The similarities between many of the Kandyan and Tamil customs are noteworthy, and show that these ceremonies probably had a common origin.

The marriage rites of the Ceylon Moors are very similar to those of the Tamils, and reference has already been made to points of agreement.*

Divorces amongst the Kandyans are granted by the Revenue Officers, and amongst other communities, except the Muhammadans, by the District Courts. Amongst the Kandyans divorces are very common. In the decade 1901–1910 there was a yearly average of 585 divorces under the Kandyan law as compared with a yearly average of 402 between 1891–1900, making the annual proportion to the marriages for the period 9·5, as compared with 4·5 per cent. in the previous decade, and as against proportions of ·19 in 1901–1910 and ·13 in 1891–1900 amongst the general community.

These figures show a marked increase in the number of Kandyan divorces during the last ten years, while there has been a decrease of 29,000 in the number of registered Kandyan marriages as compared with the previous decade. This decrease is ascribed to the fact that

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* *Vide* p. 236, *supra*.

"the number of marriages registered among the Kandyans varies with the pressure applied to them by Government Agents, who, under instructions from Government, made special efforts in 1894, 1895, 1899, and 1901, and secured the registration of the marriages of a large number of couples who had been living as husband and wife according to Kandyan customs."*

The large number of Kandyan divorces is due to the facilities for divorce afforded by the Kandyan Marriage Ordinance, No. 3 of 1870, which grants a divorce, among other reasons, on the ground of mutual consent or inability to live happily together. It has been said that "A Kandyan marriage is contracted with a wink and dissolved with a kick."

Muhammadan divorces are allowed according to the precepts of their religion, and no information is available of the number of such divorces. Amongst the other communities a marriage can only be dissolved on the ground of adultery, malicious desertion, or incurable impotency at the time of marriage.

Divorce is opposed to the principles of the Hindu religion. There is a Tamil saying, "*Although a man may even marry a widow, he should on no account marry a divorced woman.*"†

The re-marriage of widows is opposed to the principles of the Hindu religion, but it is not uncommon. The only ceremony performed is the invocation of Ganésa before the tying of the *táli*. Although a widow may re-marry, she is for all ceremonial purposes regarded as a widow, and she cannot take part in the celebration of any of the auspicious events. Amongst the Moors in the Batticaloa District the widow has to go into seclusion for four months and ten days from the death of her husband, and re-marriage is prohibited only during that period. Marriages with widows amongst both the Sinhalese and Tamils are generally due to considerations as regards the disposal of her property. Marriage with a brother's widow is common, and is a very ancient custom. In the *Mahavansa* it is recorded that King Mahanama (412–434 A.D.) married his brother King Upatissa II.'s widow, while Senerat (1620–1627) married the widow of his brother Vimala Dhamma Suriya I.

As Hulugalle Adigar reports, "the question of a brother taking to wife his brother's widow is a common incident, and a popular one, if I may so add."

The only restriction which appears now to exist on such a marriage is where the disparity in age between a brother and his brother's widow is such that she is called *akká* (අක්කා ; அக்கா), or elder sister, by him.

Marriage with a deceased wife's sister is very common. "*If my mother die my father becomes uncle*" ‡—*i.e.*, he marries his wife's sister—is a common Tamil saying.

Relationship between parties amongst the Sinhalese is held to cease when the marriage ends. A man will not regard the husband of his daughter as related to him as a son-in-law when the daughter dies. Such an expression as "he was related to me, but the relationship ceased long ago," is common.

The civil condition of 12 males and 3 females could not be ascertained at this Census; at the 1901 Census the civil condition of 111 males and 142 females was not given.

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* Vital Statistics, Administration Report, 1910–11, p. L 4.

† செத்தவன் பெண்டிரைக் கட்டினாலும் விட்டவன் பெண்டிரைக் கட்டப்படாது, but *vide* p. 350, *infra*.

‡ அம்மா இல்லாவிட்டால் அப்பன் சிற்றப்பன்.

In 1,000 males in Ceylon there are 648 unmarried, 320 married, and 32 widowed. In 1,000 males over 15 years of age there are 412 unmarried, 534 married, and 54 widowed.

In India at the Census of 1901 there were 492 unmarried, 454 married, and 54 widowed in every 1,000 males, showing a considerably higher proportion of married men than is the case in Ceylon.

But in India 22 males in every 1,000 under 10 and 134 in every 1,000 between 10–15 were married, and 7 in every 1,000 between 10–15 were widowed. In Ceylon 2 males in every 10,000 under 15 were married, and there were only 17 widowers under 15 in the Island. Excluding the males under 15, we find that at the 1901 Census in India 205 males in every 1,000 were unmarried, 708 married, and 87 widowed.

In every 1,000 females in Ceylon there are 545 unmarried, 353 married, and 102 widowed. In every 1,000 females over 15 years of age there are 222 unmarried, 602 married, and 176 widowed. In every 1,000 females in India at the 1901 Census there were 344 unmarried, 476 married, and 180 widowed—a considerably higher proportion of married for the total female population than is the case in Ceylon. But in India 58 females in every 1,000 under 10 years of age were married and 3 widowed, and 423 females in every 1,000 between 10 and 15 were married and 18 in every 1,000 widowed. In Ceylon only 6 in every 1,000 females under 15 are married and only 3 in every 10,000 widowed—the total number of widows under 15 is 210. In India the number at the 1901 Census was 391,147.

Excluding the females under 15, we find that at the 1901 Census in India 45 females in every 1,000 were unmarried, 669 married, and 286 widowed.

These figures show that, compared with India, marriage takes place at a later age, and that infant marriage in Ceylon is very exceptional. There were 3 " husbands " in Ceylon less than 10 years old, 1 was a Ceylon Moor child 2 years old and the other 2 were Indian Tamils between 5 and 10. There were 107 " wives " under 10, 88 were Ceylon Moors (6 of whom were under 5), 3 were Indian Moors, 2 Malays, 6 Ceylon Tamils, 6 Indian Tamils, and 2 Low-country Sinhalese.

There were 18 widows under 10, 16 of whom were Ceylon Moors and 2 Ceylon Tamils. It is only in the Batticaloa District, with the exception of two cases on estates, that infant marriages are found in Ceylon.

Compared with 1901, the figures for married and widowed under 10 and under 15 are—

	Males.				Females.			
	1901.		1911.		1901.		1911.	
	Under 10.	Under 15.	Under 10.	Under 15.	Under 10.	Under 15.	Under 10.	Under 15.
Married ..	28	523	3	187	605	9,961	107	5,215
Widowed ..	—	4	—	17	14	293	18	210
Total ..	28	527	3	204	619	10,254	125	5,425

It would therefore appear that where infant marriages are found they are decreasing; legally, cohabitation with a wife under 12 is treated as rape by the Ceylon Penal Code.

No marriage is valid in Ceylon where the male party is under 16 years of age or the female under 12, or for a European or Burgher girl under 14 years. The consent of the father or mother or of a lawful guardian is necessary for the marriage of a person who (not being a widower or widow) is under 21 years, or if a Kandyan male, under 18, and if a Kandyan female, under 16.

It is, however, undoubtedly the case that in the Batticaloa District, especially amongst the Moors, such marriages are common, though probably few of the children locally regarded as married were entered as such in the Census schedules, the ceremony being considered rather as a betrothal, though it has in fact all the binding obligation of a marriage. The Vanniah of Manmunai North in the Batticaloa District reports : " Child marriages may be said to be the rule amongst the Muhammadans of this district, and, comparatively speaking, an exception among the Tamils.

" The Moors, particularly both the well-to-do and the middle class people amongst them, consider it a reproach if they do not have their daughters married before they are 10 years at the most. Those who have unmarried girls about that year are either the very poor who cannot afford the customary marriage portion, or who are too enlightened or well off, and are waiting for a well-to-do or a particular bridegroom.

" The Tamils, both high and low, residing mostly in the villages, give their girls in marriage a year or two before they attain puberty, if they have a suitable bridegroom who is a nephew or other close relative, or whom they are anxious to secure early for some other reason. But it is not considered a reproach, however, if they marry their girls after the latter attain puberty, or they are compelled to wait for other reasons.

" Infant marriages are not necessarily arranged between cousins or close relatives to secure succession to property, though these considerations must be admitted to weigh greatly with parents, particularly amongst the Mukkuvas of the Tamil community, who still cling to their ancient custom of ' nephew succession.' "

Buddhistic teachings and writings appear to be silent as regards the ages at which marriage should take place, but they make reference to the practice which existed in noble families in the time of Buddha of young men of 16 marrying girls of the same age.

According to the principal Sinhalese medical and astrological writings the proper ages are 25 for males and 16 for females.

Comparing the figures for 1911 with those for 1901, we find the figures for males almost exactly the same—taking, however, the males over 15 at both Censuses, there are 18 more unmarried and widowed and 17 married men less per 1,000 than in 1901—which would point to a decrease in the proportion of married males between 10 and 15. This is the case, while there is a remarkable decrease in the proportion of married men between 15 and 20—evidence that the males are marrying later, as might have been anticipated in a country where the standard of comfort and the number of wants are being daily raised. The decrease in married in the earlier age periods is counterbalanced by increases in the later periods (*vide infra*).

Comparing the figures for females for 1901 and 1911 there is an increase of 2 spinsters and a decrease of 2 wives in every 1,000 females since 1901.

Taking the figures for females over 15 there are 9 more unmarried, 6 wives less, and 3 widows less per 1,000 than in 1901, which points

to a decrease in the number of married girls under 15, and such is the case, the proportion having decreased from 13·9 to 6·4. The tendency undoubtedly is for marriage to be postponed to a later age by the males, while migration into the towns also encourages this tendency. As regards the females, public opinion is very strong that a girl should be married as soon after she has attained the age of puberty as possible.

The following table gives the proportion of the unmarried, married, and widowed to a thousand of the population of each sex in Ceylon and the Provinces in 1911 :—

Table A.—Proportion of Unmarried, Married, and Widowed to a Thousand of the Population of each Sex in Ceylon and its Provinces, 1911.

Province.	Males.			Females.			Persons.		
	Un-married.	Married.	Widowed.	Un-married.	Married.	Widowed.	Un-married.	Married.	Widowed.
Ceylon ..	**647·5**	**320·2**	**32·3**	**544·5**	**353·0**	**102·5**	**599·0**	**335·6**	**65·3**
Western Province ..	662·9	309·3	27·8	572·0	330·7	97·3	620·6	319·3	60·1
Central Province ..	615·4	352·4	32·2	510·4	399·9	89·7	566·4	374·6	59·0
Northern Province ..	578·9	375·6	45·5	468·3	397·7	134·0	523·4	386·7	89·9
Southern Province ..	705·3	268·5	26·1	609·9	291·9	98·2	658·1	280·1	61·8
Eastern Province ..	611·8	362·5	25·7	463·9	383·1	153·	539·9	372·5	87·6
North-Western Province	640·4	315·4	44·2	544·2	349·3	106·4	597·5	330·5	72·
North-Central Province .	597·9	351·7	50·4	490·6	397·2	112·2	549·8	372·1	78·1
Province of Uva ..	649·2	325·5	25·2	534·5	371·9	93·6	595·7	347·2	57·1
Province of Sabaragamuwa ..	665·	302·8	32·2	547·3	364·0	88·7	612·4	330·2	57·4

In every Province the proportion of unmarried males is considerably larger than the proportion of unmarried females. Taking Ceylon as a whole, 13 males in every 20 and 11 females in every 20 are unmarried.

The Province which shows the largest proportion of unmarried males is the *Southern* Province (7 in every 10), partly due to the migration of the males to other districts ; the largest number of unmarried females is to be found in this Province (6 in every 10), and the chief cause of these high proportions is the large proportion of children in the *Southern* Province, 46 per cent. of the total population being under 15. The percentages of married males and females over 15 in this Province are 52 and 51 respectively. The largest proportion of married males is in the *Northern* Province, where 15 males out of every 40 are married ; the smallest proportion of married males is found in the *Southern* Province (11 in every 40).

The largest proportion of widowers are found in the *North-Central* Province (1 in every 20). The divorced are included in the widowed, and this high proportion may be so partly explained, this Province being a Kandyan one.

More married women in proportion to the total population are found in the *Central* Province than in any other Province—4 in every 10 females are married.

The proportion of widows is highest in the *Eastern* Province, where 3 in every 20 women are either widowed or divorced, due to the number of widows and divorced amongst the Moor population of the Batticaloa District. The lowest proportion of widows is found in the Province of *Sabaragamuwa*.

Compared with the 1901 figures, the proportion of unmarried males has increased in the Central, Southern, Eastern, North-Western, North-Central, and Sabaragamuwa Provinces. The proportion of married males has increased in the Western, Northern, and Uva Provinces.

The proportion of unmarried females has increased in the Central, Southern, Eastern, North-Western, and North-Central Provinces; and in the Western, Northern, and Uva Provinces the proportion of married females has increased. In the Province of Sabaragamuwa, owing to a decrease in the proportion of widows, the proportions of both unmarried and married females have increased.

The table on page 341 gives the proportion of the single, married, and widowed of each race and sex to a thousand persons of the race and sex in Ceylon in 1901 and 1911.

The *Low-country Sinhalese* show the highest proportion of single and the lowest proportion of married males, and, excluding the Burghers and Eurasians, the highest proportion of single and the lowest proportion of married females.

Compared with 1901 the proportion of unmarried of both sexes has decreased by nearly 5 per 1,000 in the case of the males and 1 per 1,000 in the case of the females.

The *Kandyan Sinhalese* come third—after the Low-country Sinhalese and Burghers—in the proportion of unmarried males and females, showing a higher percentage than the Low-country Sinhalese of 16 and 26 in every 1,000 married males and females. The second largest proportion of widowers is found amongst the Kandyans, due to the number of divorced included under this head. Compared with 1901 the Kandyans show increases of 10 and 15 per 1,000 unmarried males and females respectively and a decrease in the widowed. These figures are largely affected by the number of registered Kandyan marriages, which have been shown to have decreased during the decade.

The *Tamils* show the lowest proportion of unmarried and the largest proportion of married males and females amongst all races, as might be expected. The proportion of married is swollen by the figures for the Indian Tamils, due to the larger proportion of children amongst the resident Ceylon Tamils, and to the fact that most of the Indian Tamil women in Ceylon are married—484 Indian Tamil and 386 Ceylon Tamil females in every 1,000 are married.

The Indian Tamils and Indian Moors are the only races which show a higher proportion of married than single amongst the females for all ages.

The largest proportion of widowers and the second largest proportion of widows are Tamils, due to the early age at which the Tamil girls are married. Compared with 1901 the Tamils show increases of 3 and 7 per 1,000 in the number of married males and females; the widowed have slightly increased.

The *Moors* come next to the Tamils in the low proportion of single males and females and first in the proportion of widows, in which are included the large number of divorced Muhammadan women.

More than half the Indian Moormen are married or widowers, the proportion of married men being more than 10 per cent. higher than for any other race. The Indian Moors are mostly traders from India, who have left their wives and families at the Coast. The proportion of single Indian Moor females is lower than for any other race, nearly all being children born to Indian Moors on estates.

Table B.—Proportion of the Single, the Married, and the Widowed of each Race and Sex, 1901 and 1911.

Race.	Males. 1901. Single.	Males. 1901. Married.	Males. 1901. Widowed.	Males. 1911. Single.	Males. 1911. Married.	Males. 1911. Widowed.	Females. 1901. Single.	Females. 1901. Married.	Females. 1901. Widowed.	Females. 1911. Single.	Females. 1911. Married.	Females. 1911. Widowed.
Low-country Sinhalese	692·5	279·9	27·4	687·1	285·2	27·7	596·2	306·9	96·7	594·8	309·9	95·3
Kandyan Sinhalese ..	652·2	308·7	38·7	661·7	301·3	37·0	550·1	348·9	100·6	565·4	335·8	98·8
Tamils	589·1	375·6	35·2	584·4	378·3	37·3	465·9	424·9	109·0	457·1	432·0	110·9
Ceylon ..				601·6	358·3	40·1				486·3	385·9	127·8
Indian ..				569·1	396·1	34·7				224·2	484·1	91·7
Moors	593·8	380·9	24·6	602·3	372·6	25·1	455·1	412·1	132·6	464·9	398·2	136·9
Ceylon ..				628·1	347·0	24·9				468·5	395·3	136·2
Indian ..				482·0	491·6	26·4				403·0	447·5	149·6
Europeans ..	662·2	314·1	23·3	641·3	338·2	20·5	573·5	371·7	54·7	549·7	396·7	53·6
Burghers & Eurasians	682·3	284·8	32·7	670·9	296·3	32·8	626·8	281·5	91·5	623·8	293·6	82·6
Malays	617·9	346·8	35·0	628·9	339·8	31·3	495·6	379·6	124·5	530·7	364·4	104·9
Veddas	682·4	291·9	25·1	643·6	331·0	25·4	622·7	316·0	61·2	523·6	408·3	68·1

The proportion of Indian Moor widows is very high—over 149 per 1,000—due no doubt to the number of Moor women married to Indian Moormen temporarily resident in Ceylon, who have divorced or deserted them on their return to the Coast.

Compared with 1901 the Moors show increases of about 9 per 1,000 in both male and female unmarried. There is a decrease of 14 per 1,000 in the number of married Moor women, and an increase of 4 per 1,000 in the number of Moor widows.

The *Malays* have the lowest proportion of bachelors and spinsters (excluding the Veddas) next to the Tamils and Moors, and also come third in the number of widows.

Compared with 1901 the Malays show increases of 11 and 35 per 1,000 in the number of unmarried males and females, and decreases of 7 and 15 per 1,000 in the number of married males and females respectively. The number of widows has decreased by 2 per cent. during the decade.

The *Burghers and Eurasians* show very low proportions of married, the second lowest amongst the males and the lowest amongst the females. Only 3 in every 10 Burghers and Eurasians are married.

There are few Eurasian women in Ceylon, and the number of spinsters amongst the Burghers is undoubtedly high. In the town of Colombo there are twice as many single Burgher and Eurasian unmarried men between 20–30 as there are married, and the proportion of unmarried women between 20–30 is higher for Ceylon for the Burghers and Eurasians than for any other race except the Europeans.

Marriages between Burghers and Sinhalese seem to be increasing; the annual average for the period between 1891–1900 was 27, and for the period 1901–1910 it was 31.

Compared with 1901, however, there have been increases of 12 per 1,000 in the number of both married male and female Burghers and Eurasians, and decreases of 11 and 3 per 1,000 in the number of single Burgher and Eurasian males and females respectively.

The *Europeans* show a high proportion of unmarried men (13 in every 20 European men are unmarried) and a smaller proportion of unmarried women (11 in every 20 European women are unmarried). The smallest proportion of widowers and widows are found amongst the Europeans—there are five widows to every two widowers.

Compared with 1901 there are 24 more married and 21 fewer single males amongst every 1,000 European males, and 25 more married and 24 fewer unmarried females in every 1,000 European females.

The number of Europeans married in Ceylon between 1901–1910 was 688; the number married between 1891 and 1900 was 567.

Figures are given for the *Veddas*, but little value can be attached to them. Compared with the figures given for 1901, the number of single Vedda males has decreased by 39 and of single Vedda females by 99 per 1,000 during the decade.

No figures are available for births and deaths amongst the Veddas, so these figures cannot be explained by a higher birth-rate for male children or a heavy mortality amongst the unmarried, especially amongst the females, any more than by such an explanation as that the advance of civilization has induced the Vedda to legalize his matrimonial union and legitimize his children.

The high proportion of married Vedda women is further proof that persons descended from Vedda women married to Sinhalese villagers gave their race as Vedda.* The number of widows and widowers is

* *Vide* p. 203, *supra*.

small, as one would expect among the jungle folk included under this head.

Mixed marriages are rare in Ceylon. The following statement shows the number registered in the past decade and the preceding one :—

Table C.—Number of Mixed Marriages.

	1891–1900.	1901–1910.
Europeans and Burghers	110	91
Europeans and Sinhalese	23	22
Europeans and Tamils	5	10
Burghers and Sinhalese	270	315
Burghers and Tamils	53	66
Sinhalese and Tamils	527	653
Other mixed races	48	97

There has been an increase for all races except Europeans.

The following table gives the proportion of the single, the married, and the widowed *over fifteen years of age* of each race and sex to a thousand persons of that race and sex over that age in Ceylon in 1901 and 1911 :—

Table D.—Proportion of the Single, the Married, and the Widowed over 15 Years of Age of each Race and Sex to a Thousand Persons of that Race and Sex over that Age in Ceylon, 1901 and 1911.

1901.

Race.	Males. Single.	Married.	Widowed.
Low-country Sinhalese	443·16	506·96	49·81
Kandyan Sinhalese	374·26	555·55	70·05
Tamils	363·57	581·75	54·59
Ceylon Tamils	—	—	—
Indian Tamils	—	—	—
Moors	292·48	664·46	43·02
Ceylon Moors	—	—	—
Indian Moors	—	—	—
Europeans	586·19	384·86	28·63
Burghers	441·10	501·20	57·70
Malays	330·97	607·32	61·44
Veddas	400·75	550·79	47·53
Others	454·92	513·28	31·61

1911.

Race.	Males. Single.	Married.	Widowed.
Low-country Sinhalese	449·94	501·28	48·78
Kandyan Sinhalese	396·83	537·25	65·92
Tamils	384·14	560·58	55·28
Ceylon Tamils	326·23	605·82	67·95
Indian Tamils	424·89	528·75	46·36
Moors	337·46	620·61	41·91
Ceylon Moors	331·12	624·09	44·76
Indian Moors	357·78	609·45	32·77
Europeans	590·97	385·71	23·32
Burghers	452·75	492·77	54·48
Malays	383·27	564·77	51·96
Veddas	355·57	598·45	45·98
Others	552·15	417·91	28·70

1901.

Race.	Females. Single.	Married.	Widowed.
Low-country Sinhalese	284·63	543·25	172·01
Kandyan Sinhalese	210·31	611·35	178·09
Tamils	136·14	684·49	179·25
Ceylon Tamils	—	—	—
Indian Tamils	—	—	—
Moors	64·39	695·65	239·92
Ceylon Moors	—	—	—
Indian Moors	—	—	—
Europeans	409·76	514·19	76·05
Burghers	358·01	483·69	158·01
Malays	80·01	686·13	233·52
Veddas	296·08	585·09	118·83
Others	116·47	680·72	202·81

1911.

Race.	Females. Single.	Married.	Widowed.
Low-country Sinhalese	288·13	544·34	167·53
Kandyan Sinhalese	240·33	586·43	173·24
Tamils	154·85	671·47	173·69
Ceylon Tamils	144·64	641·53	213·83
Indian Tamils	164·91	701·00	134·09
Moors	82·75	675·07	242·15
Ceylon Moors	80·41	676·20	243·36
Indian Moors	116·63	658·74	224·63
Europeans	416·96	513·62	69·42
Burghers	392·14	474·40	133·46
Malays	125·42	676·84	197·74
Veddas	173·36	704·72	121·92
Others	194·03	641·79	164·18

This table gives a better idea of the proportion of married and unmarried for each race in Ceylon than Tables A and B. From this table it appears that amongst the males the highest proportion of married males over 15 is found amongst the Ceylon Moors; the Europeans show the highest proportion of single men over 15; of the females the highest proportion of married over 15 is amongst the Indian Tamils, excluding the Veddas; the lowest proportion of unmarried are Ceylon Moors—only 8 in every 100 over 15 are unmarried, and Indian Moors come next, the proportion of widowed amongst the Moors being considerably higher than amongst the Tamils.

The only races (excluding Veddas) which, on these proportions—that is to say, taking the proportion according to the number over 15 instead of the total number—do not show a decrease in the proportion of married compared with the last Census are the European males and the Low-country Sinhalese females. As will be seen from the Age Chapter, the proportion of persons over 15 to the total population has largely increased since the last Census, which considerably affects these figures.

The following table shows the civil condition by age and race of every thousand persons of the population of each sex in Ceylon, 1911.

Table E.—Civil Condition by Age and Race of every Thousand Persons of the Population of each Sex in Ceylon.

Ages.	Males. Unmarried.	Males. Married.	Males. Widowed.	Females. Unmarried.	Females. Married.	Females. Widowed.
All Races.						
0—15	999·8	0·2	—	993·3	6·4	0·3
15—20	978·2	21·1	0·7	665·8	326·3	7·9
20—30	612·0	375·7	12·3	213·7	743·5	42·8
30—40	216·0	746·0	38·0	112·7	756·4	130·9
40—50	131·6	794·5	73·9	92·4	606·9	300·7
50—60	112·1	764·7	123·2	80·2	444·4	475·4
60 and over	101·3	651·8	246·9	73·7	206·6	719·7
Low-Country Sinhalese.						
0—15	999·9	0·04	—	999·4	0·6	—
15—20	992·3	7·2	0·5	808·9	186·6	4·5
20—30	709·0	283·3	7·7	299·9	666·8	33·3
30—40	280·2	690·9	28·9	164·3	729·7	105·9
40—50	169·6	774·7	55·7	137·6	616·7	245·7
50—60	146·6	754·1	99·3	115·6	464·5	419·9
60 and over	124·8	655·6	219·6	103·7	213·6	682·7
Kandyan Sinhalese.						
0—15	999·8	0·1	0·03	996·2	3·6	0·2
15—20	981·1	18·1	0·8	640·0	350·6	9·4
20—30	564·4	418·4	17·2	213·5	745·8	40·7
30—40	223·9	730·4	45·7	116·6	748·6	134·8
40—50	143·3	766·8	89·9	85·9	613·8	300·3
50—60	125·0	744·7	143·3	65·4	447·6	487·0
60 and over	112·3	605·8	281·9	57·8	205·9	736·3
Tamils.						
0—15	999·4	0·6	—	989·1	10·6	0·3
15—20	964·4	34·7	0·9	566·0	426·0	8·0
20—30	548·1	437·8	14·1	127·8	827·4	44·8
30—40	150·3	804·6	45·1	51·7	800·1	148·2
40—50	83·0	825·3	91·7	39·6	598·6	361·8
50—60	51·9	790·2	157·8	28·4	415·2	556·4
60 and over	51·1	652·9	296·0	29·2	207·3	763·5
Ceylon Tamils.						
0—15	999·7	0·3	0·001	992·3	7·4	0·3
15—20	978·1	21·4	0·5	587·9	404·2	7·9
20—30	513·7	472·2	14·1	117·1	839·9	43·0
30—40	113·3	844·6	42·1	39·1	808·5	152·4
40—50	46·1	868·0	85·9	34·2	602·3	363·5
50—60	35·8	809·3	154·9	25·4	412·4	562·2
60 and over	34·6	648·4	317·01	26·3	190·7	783·0
Indian Tamils.						
0—15	990·0	0·9	0·1	984·5	15·2	0·3
15—20	955·7	43·2	1·1	544·4	447·4	8·2
20—30	566·8	419·1	14·1	135·6	818·4	46·0
30—40	174·1	778·9	47·0	62·9	792·7	144·4
40—50	114·7	778·6	96·7	46·9	593·6	359·5
50—60	70·9	767·9	161·2	34·5	420·7	544·8
60 and over	84·4	662·3	253·3	40·3	268·3	691·4

Ages.	Males. Unmarried.	Males. Married.	Males. Widowed.	Females. Unmarried.	Females. Married.	Females. Widowed.
Moors.						
0—15	999·4	0·5	0·02	954·3	43·6	2·1
15—20	963·9	35·4	0·7	298·4	678·0	23·6
20—30	508·7	476·8	14·5	59·8	858·0	82·2
30—40	110·3	856·8	32·9	28·8	758·8	212·4
40—50	55·8	890·4	53·8	20·2	546·0	433·8
50—60	30·4	878·1	91·5	17·5	355·1	627·4
60 and over	32·6	779·3	188·1	17·4	141·9	840·7
Ceylon Moors.						
0—15	999·5	0·5	—	953·6	44·2	2·2
15—20	967·7	31·5	0·8	296·2	680·5	23·3
20—30	507·8	475·6	16·6	52·2	863·5	84·3
30—40	104·1	860·3	35·6	28·7	754·2	216·9
40—50	56·5	888·7	54·8	17·8	541·6	440·6
50—60	28·6	887·8	93·7	17·7	350·6	631·7
60 and over	30·4	776·5	193·1	17·3	137·1	845·6
Indian Moors.						
0—15	998·6	1·4	—	970·0	29·1	0·9
15—20	952·8	47·2	—	343·1	627·5	29·4
20—30	511·4	480·4	8·2	177·2	772·9	49·9
30—40	130·3	845·5	24·2	29·3	819·2	151·5
40—50	53·5	896·5	50·0	50·7	603·7	345·6
50—60	36·8	879·6	83·6	16·4	402·8	580·8
60 and over	41·5	789·6	168·9	18·1	205·4	776·5
Europeans.						
0—15	1000·0	—	—	1000·0	—	—
15—20	1000·0	—	—	962·5	37·5	—
20—30	870·5	127·3	2·2	504·4	472·2	23·4
30—40	499·6	491·6	8·8	309·5	658·7	31·8
40—50	324·1	644·2	31·7	362·7	573·3	64·0
50—60	335·2	602·3	62·5	273·3	488·4	238·4
60 and over	314·4	500·0	185·6	255·8	333·3	410·9
Burghers and Eurasians.						
0—15	1000·0	—	—	999·8	0·2	—
15—20	991·1	8·9	—	914·1	85·9	—
20—30	681·6	308·6	9·8	435·8	542·4	21·8
30—40	247·1	712·8	40·1	194·6	716·3	89·1
40—50	111·7	812·2	76·1	159·3	635·2	205·5
50—60	95·5	793·7	110·8	132·2	466·3	401·7
60 and over	94·3	624·4	281·3	120·3	211·9	667·8
Malays.						
0—15	1000·0	—	—	988·6	11·4	—
15—20	983·7	16·3	—	462·4	522·3	15·3
20—30	609·5	378·2	12·3	72·2	875·1	52·7
30—40	187·4	778·1	34·5	28·4	834·1	137·5
40—50	107·6	823·7	68·6	—	637·3	362·7
50—60	41·3	837·2	121·5	15·9	349·2	634·9
60 and over	52·6	734·1	213·3	36·1	188·8	775·1
Veddas.						
0—15	1000·0	—	—	980·9	18·3	0·8
15—20	929·4	70·6	—	525·5	455·4	19·1
20—30	367·2	619·9	12·9	201·4	729·5	69·1
30—40	107·9	861·2	30·9	86·0	744·2	169·8
40—50	379·9	558·9	61·2	96·4	542·2	361·4
50—60	56·1	869·2	74·8	—	504·2	495·8
60 and over	69·3	623·8	306·9	50·6	354·4	595·0

The largest number of husbands is found between the ages of 40 and 50, and of wives between 30 and 40. At the 1901 Census the largest number of husbands was found in the same period, but wives were in the largest proportion between 20 and 30.*

Three-fourths of the men between 30 and 60 are married; only one-tenth of the men over 50 have never been married. Three-fourths of the women between 20 and 40 are married; only one-tenth of the women over 30 have never been married. Eleven women in every 12 over 40 have been married. The largest proportion of widowers is in the age period 60 and over, as also amongst women—9 women in every 10 over 60 have been married, and 3 in every 4 are widowed or divorced.

The proportion of widowers only approaches one-fourth of the total number of males in one age period (60 and over), while the proportion of widows is roughly one-third, one-half, three-fourths in the age periods 40–50, 50–60, and 60 and over respectively. When the women marry at an early age this will necessarily be the case. Comparing, for instance, the Low-country Sinhalese and the Tamils, 8 out of every 10 Tamil women between 20 and 40 are married, and between 30 and 40, 96 per cent. of the Ceylon Tamil women and 94 per cent. of the Indian Tamil women have been married; while amongst the Low-country Sinhalese the proportion of women who have been married between 20 and 30 is 70 per cent., between 30 and 40 it is 84 per cent.

The highest proportion of married males is found in the age period 30–40 amongst the Indian Tamils, at the age period 40–50 amongst the Sinhalese, Ceylon Tamils, Moors, Europeans, and Burghers and Eurasians, at the age period 50–60 amongst the Malays.

The highest proportion of married females is found in the age period 20–30 amongst the Tamils, Ceylon Moors, and Malays, and at the age period 30–40 amongst the Sinhalese, Indian Moors, Europeans, and Burghers and Eurasians.

Amongst all races the Tamils marry at the earliest age, and the Muhammadan races come next. At the 1901 Census, for all races, except the Europeans, the proportion of married males was highest in the age period 40–50; amongst married females for the Europeans in the age period 40–50, amongst Burghers and Eurasians in the age period 30–40, and amongst the other races in the age period 20–30. The age period has grown all round. The proportion of married Kandyan Sinhalese under 30 is considerably higher than amongst the Low-country Sinhalese, but considerably less than amongst the Tamils and Moors. In the age periods 50–60 and 60 and over amongst the Ceylon Tamils only 5 women in every 200 have never been married, amongst the Ceylon Moors less than 2 women in every 100 over 40 have never been married, while the proportion who have is over 94 per cent. for every age period above 20. The proportion of unmarried women amongst the Indian Tamils is slightly higher, but over 95 per cent. of the women over 30 have been married. *There was not a single Malay woman between 40–50 who had not been married*, and only 13 women over 40 who were not either married, widowed, or divorced. There were only 5 unmarried Malay women between 40 and 50 in 1901, and only 11 over 40 who had never been married.

* But *vide* Chapter XIII., *infra*. The age grouping adopted at the 1901 Census included those aged 20 in the group 15–20 and those aged 30 in the group 25–30, while at this Census those aged 20 appear in 20–25 and those aged 30 in 30–35.

In fact, among the Tamils, Moors, and Malays if a woman is entered as unmarried there must usually be some special reason for her never having married or for her being entered as unmarried.

Amongst the Europeans there are no married men and only 6 married women under 20. Between 20 and 30 the unmarried men are in the proportion of 7 to 1 married man. Amongst the women the numbers of married and unmarried are almost equal. Between 30 and 40 the married men are in a slight majority, while there are more than twice as many married women as unmarried at this age period.

Between 40 and 50 the single men are less than half the number of married, but the proportion of spinsters has increased, being rather more than half the number of married. Between 50 and 60 almost the same proportion (*i.e.*, half) of married and unmarried is found amongst the males, the single having slightly increased in number; while amongst the women only about one-fourth have never been married, and the widows nearly equal the unmarried in numbers.

In the age group 60 and over exactly half the men are married, less than a third unmarried, and nearly a fifth widowers; of the women, the widows are in the largest proportion—nearly one-half; the unmarried comprise one-fourth.

With the exception of the Europeans, the proportion of the unmarried women for every age period over 20 is highest amongst the Burghers and Eurasians.

The following statement shows the civil condition by age of every 1,000 persons of the population of each sex in Ceylon for all races in 1901 and 1911:—

Table F.—Civil Condition by Age of every 1,000 Persons of the Population of each Sex in Ceylon, 1901 and 1911.

1901.

Ages.	Males. Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Females. Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
0—15	999·3	0·6	0·005	985·6	13·9	0·4
15—20	929·9	68·6	1·5	481·09	503·1	15·7
20—30	483·7	498·6	17·6	180·6	758·08	61·2
30—40	186·8	769·6	43·5	115·9	688·5	195·4
40—50	130·07	786·4	83·4	100·7	519·8	379·3
50—60	118·7	728·8	552·4	91·2	341·3	567·2
60 and over	123·7	595·3	280·9	85·1	162·4	752·1

1911.

Ages.	Males. Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Females. Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
0—15	999·8	0·2	—	993·3	6·4	0·3
15—20	978·2	21·1	0·7	665·8	326·3	7·9
20—30	612·0	375·7	12·3	213·7	743·5	42·8
30—40	216·0	746·0	38·0	112·7	756·4	130·9
40—50	131·6	794·5	73·9	92·4	606·9	300·7
50—60	112·1	764·7	123·2	80·2	444·4	475·4
60 and over	101·3	651·8	246·9	73·7	206·6	719·7

Comparing these two tables, it is seen that the proportion of single men has increased since the 1901 Census in every age group up to 50, and has decreased in every age group above 50; the age groups for the married men show decreases up to 40 and increases above 40. The proportion of widowed has decreased in every age group, notably between 50 and 60 (from 552 per 1,000 to 123 per 1,000).

The proportion of single females has increased in every age group under 30; the proportion of married women over 30 has increased for every age group over 30. The proportion of widows has decreased in every age group.

There is a striking difference throughout in the proportion of widowers to widows.

At the Census of 1901 there were 61,089 widowers in Ceylon, of whom 20,895 were Low-country Sinhalese, 17,829 Kandyans, 18,320 Tamils, and 3,127 Moors. At the 1911 Census there were 70,285 widowers, of whom 24,810 were Low-country Sinhalese, 19,434 Kandyans, 21,260 Tamils, and 3,732 Moors. In 1901 there were 172,079 widows, 67,589 of whom were Low-country Sinhalese, 41,720 Kandyans, 47,022 Tamils, and 13,429 Moors. In 1911 there were 197,964 widows, of whom 78,409 were Low-country Sinhalese, 46,740 Kandyans, 54,207 Tamils, and 16,187 Moors.

The proportion of widows to the total female population in 1901 was 10·3 per cent.; in 1911 10·2 per cent. The proportion of widowers to the total male population in 1901 was 3·2 per cent., the same as in 1911. The number of widows in Ceylon has increased since the last Census by 15 per cent., while the female population increased by 15·7 per cent. The number of widowers has increased by 15 per cent., while the male population increased by 14·7 per cent.

The proportion of widows to widowers in 1901 was 28 to 10, which was the same proportion as in 1911; that is to say, there are practically three widows to one widower in Ceylon.

The similarity between the proportions for 1901 and 1911 is remarkable, and appears to show that any changes which are taking place in public opinion in regard to the age of marriage have not as yet made any appreciable difference. Though the re-marriage of widows in Ceylon is not forbidden amongst any race, and, as has been shown, is regarded in some cases as desirable, the widow in the East, where girls marry at a very early age, does not stand the same chance in the matrimonial market as the young and pretty widow in the West. Early marriages are also responsible for the high proportion of widows: 1 in every 10 of the female population is a widow. In England and Wales at the 1901 Census the proportion of widows to the total female population was 7 per cent. In India, where the conditions can be better compared with those in Ceylon, though the prohibition of re-marriage by widows and infant marriage amongst several castes must be taken into account, the proportion of widows was 18 per cent. at the last Census, or nearly twice as high a proportion as in Ceylon.

Taking the figures for the reproductive ages, we find that the proportion of widows to a thousand of the female population between the ages 15–40 for the different races in Ceylon are as follows :—

108	per 1,000	Ceylon Moors	between the	ages 15–40	are widowed.
80	,,	Indian Moors	,,	,,	,,
69	,,	Ceylon Tamils	,,	,,	,,
67	,,	Indian Tamils	,,	,,	,,
66	,,	Malays	,,	,,	,,
66	,,	Kandyan Sinhalese	,,	,,	,,
50	,,	Low-country Sinhalese	,,	,,	,,
34	,,	Burghers and Eurasians	,,	,,	,,
25	,,	Europeans	,,	,,	,,

At the Indian Census of 1901 in every thousand Hindu women between 15 and 40 137 females were returned as widowed. As one might expect, the highest proportion of widows between 15 and 40 is

found amongst the Ceylon Moors. It must be taken into account that the divorced are also included under the head of Widowed, which accounts to a considerable extent for the higher proportion amongst the Kandyans than amongst the Low-country Sinhalese, and for the high proportion amongst the Muhammadans.

The relative proportions of widows and widowers are, however, little affected by the divorced being included under widowed.

Between 1891 and 1900 25,455 widowers and 2,094 divorced men and between 1901 and 1910 25,545 widowers and 2,233 divorced men married again. Between 1891 and 1900 13,218 widows and 1,545 divorced women and between 1901 and 1910 11,436 widows and 2,057 divorced women married again. These figures exclude Muhammadans, for whom figures are not available, and are for registered marriages only. Of the divorced who re-married between 1901 and 1910, 1,978 men and 1,873 women, and between 1891 and 1900, 1,978 men and 1,448 women, were Kandyan.

On the basis of the 1901 figures for widowers and widows which include divorced, and the total number of re-marriages of both since the last Census, it may be estimated that 1 widower or divorced man in every 2 married again, but only 1 in 12 widowed or divorced women re-marry. This calculation makes no allowance for the mortality amongst both, but this should be no higher among widows than widowers, as the former are generally the younger.

The following statement shows (1) the mean male age, (2) the mean female age, (3) the number of men married under 21 years of age for (*a*) all races other than Kandyans and Muhammadans, (*b*) Kandyans for the decades 1891–1900 and 1901–1910 :—

Mean Age at Marriage ; Marriages of Men under 21 Years of Age.

	1891–1900.	1901–1910.
Mean male age	27·4	27·3
Mean female age	20·2	20·9
Number of men married under 21 years of age :—		
(*a*) All races exclusive of Kandyan and Muhammadan	8,273	5,860
(*b*) Kandyans	9,935	7,973

It will be seen that the mean age both for males and females has varied very slightly, but the number of men who have married under 21 has considerably decreased.

The mean female age is probably higher than is actually the case, as there is a tendency to over-state the age of the bride at the registration of a marriage, on account of the legislation—imperfectly understood, but recognized as existing—as to the age at which girls can marry. In many cases the parties have contracted marriages according to their own religious rites and customs, or lived together as husband and wife for years before registering their marriages.

The decrease in the number of married men under 20 is counterbalanced by increases in the married men at later age periods, the average age at matrimony remaining practically unchanged.

The following statement G shows the proportion of married men for each of the native races in the periods 15–20 and 20–30 in 1901 and 1911.

Statement G.—Proportion of Married Men for each of the Native Races in the Periods 15–20 and 20–30 in 1901 and 1911.

Race.	1901. 15–20.	1901. 20–30.	1911. 15–20.	1911. 20–30.
All Races ..	6·78	49·99	2·08	37·73
Low-country Sinhalese ..	3·54	40·85	0·72	28·33
Kandyan Sinhalese ..	7·66	54·02	1·81	41·84
Tamils ..	8·40	54·36	3·47	43·78
Moors ..	14·22	64·65	3·54	47·68
Malays ..	7·67	57·71	1·63	37·82
Burghers and Eurasians..	1·43	39·34	0·89	30·86

These figures show an all-round decrease in the proportion of married men between 15 and 30.

The following table gives the proportion of the single, married, and widowed in a thousand persons of each sex and race in the Colombo Municipality :—

Table H.—Proportion of the Single, the Married, and the Widowed in a Thousand Persons of each Sex and Race in the Colombo Municipality.

Race.	Males.			Females.		
	Single.	Married.	Widowed	Single.	Married.	Widowed
All Races ..	628·63	344·91	26·44	515·62	365·73	118·63
Low-country Sinhalese	692·77	281·31	25·92	553·68	325·95	120·37
Kandyan Sinhalese ..	687·71	288·53	23·76	550·88	347·36	101·76
Tamils	572·13	400·16	27·71	412·04	469·72	118·24
Ceylon Tamils ..	665·16	302·26	32·58	503·95	390·35	105·70
Indian Tamils ..	543·35	430·45	26·20	335·53	535·79	128·68
Moors	566·16	408·90	24·85	448·63	415·67	135·56
Ceylon Moors ..	637·36	332·18	30·31	465·75	410·23	123·84
Indian Moors ..	479·19	502·62	18·19	380·31	437·39	182·30
Europeans ..	623·15	354·30	22·55	559·51	387·07	53·42
Burghers and Eurasians	678·49	290·41	31·10	616·20	293·45	90·35
Malays	645·98	322·99	31·03	508·70	372·23	119·07
Others	633·20	344·16	22·64	526·66	387·52	85·82

Comparing this table with Table B, we find that there is a larger proportion of unmarried males amongst the Sinhalese in Colombo than in the Island generally, owing to the large number of young men from the Galle, Kandy, and Colombo Districts who find employment in Colombo. Similarly with the Ceylon Tamils and Moors. Amongst the immigrant races, however—the Europeans, Indian Tamils, and Indian Moors—we find a larger percentage of married. In the case of the Europeans, these are married men living with their families in Colombo ; in the case of the Indian Moors and Tamils in Colombo, in a large majority of cases their wives have been left at the Coast, though amongst the road and load coolies there are a large number of married men and women, while there are few children.

The proportion of married amongst the females is higher in Colombo than the average for Ceylon—except amongst the Europeans. The probable explanation in the case of the latter is that at the time of the Census (March 10) many European women were away from Colombo in hill stations, and their number in Colombo was very small.

The following Table I gives the proportion of married females to 1,000 married males for the principal races for Ceylon and the Provinces for 1901 and 1911.

Table I.—Proportion of Married Females to 1,000 Married Males, 1901 and 1911.

Race.	Ceylon.		Western Province.		Central Province.		Northern Province.		Southern Province.		Eastern Province.		North-Western Province.		North-Central Province.		Province of Uva.		Province of Sabaragamuwa.	
	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.
All Races ..	974	979	949	929	951	993	1046	1065	1051	1070	1003	1008	910	893	944	917	987	999	951	976
Low-country Sinhalese..	1008	1000	1045	1031	609	691	148	232	1059	1076	668	158	872	885	506	541	456	461	808	678
Kandyan Sinhalese ..	1022	1003	916	982	1064	1034	924	770	1000	1453	961	970	976	942	1005	1002	1116	1045	987	1009
Tamils	938	979	610	619	941	1032	1054	1077	773	774	997	983	709	741	725	700	931	1086	951	1067
Moors	863	852	737	702	793	830	936	970	1057	1086	1048	1052	827	803	882	814	609	586	742	749
Europeans ..	752	744	606	655	931	829	786	846	605	750	815	593	765	788	667	273	912	1034	555	709
Burghers ..	998	989	1043	1022	898	1037	1102	1103	1033	959	1058	970	773	659	875	846	747	788	810	763
Malays	935	972	895	953	963	1032	857	1154	1063	1205	957	811	929	1094	929	844	942	768	849	627
Others	394	401	302	179	548	593	282	122	253	396	441	708	523	394	529	467	814	680	639	974

As is to be expected amongst a population so largely composed of immigrants, the number of married males exceeds the number of married females. Amongst the Low-country Sinhalese the proportion is exactly the same; amongst the Kandyans the married females are in a slightly higher proportion than the married males. In every Kandyan Province, except the North-Western Province, this excess of married women is found. One explanation is that the large Low-country immigration into these Provinces has been accompanied by intermarriages between Low-country men and Kandyan women, while in many cases the proportion as regards the Low-country Sinhalese has not been affected, as a Low-country wife may have been left behind.

Amongst all other races the proportion of married men is considerably larger, notably amongst the Europeans, with 4 married men to 3 married women; the next lowest proportion of married women is amongst the Moors, the figures being affected by the Indian Moors, and by the large number of divorced Muhammadan women who were probably entered as divorced or as widows while their husbands appeared as married.

Compared with 1901 there is little change in the proportions. The only increased proportions in the number of married women are amongst the Tamils (partly due to a comparative decrease in the number of immigrants) and the Malays (owing probably to the number of Malay women married to Moors).

The proportions of single, married, and widowed for each age period given in Table E show that nearly fifteen times as many women as men are married between 15 and 20, and twice as many women as men between 20 and 30; that the married of both sexes only begin to approximate in regard to âge for the period 30–40, where the proportions are almost the same, and from 40 onwards the proportion of married men is considerably higher.

As the tendency on the part of the men to defer marriage increases, there is likely to be still more difference in age between husband and wife than there is to-day. In the East, where a woman attains puberty at a very early age, the marriage of girls will naturally take place much earlier than in the West, even without taking into account the strong prejudices in favour of the early marriage of girls found amongst all Eastern peoples.

There has been a marked increase in the registration of marriages. The yearly average, which in the decade 1871–1880 was 9,200, has steadily risen every decade—to 9,400 in the decade 1881–1890, 13,850 in the decade 1891–1900, and 15,700 for 1901–1910. These figures do not include Kandyans or Muhammadans. "The Kandyans," says the Registrar-General,* "are, as a rule, indifferent to registration. The number of marriages registered among them varies with the pressure applied to them by Government Agents. Taken by decades the yearly average, which in the decade 1871–1880 was close on 9,000, fell to about 5,000 in the following decade, exceeded 9,000 in the decade 1891–1900, and has fallen in the following decade (viz., 1901–1910) to a little over 6,000."

Marriages, as has been shown, are regarded as events to be celebrated with all the pomp and ceremony possible, and the desire for display on these occasions is so great that it is common, especially among the Sinhalese, for a debt to be incurred on a wedding which it takes generations to pay off, and which sometimes makes the debtor the

* Administration Report on the Vital Statistics, 1910–1911.

slave of his creditor. The evils which result from the extravagance shown on these occasions are so great that an organization on the lines of the *Walter Krit Rajaputra Hitkaini Sabha* of Rajputana would be most beneficial to Ceylon. This association, which has spread over Rajputana, was formed to check the excessive expenditure on weddings and to fix the ages for marriage. Rules were framed which laid down the maximum proportion of a man's income that might be expended on (*a*) his own or his eldest son's wedding, and (*b*) on that of other relatives.*

Fourteen was fixed as the minimum age of marriage for girls and 18 for boys. It was also laid down that no expenditure should be incurred on betrothals, and the maximum expenditure at funerals was also settled.

It was subsequently decided that no girl should remain unmarried after the age of 20, and that no second marriage should take place during the lifetime of the first wife, unless she is childless or is afflicted with an incurable disease.†

The influence of the Roman Catholic Church in Ceylon has been very great in securing the solemnization of marriages, and amongst the Sinhalese coast population illegitimate and unregistered unions are becoming rare.

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* The scale of expenses for (*a*) is not more than two-thirds of the annual income up to Rs. 1,000 a year, not more than half of that between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 10,000, not more than one-third of that between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 20,000, and not more than a quarter of any income exceeding this amount; and for (*b*) one-tenth of the above.

† *Vide* Report on the Census of India, Vol. I., p. 443. The association seems to have been very successful, for, according to its report in 1902, of 4,047 Rajput and Charan marriages reported, the limits of age were only infringed in 147 cases, and in only 18 cases was the rule as to marriage expenses broken.

CHAPTER XIII.

AGE.

Inaccuracy of Age returns—Ignorance of Age in Ceylon—Comparative accuracy obtained—Comparison of corresponding groups at succeeding Censuses—Age divisions—Influences affecting correctness of ages given—Road tax—Proportion of persons living at each age period to the total population—Apparent decrease in proportion of children to total population—Comparison of figures for 1891, 1901, and 1911—Age grouping in 1901 not in accordance with system in 1911—Infantile mortality in Ceylon—Proportion of children to married women—Number of children to a family—Proportion of males and females at each successive age period to total number of males and females—Age distribution of a hundred persons of each sex in India and Ceylon—Proportions by sex in each age period for each race—among urban and rural population—Comparison of number of males between 18 and 55 at the Census, and number on commutation lists—Centenarians in Ceylon—Ceylon famous for longevity of inhabitants—Reminiscences of centenarians—Life Table.

Both in the West and in the East the age statistics obtained at the Census are admitted to be in several respects inaccurate and unsatisfactory. For instance, it is common knowledge that in the West the number of women between 15 and 25 at one Census invariably exceeds the number between 5 and 15 at the previous Census, owing to the large number of women who give their ages as below twenty-five. In the East, while the standard of female veracity may be no higher, there are not the same temptations amongst the women to write years off their age.

As has been shown, early marriage is the rule; and the married woman in the East usually exaggerates her age, especially when there is legislation fixing the marriageable age—and it is generally recognized that the Government disapproves of early marriage; though the age limit is known to the few, the fact that there is such a limit is probably realized, though widely ignored.

There is also the prevailing tendency to state ages in multiples usually of ten or five. Confusion also generally exists between completed number of years and the year calculated from the date of birth. The age required to be given in Ceylon is the year completed. The aged are also prone to exaggerate their years.

Several writers on Ceylon have recorded evidence of the general ignorance shown by the people of the country in regard to their ages. J. C. Wolf, in his "Life and Adventures,"* writes: "With respect to the palm, or (as it is called from its fruit) *panegais* tree [the palmyra is referred to], there is one thing observable, that it makes a new shoot every year; as soon as this comes out, throwing off the leaves from the old one. Hence may be easily seen the age of the tree itself; and not even so, but it even serves to mark the age of its owner; it being here the custom to plant one of these trees at the birth of every child:

* Wolf's "Life and Adventures," pp. 129, 130.

A.—Number of Persons by Sex and Age Period and their Percentage of Increase or Decrease, 1891–1911.

Age Periods.	1891.		Age Periods.	1901.		Age Periods.	1911.		Percentage of Increase or Decrease.			
									1891–1901.		1901–1911.	
	Males.	Females.		Males.	Females.		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
—	—	—	0—10	592,572	550,224	10—20	449,445	404,623	—	—	—24·15	—26·46
0—10	523,576	476,835	10—20	381,428	367,632	20—30	401,103	384,738	—27·15	—22·90	5·16	4·65
10—15	169,447	136,497	20—25	182,746	173,733	30—35	165,343	139,169	7·85	27·28	— 9·52	—19·89
15—20	141,180	171,959	25—30	194,663	171,178	35—40	151,148	103,094	37·88	— 0·45	—22·35	—39·77
20—30	297,539	281,234	30—40	247,115	183,374	40—50	190,113	150,827	—16·95	—34·80	—23·07	—17·75
30—40	201,240	151,898	40—50	136,616	118,522	50—60	116,671	101,352	—32·02	—21·97	—14·60	—14·49
40—50	111,255	99,284	50—60	102,922	66,449	60—70	65,903	48,882	— 7·49	—33·07	—35·97	—26·44

say, persons who were between 10–20 at the 1901 Census if alive at the 1911 Census should be included amongst those between 20–30. Allowance must, of course, be made for immigration and emigration, for the birth-rate in the lowest age groups, and the death-rate in all groups which are compared with groups in the previous decade.

These figures show that on the whole, especially in the last decade, the age figures are more accurate than might have been expected. There is a decrease in the percentage in every age group in 1911 compared with the corresponding age group in 1901, viz., the previous group, ten years younger, except in the period 20—30, where the figures are affected by the large number of immigrants in Ceylon between these ages. Further, as the figures for one Census are compared with those of another, the errors due to over- and under-statement of age tend to cancel one against the other, and the degree of error from one Census to another may be taken as constant. The figures have not been smoothed, as no such process was adopted in 1901.

The collation of the age results also serves as a useful check on the vital statistics, while the latter taken with the Census returns throw light on any considerable alterations in the age distribution which may have taken place owing to migration, outbreaks of sickness, or any other cause.

The careful preparation of the vital statistics of Ceylon has won the praise of foreign statisticians. These statistics have been brought to a high pitch of perfection under the administration of the present Registrar-General, the Hon. Mr. P. Arunachalam.

At the last Census ages were divided into annual periods up to 5 years,* from 5 to 60 into quinquennial periods, 60 and over formed one group. At the request of the Registrar-General of England, and in order to secure uniformity with the simultaneous returns taken in other parts of the British Empire, ages above 60 were divided into quinquennial periods: 60–65, 65–70, and 70 and over.

It was pointed out that the vagueness as to age amongst an Eastern people increased in the later age periods, and that few, if any, villagers would be able to give their age, if over 60, with any approximate accuracy.

The Tamils have a saying which may be here appropriately quoted:—

At fifty discrimination, at sixty moderation, after sixty no distinguishing characteristic.†

Before considering the figures for the different age periods, it is important to realize any indirect causes which may influence the ages given. In the case of children of school-going age, it is probable that children's ages were exaggerated in many cases, where the parents were desirous of keeping them away from school. Amongst the Moors, for example, who are in most parts quite content with the Koran school for their children, one might expect to find such a tendency.

As has been mentioned above, in Ceylon all males between 18 and 55 pay a poll tax. It is the annual duty of the revenue officer to travel through his district to receive applications for exemption from payment of this tax on the grounds of age, ill-health, &c. It might, therefore, be expected that many males would be inclined to put their ages above

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* But *vide* p. 363, *infra.*

† ஐம்பதிலே அறிவு, அறுபதிலே அடக்கம், அறுபதுக்குமேல ஒன்றுமில்லை.

55 or below 18 in support of their claims to exemption. As regards under-statement of age, the figures would not be likely to be affected, as youths of 18 and 19 would give their ages as 16 or 17, which would bring them within the same age period 15–20. One might, however, expect to find a larger proportion of persons between 55 and 60 than between 50 and 55. At the Census of 1901 the number of males between 50 and 55 was less than at any other age period, and nearly 20,000 less than the number of males between 55–60.

There were 55,832 males between 40–45 in 1891, and 41,914 males between 50–55 in 1901, while there were 61,008 males between 55 and 60. In 1911, however, there were more males between 50–55 than between 55 and 60 (65,010 to 51,661), and the proportion of males decreases in each quinquennial period from 30 onwards.

There were 68,000 males between 40–45 in 1901, and 65,010 males between 50–55 in 1911. The 61,008 males between 55 and 60 in 1901 are represented by 20,333 males between 65 and 70 in 1911, but the 41,914 males between 50 and 55 in 1901 have *increased* to 45,570 males between 60 and 65 in 1911.

These figures appear to show that the 1911 figures are the more accurate, and that while many persons in 1901 must have deliberately given their ages as over 55, the number of such persons in 1911 was comparatively small. It is no doubt better understood at every Census that particulars given in the Census schedule cannot be used in any proceedings unconnected with the Census.

The following Table B shows the proportion of persons living at each successive period of life to the total population, 1871–1911 :—

Table B.—Age Distribution, Ceylon, 1871–1911.

Age Period.	1871.		1881.		1891.		1901.		1911.	
0—10	33·4		33·4		33·2		32·0		28·6	
10—20	20·4	71·8	20·9	73·6	20·6	73·0	21·0	73·3	20·8	68·5
20—30	18·0		19·3		19·2		20·3		19·1	
30—40	11·3		11·0		11·8		12·0		13·6	
40—50	7·5	24·4	6·9	24·3	7·1	23·9	7·2	23·9	8·3	27·2
50—60	5·6		6·4		5·0		4·7		5·3	
60 and over	3·8		2·1		3·1		2·8		4·3	

It will be seen that the proportions vary very slightly at each Census, but compared with previous Censuses the proportion of children under 10 has decreased, as has the proportion of persons between 10 and 30, compared with 1901, while there is a proportionate increase in the periods 30–60 and 60 and over.

A decrease in the proportion of children to the total population demands the closest investigation before one can be satisfied that the figures are explained by increased proportions in the higher age periods.

A decline in the birth-rate or a heavier infantile mortality will be shown in the earliest age periods.

The following Table C shows the figures for the age groups 0–2, 2–5, 5–10 at the last four Censuses for the total population, and for Sinhalese, Tamils, and Moors separately.

Table C.—Age Distribution of Children of 10 Years of Age and under and their Proportion to a hundred Persons of each Sex of the Total Population of all Ages, 1881–1911, for all Races, Sinhalese, Tamils, and Moors.

Race.	Year.	0—2.		2—5.		5–10.	
		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
All Races ..	1881	7·9	8·7	9·4	10·0	15·5	15·4
	1891	8·2	8·7	9·2	9·6	15·6	15·4
	1901	8·4	9·1	8·9	9·4	13·9	14·4
	1911	5·3	5·7	9·1	9·6	13·3	14·3
Sinhalese ..	1881	8·6	8·9	10·3	10·3	16·7	15·6
	1891	8·8	8·9	9·8	9·7	16·7	15·7
	1901	9·6	9·8	9·8	9·9	15·0	14·7
	1911	5·9	6·1	9·9	10·1	14·7	15·3
Tamils ..	1881	6·3	7·8	7·2	8·7	12·1	14·2
	1891	6·4	7·8	7·6	8·9	12·2	14·1
	1901	5·8	7·1	6·8	8·0	11·1	13·1
	1911	3·9	4·7	7·3	8·4	9·8	11·2
Moors ..	1881	8·2	9·8	9·9	11·7	17·6	17·5
	1891	8·7	9·9	9·2	10·7	16·7	16·7
	1901	8·4	10·2	9·2	10·6	15·4	16·0
	1911	4·8	5·9	8·6	10·4	14·2	16·1

While there is little difference between the figures for children between 2–5 and 5–10 in 1901 and 1911, there is a remarkable decrease in the proportion of children between 0–2 to the total population, which cannot be explained by relative increases in the more advanced age periods; this decrease is found in all the three principal races.

The proportion of children under 2 years, according to these figures, amongst the Sinhalese has fallen from over 9½ per cent. to 6 per cent. in the case of both males and females; amongst the Tamils from 5·8 for males and 7·1 per cent. for females to 3·9 for males and 4·7 for females; amongst the Moors from 8·4 for males and 10·2 for females to 4·8 and 5·9 respectively.

If this great decrease could be explained by the considerations referred to above, and if there was any prospect of a continued decline in the birth-rate accompanied by an increased infantile mortality, the population would be likely to decrease rather than increase in the future.

The following Table D gives the figures for the age periods 0–5 by annual periods and 5–10 at the Censuses 1891, 1901, and 1911, and the increase or decrease per cent. at these Censuses at each age period.

We find from these figures that the difference is chiefly in the first period both for males and females, viz., amongst infants under 1 year, where there are the large decreases of 38 and 37 per cent. in males and females respectively. The number of infants under 1 year in 1901 was two and a half times the number in 1891, and half as large again as the figure for 1911. The figures for 1901 show more than half as many male children under 1 year of age as in any year between 1 and 5, and nearly twice as many female infants under 1 year as between 1 and 2, 2 and 3, and so on, up to 5 years.

Table D.—Children under 10 Years of Age, 1891, 1901, and 1911.

Age Period.	Males.					Females.				
	1891.	1901.	1911.	Increase or Decrease per Cent.		1891.	1901.	1911.	Increase or Decrease per Cent.	
				1891–1901.	1901–1911.				1891–1901.	1901–1911.
0—1	40,200	98,938	61,620	146	—38	37,777	93,986	59,359	149	—37
1—2	90,000	61,172	52,973	—32	—13	85,488	58,326	50,734	—32	—13
2—3		61,951	67,536		9		58,862	64,629		10
3—4	146,277	55,697	67,589	15	21	135,961	51,756	63,692	16	23
4—5		50,936	62,152		22		47,152	57,691		22
Total 0—5 ..	276,477	328,694	311,870	19	—5	259,226	310,082	296,105	20	—5
5—10	247,099	263,878	289,025	7	10	217,609	240,142	275,450	10	15

We must then conclude, if the 1901 figures are correct, that there has been a remarkable drop in the birth-rate in the last two years, or a very heavy infantile mortality, or that there was an exceptionally high birth-rate amongst all communities in 1900 and the early part of 1901, for we find the same high percentage of children under 1 year for each race in 1901.

The total number of infants under 1 year at the Census of 1901 was 192,924. The number of registered births in 1900 was 136,051, or a rate of 38·6 births to 1,000 persons living—a sufficiently high birth-rate to make it unlikely that any large number of births escaped registration; while the number of deaths of infants under 1 year in 1900 was 24,152—the births in January and February, 1901, which would be included in the total for children under 1 year at the Census, are counterbalanced by the inclusion of births in January and February, 1900, and though the deaths of infants under 1 year in 1900 include children born in 1899, the deaths in January and February, 1901, are omitted, and the heaviest mortality amongst infants is at birth and under three months. From these figures it would appear that the number of infants under 1 year at the Census of 1901 might have been expected to be approximately 112,000, instead of nearly double this figure.

Further, at the 1901 Census there were 562,432 married women between 10 and 50 to 192,924 infants under 1 year, or 1 infant to every 3 married women; that is to say, one in every three married women between 10 and 50 may be assumed to have given birth to a child who survived between the end of February, 1900, and March 1, 1901—a supposition which appears incredible.

Comparing the Ceylon figures for 1901 and 1911 with the Indian figures for 1901, we find the following age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in the yearly periods as follows :—

Table E.—Proportion of Children for Ages under 10 Years to 10,000 of the Population of each Sex in Ceylon and India.

Age Period.	India.		Ceylon.			
	1901.		1901.		1911.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0—1	266	276	521·8	562·9	283·3	307·3
1—2	163	175	322·6	349·3	243·6	262·7
2—3	274	297	326·7	352·5	310·5	334·6
3—4	276	303	293·7	310·0	310·7	329·8
4—5	275	288	268·6	282·4	285·8	298·7
Total 0—5 ..	1,254	1,339	1,733·4	1,857·1	1,433·9	1,533·1
5—10	1,394	1,382	1,391·6	1,438·2	1,328·8	1,426·2

The Ceylon figures for *1911* admit of comparison with the Indian figures, and show a slightly higher percentage of children in Ceylon—in each year up to five years, as might be expected. the earlier marriages in India are counterbalanced by healthier conditions in Ceylon ; but the *1901* figures show *twice* as high a proportion of infants under one year and under two years in Ceylon as in India.

From these statistics it is difficult to believe that the figures for infants under one year according to the Census for 1901 can be correct.

If correct, we have to assume that some 80,000 births in 1900 were not registered, and that the number of infants under 1 rose from 80,000 in 1891 to 190,000 in 1901, and dropped again to 120,000 in 1911 without any reported heavy infantile mortality or change in the birth-rate.

It is clear that some further explanation is required. It appears to be the case that in the tabulation of ages at the Census of 1901, in each group of ages the lower limit was excluded and the upper limit included; that is to say, the group 5–10 did not include 5 but included 10, and *0–1 included 1 and under*, so that the figures in 1901 for 0–1 include not only those children who at this Census were entered as infants, but also those children who were in their second year or had passed the age of 1, and against whom 1 was entered in the column for age in the Census schedule. The consequence is that the figures for 0–1 in 1901 must be compared with the figures for 0–2 at the 1911 Census, and 1–2 with 2–3, and so on.

Table F (*vide* page 364) affords a comparison of children under 5 years in 1901 and 1911, the figures being re-arranged to allow for the grouping in 1901. From these figures it appears that instead of a decrease there has been an increase in the number of children between 0–5, as might naturally have been expected, and this increase occurs in each year up to five.

The re-classification of every age group above 5 by the exclusion of the lowest year and the inclusion of the highest would involve very considerable labour, and would only be useful for comparison with the 1901 figures. It is unfortunate that this arrangement should have been followed—as it appears to have been—at the 1901 Census, for it is contrary to the practice pursued in all other countries, and deprives the comparisons of the 1901 and 1911 figures of much of their value.

It must therefore be realized in the comparisons made throughout this chapter that the age periods 0–5, 5–10, 10–15, 15–20, and so on, for 1901 should be taken to be 5 *and* under, 10 *and* under, 15 *and* under, 20 *and* under, and so on, while in 1911 they represent *under* 5, *under* 10, *under* 15, *under* 20, and so on.

The comparisons can for all practical purposes be accepted as useful, as each age period, except the first, comprises five years. There is a strong tendency, however, on the part of persons to enter their age at a decennial or quinquennial period, especially amongst women who give their ages as 20 or 30, taking no account of odd years on either side.

Though there has been an increase of 12½ per cent. in the number of children under 5, it should have been greater, and the figures for infantile mortality in Ceylon demand serious consideration.

The rate of infantile mortality in England and Wales in 1906 was 133 deaths of infants under 1 year to 1,000 births, as compared with an average of 150 deaths in the preceding ten years.

The average for Ceylon for ten years 1888 to 1897 was 163 deaths under 1 year to 1,000 births; for the ten years 1898 to 1907 178 deaths; while in 1908, 1909, and 1910 the deaths per 1,000 births numbered 183, 202, and 176 respectively. Reference has already been made elsewhere in the report to the infantile mortality in the districts which show the highest rates.*

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* *Vide* pp. 73, 74, 79, 97, and 140.

Table F.—Children under 5 Years, 1901 and 1911. (Re-arrangement of 1901 Figures.)

Ages.	1901.			1911.			Percentage of Increase, 1901–1911.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
0—1 ..				61,620	59,359	120,979			
1—2 ..				52,973	50,734	103,707			
0—1, 1—2	98,938	93,983	192,921	114,593	110,093	224,686	15·8	17·1	16·5
2—3 ..	61,172	58,326	119,498	67,536	64,629	132,165	10·4	10·8	10·6
3—4 ..	61,951	58,862	120,813	67,589	63,692	131,281	9·1	8·2	8·7
4—5 ..	55,697	51,756	107,453	62,152	57,691	119,843	11·6	11·5	11·5
Total 0—5 ..	277,758	262,927	540,685	311,870	296,105	607,975	12·2	12·6	12·4

The increase in the percentage of children under 5 no doubt would have been larger had it not been for the heavy infantile mortality in 1909, which has considerably lowered the number of children under 2 and under 1 at the 1911 Census.

Amongst the Sinhalese the infantile mortality in 1909 was 190, as compared with an average of 163 for the previous eleven years and 160 in 1910.

The deaths of children under 5 years to 1,000 persons living in 1909 was 71, as compared with an average for 1898–1907 of 66·8 and a rate in 1910 of 61·8; 51,559 children under 5 years died in 1909, as compared with a yearly average of 44,153 between 1898 and 1907.

The birth-rate amongst the Tamils was well above the average in 1909 and 1910; the death-rate, however, increased considerably in both these years. The infantile mortality in the Tamil districts was high.

The Moors were the only race to show no increase in the birth-rate during the decade; the average for 1891–1900 was 37·4 per 1,000 persons, for 1901–1910 37·3 per mille. The average for the period 1898 to 1908 was 38, and the birth-rates for 1909 and 1910 were 35 and 35·4 per mille respectively.

The average number of deaths of children under 1 year to 1,000 births for 1898–1909 was 220 in the Batticaloa District; the number in 1909 was 235, and in 1910 221.

There is a general improvement in the last year of the decade; but the high rate of infantile mortality still demands the closest investigation by the Medical Department.

The proportions of births to a hundred married women between the ages of 15 and 45, taking the figures for the latter at the Censuses of 1901 and 1911, were for 1901 25·8, for 1911 26·9. It therefore appears that the number of children born in proportion to the number of persons married has not decreased.

The number of married women between 15 and 45 has increased by 11·7 per cent. between 1901 and 1911; the female population increased by 15·7 per cent.

The birth-rates of all native races, except the Moors, show increases.

The following statement shows the proportion of children under 10 to (*a*) Total population between 15–40 and (*b*) Married women between 15–40, at the Censuses of 1891, 1901, and 1911:—

	(*a*)	(*b*)
1891	80·4	—*
1901	74·3	232·5
1911	69·3	223·6

These decreases point to a heavier mortality amongst children, and such appears to be the case.

The death-rate of persons over 50 has, however, declined. In 1891 the proportion of persons over 50 to the total population was 8·1 per cent., and to persons between 15 and 40 was 19·7 per cent. In 1901 the proportions were 7·5 per cent. and 17·3 per cent. respectively. In 1911 the proportions of persons over 50 were 9·6 per cent. to the total population and 23·3 per cent. to persons between 15 and 40.

* Figures for civil condition are not available for 1891.

The following Table G shows the proportion of children under 5, under 10, and under 15 to married women aged 15–40, 15–45, and 15–50 respectively in 1901 and 1911 :—

Table G.—Proportion of Children under 5, under 10, and under 15 to Married Women aged 15–40, 15–45, and 15–50 respectively, 1901 and 1911.

Race.	1901. Proportion of Children under 5 to Married Women between 15–40.	1901. under 10 to Married Women between 15–45.	1901. under 15 to Married Women between 15–50.	1911. Proportion of Children under 5 to Married Women between 15–40.	1911. under 10 to Married Women between 15–45.	1911. under 15 to Married Women between 15–50.
All Races ..	1·30	2·20	2·72	1·16	2·02	2·73
Low-country Sinhalese	1·64	2·74	3·24	1·46	2·52	3·31
Kandyan Sinhalese ..	1·43	2·35	2·82	1·34	2·32	3·08
Tamils	0·83	1·48	2·05	0·74	1·27	1·84
Ceylon Tamils ..	—	—	—	0·99	1·74	2·35
Indian Tamils ..	—	—	—	0·53	0·87	1·40
Moors	1·26	2·20	2·67	1·05	1·95	2·62
Ceylon Moors ..	—	—	—	1·06	1·97	2·61
Indian Moors ..	—	—	—	0·76	1·49	2·81
Burghers and Eurasians	1·56	2·54	3·31	1·30	2·25	3·01
Malays ..	1·30	2·26	2·78	1·09	2·02	2·70

From these figures it appears that the average number of children under 15 in a family is approximately three, which is in agreement with the figures for families in Ceylon, the average number of persons to a family being 4·7. The girls have probably left the parental roof as soon as they reach the age of puberty and are married, and in many families the elder children were absent at boarding schools at the time of the Census. The highest percentages of children under 5, under 10, and under 15 are found amongst the Low-country Sinhalese; the Burghers showed the highest proportion in children under 15 in 1901, and now come third—the Kandyan Sinhalese taking second place. Of the resident population, the Ceylon Tamils show the lowest proportions, the number of children under 15 being less than 5 to 2 married women between 15 and 50. The explanation is said to be that a large number of Tamil men, especially from Jaffna, have emigrated to the Malay States and gone to Colombo for work, leaving their wives in Jaffna.

The Indian Tamils show very low proportions—about half the average for the Island—which would point to a low birth-rate or a high rate of infantile mortality amongst the estate population—though many of the female immigrants doubtless leave their children behind them, especially so amongst the Indian Tamil cooly women employed on roads and as load-coolies, &c. The Tamils everywhere appear to have smaller families than the Sinhalese or Moors. The Indian Moors show a higher proportion of children under 15 to the married women between 15 and 50 than amongst the Ceylon Moors, or Ceylon Tamils, or even than the proportion for all races—further evidence that the

married Indian Moor women are women whom Indian Moors have married in Ceylon and who have settled down here, while their husbands probably go backwards and forwards between the Coast.

The following Table H shows the proportions of males and females separately at each successive age period to the total number of males and females, 1881–1911 :—

Table H.—Age Distribution by Sex, 1881–1911.

Age Period.	Males.				Females.			
	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
0—10.. ..	32·9	32·9	31·3	27·6	34·1	33·7	32·9	29·6
10—20.. ..	19·8	19·5	20·1	20·7	22·1	21·8	22·0	21·0
20—30.. ..	18·8	18·7	19·9	18·4	19·8	19·9	20·7	19·9
30—40.. ..	11·9	12·6	13·0	14·6	10·1	10·7	11·0	12·5
40—50.. ..	6·8	7·0	7·2	8·7	6·9	7·0	7·1	7·8
50—60.. ..	6·1	5·8	5·4	5·4	4·2	4·4	4·0	5·2
60 and over ..	3·4	3·5	3·1	4·6	2·5	2·5	2·3	3·9

We find that in Ceylon more than one-fourth of the total population —both male and female—is under 10, slightly more than a fifth between 10 and 20, and an almost similar proportion between 20 and 30; then the proportions decrease, and only just over one-fourth of the whole population is aged between 30–60, while one- twentieth have passed the latter age. Only 3 in every 200 persons have reached the allotted span of three score years and ten.

The following Table I shows the age distribution of a hundred persons of each sex at the 1911 Census in Ceylon and India :—

Table I.—Age Distribution of a hundred Persons of each Sex in Ceylon and India, 1911.

Age Period.	Ceylon.		India.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0—10	28	30	27	28
10—20	21	21	20	18
20—30	18	20	17	18
30—40	14	12	15	14
40—50	9	8	10	10
50—60	5	5	6	6
60 and over ..	5	4	5	6

We find a higher proportion in Ceylon both amongst the males and females up to 30; between 30 and 60 the proportions are larger in India; the figures are the same for both countries for males over 60, for females the proportion is higher in India.

It does not necessarily follow from this Table that females live in India longer than in Ceylon; such is probably not the case, owing to infant marriages, &c. (*vide* remarks above, Chapters XI. and XII.). The numbers in the lower age periods are so large that there is a consequent reduction in the proportions for the advanced ages.

The next Table J shows the proportion by sex in each age period for the Sinhalese, 1881–1911.

Table J.—Age Distribution of a hundred Sinhalese of each Sex in Ceylon, 1881–1911.

Age Period.	1881.		1891.		1901.		1911.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0—10.. ..	35·5	34·8	35·2	34·3	34·4	34·5	30·5	31·4
10—20.. ..	19·5	21·7	19·1	21·8	18·9	21·4	20·2	20·6
20—30.. ..	16·1	18·5	17·0	18·9	18·4	19·6	16·7	18·6
30—40.. ..	10·8	9·9	11·5	10·3	11·8	10·4	13·4	11·9
40—50.. ..	6·8	7·3	6·7	7·2	7·0	7·3	8·4	7·6
50—60.. ..	7·1	4·6	6·5	4·7	6·0	4·3	5·7	5·7

It is noteworthy that there is a marked decrease in the proportions of males and females under 10*—the proportion of males to a hundred Sinhalese being nearly 4 per cent. less, and the proportion of females just over 3 per cent. less, than in 1901.

The proportionate decrease is made up in the case of the males by increases in the periods 10–20 and 30–50, in the case of the females in the periods 30 and over. These figures appear to show either a falling off in the birth-rate both for males and females,* or an increased mortality amongst children under 10, improved conditions for males between 10 and 20, and increased longevity especially amongst the women. As regards the birth-rate, the average birth-rate per 1,000 persons amongst the Sinhalese between 1891–1900 was 36·7, between 1901–1910 41·4, or an increase of nearly 5 per mille. It must be borne in mind that these figures are for *registered* births only, and that registration of births is undoubtedly increasing.†

The increase in the birth-rate between 1881–1890 and the birth-rate between 1891–1900 was 6·3 per mille. Though the birth-rate is higher amongst the Sinhalese than amongst any other race, and is increasing, it is probably not growing in proportion to the increase in population. The tendency, as before remarked, is—as wealth and well-being spread—for marriages to take place at a later age, and the number to the family to be more frequently limited.

The increase in females in the age period under 10 is remarkable, and has already been referred to. The proportion of females is nearly 1 per cent. more than amongst the males, and the increase in number of females in this period is double that of the males.

The increases in the proportion of males to females between 10–20 and in the proportion of females to males between 20–30 have been referred to above (*vide* p. 314). and may be accounted for by ages being given more accurately.

The following Table K shows the proportions by sex of the Sinhalese population at each age period in each of the Provinces of the Island except the Northern, in which the Sinhalese are found in very small numbers, at this Census and the last.

* But *vide* remarks above, pp. 362, 363. The figures for 0–10 in 1901 include those aged 10; in 1911 only those under 10.

† *Vide* p. 316, *supra*.

Table K.—Age Distribution of a hundred Sinhalese of each Sex in eight of the nine Provinces, 1901–1911.

Province.	Year.	0–10. Males.	0–10. Females.	10–20. Males.	10–20. Females.	20–30. Males.	20–30. Females.	30–40. Males.	30–40. Females.	40–50. Males.	40–50. Females.	50–60. Males.	50–60. Females.
Western ..	1901	34·2	34·4	19·8	21·5	17·8	19·1	11·6	10·4	6·9	7·3	6·0	4·5
	1911	29·3	30·5	20·8	21·2	17·1	18·2	13·4	11·9	8·4	7·6	5·7	6·0
Central ..	1901	34·4	35·2	18·6	21·7	18·9	19·7	11·8	10·2	7·1	7·0	6·0	3·9
	1911	31·2	33·5	21·4	21·2	15·5	17·2	13·2	11·8	8·4	7·5	5·7	5·1
Southern ..	1901	38·2	34·6	18·1	20·1	15·05	18·6	11·0	10·8	7·2	8·0	6·3	4·7
	1911	35·4	31·0	19·0	19·5	13·3	17·6	11·4	11·8	7·9	8·2	6·4	6·5
Eastern ..	1901	29·9	36·3	20·2	24·2	21·8	20·0	13·6	9·2	7·05	5·8	4·8	3·4
	1911	23·8	31·1	23·2	20·5	20·4	23·5	14·7	12·5	8·9	5·5	4·9	3·8
North-Western	1901	29·4	32·2	20·7	23·5	23·0	22·8	13·0	10·3	6·3	6·6	5·4	3·3
	1911	26·4	31·6	20·8	20·8	20·6	21·6	15·4	12·0	9·0	7·0	4·7	4·3
North-Central	1901	29·8	31·8	20·4	23·7	22·1	22·2	13·2	11·3	7·6	6·5	4·5	3·0
	1911	24·8	28·2	21·5	22·3	21·8	22·9	13·8	12·0	9·6	7·5	4·9	4·2
Uva ..	1901	37·4	36·9	16·3	22·6	17·8	17·6	12·1	9·7	6·9	7·0	6·7	4·3
	1911	32·1	33·2	18·7	19·2	15·8	19·4	14·4	12·0	8·8	7·3	5·9	5·8
Sabaragamuwa	1901	33·2	35·7	17·1	19·8	19·4	19·9	12·2	10·1	7·3	7·2	6·8	4·8
	1911	30·1	32·3	19·1	20·6	17·4	18·1	13·7	12·0	8·5	7·4	5·8	5·5

In the *age period 0–10* there is a decrease in the proportion for boys and girls in all Provinces. The Southern Province still shows the largest proportion of males—over 1 in every 3 in the Province being under 10. Uva comes second with a proportion of 32 per cent. The largest proportion of females is in the Central Province—1 in every 3 there being under 10. Uva comes second.

The lowest proportion of males is in the Eastern Province, nearly 24 per cent. compared with 31 per cent. females; there was a similar difference in the proportion of male and female children in 1901, 30 males in every 100 males to over 36 females in every 100 females.

The lowest proportion of females was 28 per cent. in the North-Central Province, which also showed the lowest proportion at the last Census.

The average birth-rate for the Provinces for eleven years 1898 to 1908 shows Uva first with 47·4 births registered to every 1,000 persons living, and the Central Province second with 47·1, and the Census figures are in accord with these rates; for the Central Province comes first in the proportion of girls and third in the proportion of males under 10, while Uva is second for males and second for females; the only Province to beat these two being the Southern, where the figures are considerably affected by migration of males, which lowers the proportion in other age periods. The proportion of females is higher than that of males for this age period in every Province except the Southern; the females do not migrate, so the proportion is not affected. Uva showed a slightly higher proportion of males in 1901; the increase in the estate population since the last Census is probably responsible for the change in the sex proportions.

In the *age period 10–20* the highest male proportion is in the Eastern Province (slightly less than 1 in 4) and lowest in Uva (18·7); for females the North-Central gives 22·3 per cent., and Uva is again last with 19·2, due to the fact that Uva had the highest death-rate, 50·2 per 1,000 of the

population, and 9 per mille more deaths than in any other Province, for the period 1898–1908. These deaths seem to be chiefly amongst persons between 10 and 20. The unhealthiness of Lower Uva has been specially referred to.* All the Provinces show an increased proportion of males, and, with the exception of the Province of Sabaragamuwa, a decreased proportion of females in this period. The figures for females, as already shown, are probably due largely to misstatement of ages. The increased proportion of males is proof of improved health conditions.

In the next *age period 20–30* the proportion of females exceeds that of the males in every Province. The highest proportion of males (slightly more than 1 in 5) is in the North-Central Province; of females (nearly 1 in 4) in the Eastern Province. The lowest proportion of males is in the Southern Province (13·3 per cent.); of females in the Central Province (17·2 per cent.).

Between 30–40 the male proportion is highest, except in the Southern Province, where the figures for both males and females closely approximate. The figures for the Southern Province are influenced throughout by migration of males.

The highest proportion of males is in the North-Western Province, 15·4—a considerable increase from 1901, due largely to immigration; of females in the Eastern Province (12·5 per cent.). But the proportions of females in all the Provinces only vary between 11·8 and 12·5, the lowest proportion being in the Central and Southern Provinces; the lowest proportion of males is found in the Southern Province.

Over 40 the proportions are so comparatively small that the differences are everywhere very slight. The North-Central Province, as in 1901, shows the highest proportion of men *between 40 and 50*, and the proportion has increased by 2 per cent., while in the North-Western Province it has increased by nearly 3 per cent. The highest proportion of females in this period is, as in 1901, in the Southern Province.

Between 50–60 there are marked increases in the proportion of females in the Western, Central, Southern, North-Central, and Uva Provinces. The proportion of females over 50 has increased in every Province. It is undoubtedly the case that Sinhalese women now live to a more advanced age.

Table L shows the proportion of Tamils by sex in each age period at the four Censuses 1881–1911. Table M gives the proportions for Ceylon Tamils and Indian Tamils in 1911. It is not possible to institute any comparisons for Ceylon and Indian Tamils and Moors before 1911, as they were not shown separately:—

Table L.—Age Distribution of a hundred Tamils of each Sex in Ceylon, 1881–1911.

Age Period.	1881. Males.	1881. Females.	1891. Males.	1891. Females.	1901. Males.	1901. Females.	1911. Males.	1911. Females.
0—10	25·6	30·6	26·2	30·8	23·7	28·2	21·0	24·3
10—20	20·7	23·2	20·5	21·6	23·0	23·5	21·9	21·8
20—30	26·1	24·0	23·3	23·1	23·5	23·9	22·2	23·8
30—40	14·6	10·5	15·7	12·1	15·9	12·6	17·3	14·4
40—50	6·6	6·1	7·5	6·6	7·7	6·8	9·5	8·3
50—60	3·8	3·2	4·2	3·6	4·0	3·3	6·8	4·4

* *Vide* pp. 110 *et seq.*

Table M.—Age Distribution of a hundred Persons of each Sex among the Ceylon and Indian Tamils, 1911.

Age Period.	Ceylon Tamils. Males.	Ceylon Tamils. Females.	Indian Tamils. Males.	Indian Tamils. Females.
0—10	26·9	28·4	14·8	19·6
10—20	24·3	21·0	22·2	22·6
20—30	16·0	18·7	27·1	29·6
30—40	13·9	12·8	19·9	16·2
40—50	9·0	9·0	9·6	7·5
50—60	5·3	5·6	4·2	3·1
60 and over	4·6	4·5	2·1	1·4

As amongst the Sinhalese, we find that the proportions between 0–10 compared with the proportion at other age periods has decreased, though still slightly more than 1 in 5 males and nearly 1 in 4 females are under 10.

The proportions between 10 and 30 have also decreased both for males and females, while over 30 there is an increased proportion. The proportion of males and females is largest amongst the Ceylon Tamils in the first age group 0–10 ; while amongst the Indian Tamils, as might have been expected, the proportion in this age group is smaller than in the next two groups, being largest between 20 and 30.

The females are in a higher proportion than the males amongst the Ceylon Tamils under 10, between 20 and 30, and 50 and 60 ; between 40 and 50 the proportions are exactly the same.

Amongst the Indian Tamils the females show a higher proportion up to 30, and a lower proportion in the succeeding age groups. Only one in a 100 Indian Tamil women is aged over 60, and only two in a 100 Indian Tamil men are found in Ceylon at that age.

The larger proportion of women than men in the age groups up to 30 is largely due to the fact that the number of women among the Indian Tamils is small. The high female birth-rate amongst the Tamils, to which reference has already been made, is shown by the higher proportion of females amongst both Ceylon and Indian Tamils under 10.

Over one in every four Indian Tamils—male and female—is between 20 and 30 ; over one in every four Ceylon Tamils—male and female—is under 10 years of age.

Table N shows the age distribution at the 1911 Census of a hundred Sinhalese and a hundred Tamils of each sex :—

Table N.—Age Distribution, 1911, of a hundred Sinhalese and a hundred Tamils of each Sex compared.

Age Period.	Sinhalese. Males.	Sinhalese. Females.	Tamils. Males.	Tamils. Females.
0—10	30·5	31·4	21·0	24·3
10—20	20·2	20·6	21·9	21·8
20—30	16·7	18·6	22·2	23·8
30—40	13·4	11·9	17·3	14·4
40—50	8·4	7·6	9·5	8·3
50—60	5·7	5·7	6·8	4·4

The relative proportions, though they are lower, both for Tamils and Sinhalese in the period under 10 years are the same as in 1901. The comparatively low proportion of Tamils in the first age period, and their higher proportions between 20–40, are principally due to Indian immigration. The figures between 10–20 are strikingly similar.

Tamil men appear to live longer than Sinhalese, or rather there is a comparatively larger proportion of Tamils over 40.

Tamil males are in the largest proportion between 10 and 20, while Sinhalese males are in a lower proportion than the females in this

period. While men and women are in the same proportion amongst the Sinhalese between 50 and 60, the males amongst the Tamils are in proportion half as numerous again as the women.

The next Tables O and P show the age distribution of a hundred Moors of each sex in Ceylon at the four Censuses 1881–1911, and of a hundred Ceylon Moors and a hundred Indian Moors by sex in each age period:—

Table O.—Age Distribution of a hundred Persons of each Sex among the Moors, 1881–1911.

Age Period.	Males. 1881.	Males. 1891.	Males. 1901.	Males. 1911.	Females. 1881.	Females. 1891.	Females. 1901.	Females. 1911.
0—10	35·7	34·6	33·0	27·6	39·0	37·4	36·9	32·5
10—20	19·3	19·9	19·7	20·8	21·4	22·1	22·3	21·1
20—30	17·1	17·8	19·3	19·1	17·9	18·1	18·9	18·7
30—40	11·6	12·1	12·8	14·7	10·0	10·3	10·3	12·9
40—50	6·6	6·7	7·0	8·5	5·8	6·3	6·2	7·7
50—60	5·7	5·2	4·9	4·6	3·4	3·3	3·2	4·2

Table P.—Age Distribution of a hundred Persons of each Sex among the Ceylon and Indian Moors, 1911.

Age Period.	Ceylon Moors. Males.	Ceylon Moors. Females.	Indian Moors. Males.	Indian Moors. Females.
0—10	31·8	33·0	8·3	23·1
10—20	20·3	21·2	23·2	18·9
20—30	17·4	18·6	26·8	20·8
30—40	13·7	11·7	19·8	15·4
40—50	8·1	7·5	10·6	10·1
50—60	4·3	4·1	5·8	6·6
60 and over	4·4	3·9	5·5	5·1

One-third of the Ceylon Moor females are under 10, and nearly one-third of the Ceylon Moor males. The proportion of children under 10 amongst the Moors is higher than amongst any other race. Only slightly over one-eighth and one-ninth of the Ceylon Moors, male and female, respectively, are found in the age group 30–40.

Females are in the highest proportion up to 30, and above that age the males preponderate.

Amongst the Indian Moors the most striking feature is the very low proportion of males in the age group 0–10, viz., 8·3, while the proportion of Indian Moorish females in this age period is larger than at any other age. The explanation, of course, is that there are very few females and children amongst the Indian Moors, who are mostly itinerant traders and pedlars ; the females are, therefore, principally amongst children born to Indian Moors in Ceylon, while the male children also represent the proportion of males born in Ceylon of Indian Moor parentage. The largest proportion of Indian Moormen are between 20 and 30. The Indian Moor males are in a higher proportion than the females in every age period, except the first and between 50–60. There is a high proportion of Indian Moors, male and female, between 40 and 50—one in every ten Indian Moors is found in this age period.

Table O shows that there has been a steady decrease in the proportion of children under 10 both male and female in a hundred persons, while there has been a corresponding increase in the age group 30–40, especially between 1901 and 1911, evidence of increased strength amongst both sexes during the working ages, which is shown by an improved proportion between 40 and 50, and amongst the females between 50 and 60.

It is curious that there should have been a steady decrease in the number between 50 and 60 amongst the males; this may be due to exaggeration of ages over 50, with the object of escaping payment of the commutation tax (*vide* p. 359, *supra*).

Table Q gives the age and sex distribution of the Europeans according to the different age periods for which comparative figures can be given, at the Censuses 1871–1911:—

Table Q.—Age Distribution of a hundred Europeans of each Sex, 1871–1911.

Age Period.	1871.		1881.		1891.		1901.		1911.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0—10 ..	15·7	35·4	17·3	31·5	15·5	24·1	14·8	22·0	9·8	17·8
10—20 ..	10·4	13·2	7·6	12·9	8·7	12·4	8·2	13·3	5·7	10·4
20—30 ..	36·5	23·1	37·7	28·4	27·7	25·0	30·8	27·8	30·1	23·2
30—40 ..	21·7	16·7	21·7	15·7	24·9	20·9	23·0	19·9	27·0	25·7
40—50 ..	10·1	6·8	9·4	6·3	14·4	9·7	14·4	9·4	15·6	12·7
50—60 ..	3·4	2·8	3·9	2·3	5·7	4·6	6·0	4·9	7·6	5·9

The proportion of males is greatest, as it has been at every Census, at the age period 20–30, but there is a slight decrease from 1901 owing to an increased proportion in the number of European males over 30, the proportion between 30 and 40 being higher than at any previous Census, as is also the proportion in the next age periods 40 to 50 and 50 to 60. It is noteworthy that the proportion of European males between 50 and 60 is greater than the proportion between 10 and 20. The highest proportion of women is found in the age period 30–40, in which one woman in every four in Ceylon is found—a strong testimony, it would appear, to the veracity of the European women in Ceylon; at the Censuses of 1891 and 1901 the highest proportion of women was found in the age period 20–30, and in 1871 and 1881 in the earliest age period 10 years and under. As the standard of comfort and travelling facilities improve, more European women are found in all age periods, and, allowing for the number of married European women now in Ceylon, it is in accordance with fact that a larger number of women should be found in the more advanced age periods.

The proportion of females exceeds that of males between 0 and 20, as has been the case at each Census; the causes have already been referred to.*

The proportion of European children, male and female, is less, while the proportion of Europeans of both sexes between 30 and 60 is higher than at any previous Census.

The figures for Burghers and Eurasians between 1881 and 1911 are given in the following Table R:—

Table R.—Age Distribution of a hundred Burghers and Eurasians of each Sex, 1881–1911.

Age Period.	1881.		1891.		1901.		1911.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0—10 ..	34·1	33·4	33·8	32·6	30·6	29·9	27·0	26·2
10—20 ..	22·3	22·8	22·8	24·0	23·3	25·2	23·0	23·2
20—30 ..	15·8	17·5	15·1	17·3	17·7	19·0	17·6	21·0
30—40 ..	11·2	10·8	11·5	10·2	11·8	10·4	12·9	11·9
40—50 ..	7·0	6·9	7·5	7·7	8·1	7·3	9·3	8·0
50—60 ..	5·5	4·4	5·1	4·4	5·2	4·8	5·9	5·4

* *Vide* p. 302, *supra*.

both amongst the urban and the rural population; many of the men working in the towns leave their wives and families in the villages.

Practically one in every four males amongst the urban population is aged between 20 and 30. Comparing the urban and rural population, the proportion of males is higher between 10 and 40 amongst the urban population, while there is a higher proportion of women amongst those aged between 40–60 in the towns.

The male immigrants between these ages frequently return to their villages, and the rural population shows a higher proportion of males between 40–60. Over 60 the proportion is the same for the males; amongst the females it is higher in the towns.

The next table is of interest from the light it throws upon the Census figures and the collection of road tax. The figures for males between 18 and 55 at the Census of 1911 have been worked out proportionately from the figures for males between 15 and 55:—

Table U.—The Number of Males aged 18–55, exclusive of Indian Tamils, Indian Moors, and Others on Estates at the 1911 Census, compared with the Number on the Commutation Lists in each District and Municipality.

District.	Number of Males 18–55.	Number liable to pay Poll Tax in 1911.	Difference.
Colombo Municipality	76,235	74,769	— 1,466
Colombo District	140,769	129,333	— 11,436
Kalutara District	56,624	62,599	+ 5,975
Kandy Municipality	8,109	5,158	— 2,951
Kandy District	56,416	52,020	— 4,396
Matale District	20,033	20,042	+ 9
Nuwara Eliya District	16,662	17,964	+ 1,302
Jaffna District	72,281	78,267	+ 5,986
Mannar District	8,476	6,891	— 1,585
Mullaittivu District	5,329	4,097	1,232
Galle Municipality	8,253	8,123	— 130
Galle District	43,552	49,202	+ 5,650
Matara District	43,710	40,776	— 2,934
Hambantota District	25,301	27,885	+ 2,584
Batticaloa District	34,368	35,568	+ 1,200
Trincomalee District	7,844	7,738	— 106
Kurunegala District	86,724	77,470	— 9,254
Puttalam District	11,089	9,274	— 1,815
Chilaw District	23,262	23,027	— 235
Anuradhapura District	25,421	23,722	— 1,699
Badulla District	37,296	33,735	— 3,561
Ratnapura District	38,532	34,509	— 4,023
Kegalla District	45,661	41,392	— 4,269
Total	891,947	863,561	— 28,386

These figures show a difference of only 3·2 per cent. for the Island between the number of persons presumed by the division officers to be aged between 18 and 55 and the number of persons who gave their ages between these years at the Census of 1911. The difference is so small as to reflect considerable credit on the division officers and those responsible for the collection of the commutation tax; they also support the general accuracy of the Census age figures. Allowance has to be made for migration, double entries in the commutation lists, life exemptions, and the number of persons who have died, or whose whereabouts have not been discovered, since the preparation of the

150 annorum senes durant." Saint Ambrosius even translates the Greek μακρόβιοι "Beati."

In Duarte Barbosa's "Description of the Coast of Malabar," it is stated of Ceylon that "Many Malabar Moors come to reside in this Island because of enjoying very great liberty, (and because) in addition to all the commodities and delights of the world, it is a country of very temperate climate, and men live there longer than in any other part of India, always healthy, and there are few that fall ill."*

Knox says of the Sinhalese, "They live to a great age very often to fourscore and hale at that age, the King's Sister was near an hundred."†

Raja Sinha I. is reported to have died at the age of 120 years, and, adds "Philalethes," in his account of the reign of this monarch, "The Sinhalese are said to be long-lived, and often to preserve their strength and faculties in a sort of green old age. The above-mentioned monarch seems to have been an instance of this remark. There seems no reason to disbelieve the account which is given of his age ;‡ the age of a king may in general be much more easily authenticated than that of any other man. The Portuguese were well acquainted with Raja Sinha, with the circumstances of his life, and the vicissitudes of his history."§

Forbes, in his "Eleven Years in Ceylon," || notes that "instances of great longevity are by no means rare in the Kandian Country : in Matale I knew several persons upwards of one hundred years of age ; and immediately before leaving that place in 1837, I had the satisfaction of seeing one of them reap an excellent crop of rice, on ground which he had himself in the previous year cleared from a thick forest, and then prepared with the hoe ; he had also watched his field in an open hut, and protected it from the inroad of wild animals."

Instances of great age are not confined to the Sinhalese. Mr. J. P. Lewis, writing of the Island of Delft, which is inhabited by Tamils, says that it is noted "for the longevity of its inhabitants. An old man died the other day whose age was stated to be 110. The Registrar-General made inquiries about it, and, the Maniyagar says, was satisfied of the correctness of the figure given . . . . An old woman gave a dowry in 1810. She brought the deed to the Maniyagar for examination in 1903." ¶

There were undoubtedly several *bona fide* cases of centenarians at the 1911 Census, but though very full and careful investigations were made to obtain the reminiscences of these "centenarians," it is extremely difficult to sift their actual experiences and what they saw themselves from what they may have heard or learned from others. Forty-one centenarians claimed to have remembered the capture of the Kandyan king (1815) ; several declare that they saw the king being taken to Colombo.

In four cases horoscopes were produced which confirmed the ages given—106, 103, 101, and 100.

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* "The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese," by Donald Ferguson, in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), Vol. XIX., p. 380.

† Knox's "Historical Relation," p. 181.

‡ But *vide* "Raja Sinha I., Parricide and Centenarian," by W. F. Gunawardhana, Mudaliyar, in Vol. XVIII., Journal of Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), pp. 382 *et seq.* The Mudaliyar considers that Raja Sinha I. died at the age of sixty-one, and his father Mayadunne at the age of ninety-one.

§ Philalethes' "Description of Ceylon," pp. 59, 60.

|| Forbes' "Eleven Years in Ceylon," Vol. I., pp. 160, 161.

¶ "Notes on Delft," by J. P. Lewis, C.C.S., in Journal of Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), Vol. XXI., p. 348.

A Kandyan states that he was about 14 or 15 years old when the bridge at Nanuoya was built (about 1826), and that he was a young man when the monument at Kadugannawa was erected (1832).

A Kandyan woman was proved to have a great-great-great grandson alive aged 15 years.

It is reported of an old Kandyan in Pata Dumbara "that he was 6 or 7 years old when the last king of Kandy was captured. He remembers the event very well, as he ran after his parents when they went and hid themselves in the Kukul-oya jungle. During the time of the Matale rebellion (1848) he was 40 years old. He is still able to work a little, and can repeat many a *kavi* and *mantara* in devil-dancing ceremonies. In his younger days he was a dancer. He has been very abstemious as regards the use of meat and liquor."

"In my opinion he may be about 101 or 102 years old," adds the Ratemahatmaya of Pata Dumbara (R. E. Paranagama).

A centenarian in the Puttalam District stated that he saw the last Kandyan king taken to Negombo by the Tambarawila road—the present Chilaw District Road Committee road, and now known as the old Toppu road to Madampe—and described the order of the procession.

An old woman in the Kurunegala District stated that she was about forty during the *marisal* time (මරිසල් කාලය), which is the Sinhalese popular description of the Matale rebellion of 1848. The name appears to have been derived from the fact that *martial* law was proclaimed during the rebellion.

An old Moorman of Weligam korale, in the Matara District, who is believed to be 108 years old, and who had records which appear to prove his statement, asserted that he remembered a Government order that all the Uliyakkarage people of the Goigama caste were to hold themselves in readiness to carry the baggage of the English soldiers. "They had to be in readiness day and night, with victuals for their subsistence secured in a bag, and so promptly were they to respond to the summons when it came, that this bag was to be suspended to the roof within arms' reach by a piece of rush (පන්ගහ), so that it may be snatched readily and without any resistance."*

There was an old Malay known as "Mastan Mámá" in the town of Chilaw, who is generally believed to be 110 years old, and who satisfied the District Judge—who kindly inquired into the case—that such was his age. He is stated to have come to Ceylon from India at the age of 30 in the time of Sir Edward Barnes (Governor from 1824–1831), whom he professes to have seen. His appearance is stated by credible witnesses to have remained practically unchanged for the last fifty years; "his frame is well preserved, and shows no signs of decay. His face and limbs are full and round. He has an almost complete and sound upper row of teeth."

A noticeable feature amongst the Ceylon centenarians is the number who can show sound teeth. In many instances it is recorded that a man's sons have lost their teeth, while the father—the centenarian—is in possession of most of his.

It appears to be the case that those who live to a very advanced age in the East usually preserve their frame and faculties almost unimpaired until they suddenly collapse.

The highest age returned was 123—a man of the Hambantota District. There were three persons said to be 115, nine 110, seventeen 105, and 117 gave their age as exactly 100.

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* "A man's wasted strength from disease or other causes is generally likened to a rush."

The tendency to state the age in multiples of five and ten is noteworthy, while the fact that more than half the centenarians gave their age as exactly 100 leads one to suspect that it was "there or thereabouts."

The largest number of centenarians was found in the Colombo District (37), Galle comes second (19), and Matara third (18). There were no accepted centenarians in the towns of Kandy and Galle, and in the Nuwara Eliya and Trincomalee Districts.

146 of the 194 "centenarians" were Buddhists, 20 Hindus, 15 Roman Catholics, 11 Muhammadans, 1 Church of England, and 1 Wesleyan.

129 were Low-country Sinhalese, 31 Kandyans, 15 Ceylon Tamils, 9 Indian Tamils, 8 Ceylon Moors, and 2 Malays.

Various attempts have been made to compile a Life Table for Ceylon, and a set of Life Tables was issued with the Census Report for 1901. It was felt, however, that the services of a specialist should if possible be obtained to prepare a Life Table for Ceylon complete in all respects. The Registrar-General of England was approached, and Mr. A. C. Waters, a well-known authority on this subject, examined the data available for the preparation of the Table. He reported that in his opinion such a Life Table would be without practical value, and that "for a trustworthy Life Table for Ceylon it will be necessary to wait until a Census has been taken in which the age grouping of the population at ages above 60 years can be accepted as fairly correct; and it will further be necessary to limit the period of years on which the Table is based by rigid exclusion of all years in which death registration was either incomplete or seriously inaccurate as regards statement of age."

This is the first Census at which ages have been compiled for 60–65, 65–70, and 70 and over. The figures have not previously been given for periods over 60, and "60 and over" has been taken as the highest age group. The data afforded at this Census may therefore serve as a basis for comparative purposes. Differences such as have been shown to have existed between the set of years in each age group in 1891 and 1901, and again between the grouping in 1901 and 1911, render comparisons very difficult. The preparation of a Life Table based on the results of this Census compared with previous Censuses would appear to be of little value for this reason, and for those given by Mr. Waters in his memorandum.

CHAPTER XIV.

INFIRMITIES.

Difficulties in obtaining correct particulars—The Blind—Work of the Victoria Memorial Eye Hospital—Causes of blindness in Ceylon—Distribution of blind—by districts—by race—by age—Deaf-mutes—by race—by districts—by age—School for deaf and dumb—The Insane—in the West and in the East—by race—by district—by age—The Lunatic Asylum—Lepers—Hendala Leper Asylum—Estimate of the number of lepers in Ceylon.

It was decided at the Census of 1911 to confine inquiries as regards infirmities to the insane, totally blind, or deaf-mute from birth.

The instructions to the enumerators were that "if any person be deaf and dumb *from birth* or *totally* blind or of unsound mind, enter the name of the infirmity in this column. Do not enter those who are blind of one eye only, or who have become deaf and dumb after birth." The information required to be given was the same as at the last Census, except that no particulars were asked for as regards the "idiotic." In 1901 the insane were separated from the idiots, "or those suffering from congenital mental deficiency," and figures for both were given separately. It was resolved, however, at this Census that it would be better to restrict inquiries only to the insane—equivalents for this word are commonly used and generally understood amongst the Sinhalese and Tamils. If idiots were also separately mentioned, there was the possibility of the feeble-minded and persons of advanced age with impaired memories being included amongst the idiotic by the enumerator, while it was difficult to explain the border line between insane and idiotic.

Statistics relating to infirmities taken at a Census—not only in the East, but also in the West—are apt to be inaccurate and unreliable. It is difficult to make persons admit to their children being deaf and dumb from birth or insane; they live in the hope that the child will recover, and consider it wrong, and even unlucky, to enter such infirmities against a child who may eventually recover, and against whom such an entry will be recorded for ever; for to the general public, certainly in the East, a Census schedule is a public document, and there is implicit belief in its preservation for all time. Again, many persons are afraid that those suffering from infirmities may be taken to homes and asylums for such complaints, and not allowed by Government to remain with their relatives.

In addition to these causes of *incomplete* information, there is always the further risk of *inaccurate* information; for example, it is believed that at previous Censuses (and the same mistake may possibly have occurred in some places, in spite of most careful instructions on the point, at this Census) one-eyed persons were entered as blind, as the word used for blind by some of the supervisors could be taken to mean blind in one eye.

There were entries of "deaf," "dumb," "deaf from birth," "dumb from birth"; such entries were at this Census all sent back for further

inquiry, which should have ensured considerable accuracy in the 1911 figures.

It was found that in many cases where "deaf" or "dumb" only was entered, the correct entry should have been "deaf-mute from birth." In 1901 entries of "deaf from birth" were taken to be cases of congenital deaf-mutism; entries of "deaf" or "dumb" only were struck off.

In spite, however, of the possibilities and probabilities of mistakes and omissions, the figures collected at the Census in regard to infirmities may be accepted as very fairly accurate.

It must be remembered that it was only in respect of householders, reported to be English scholars and of such position as to be considered persons who could fill up their schedules for themselves, that schedules were filled in by the persons directly concerned. For nearly all the native population the entries were made by paid enumerators, village headmen, school teachers, &c.; the instructions given in regard to infirmities at the 1901 Census were most explicit and careful, as they were at this Census; the importance of the words "*totally*" before "blind" "*from birth*" for the "deaf and dumb" was impressed upon the enumerators, and the schedules as filled in by them showed that the definitions were generally understood.

The figures as regards *blindness* are likely to be accurate; all such cases would be well known in the village, and the headman would be unlikely to conceal them. The number of the totally blind returned at the Census of 1911 was 3,957, as compared with 3,747 at the 1901 Census, 5,636 at the 1891 Census, and 5,906 at the 1881 Census—*vide* Table A annexed :—

Table A.—Blind Persons of each Sex in Ceylon, 1881–1911.

Year.	Number of Blind Persons.			Proportion of Blind Persons per 10,000 Persons enumerated.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
1881	5,906	3,543	2,363	21	24	18
1891	5,636	3,371	2,265	19	21	16
1901	3,747	2,269	1,478	11	12	9
1911	3,957	2,428	1,529	10	11	8

This is the first Census at which there has been an actual increase in the number of the blind, though the proportion of blind persons to the total population has decreased.

At the 1901 Census the Superintendent of Census circularized all the Commissioners of Census to obtain their views as to the large decrease between 1891 and 1901 in the number of blind. The majority of opinions agreed that at previous Censuses those who were blind of one eye had been returned amongst the blind; and that the distinction "totally blind" had not been thoroughly understood.* At this Census the relative proportions are the same as at the last Census—the decrease in proportion per 10,000 persons enumerated is exactly the same for males and females. The figures previous to 1901 cannot be regarded as sufficiently accurate for comparisons to be of any value.

There are in Ceylon, according to the 1911 Census figures, 11 blind men and 8 blind women in every 10,000 males and females living, as

* Census Report for 1901, Vol. I., pp. 144 and 145.

compared with proportions of 12 and 9 in every 10,000 in 1901. At the 1901 Census in England and Wales there were 8 blind men to every 10,000 of the male inhabitants and 7 blind women to the same number of females. In India in 1901 12 males and 12 females were blind out of every 10,000 of each sex.

The proportion of blind men in Ceylon and India in 1901 was the same ; the number of blind women was 3 in every 10,000 less in Ceylon than in India, probably due to the fact that the women workers in Ceylon are far less numerous than in India : their occupations are less laborious, and women are not confined to the house to anything like the same extent, even amongst the Muhammadans, as they are in India.

In all tropical countries the number of blind is always larger than in temperate climes.* The large number of cases of blindness in Ceylon has always been recognized ; numerous native *vedaralas* claim to be eye specialists, and some of them undoubtedly show considerable talent. The number of natives of all classes who wear spectacles is large. It was generally felt that there should be a special hospital for the blind, and that if one was established it would be largely patronized by the natives. A movement, which will always be associated with Lady Ridgeway, and for its success depended largely on her interest and sympathy, was started, which resulted in the opening of the Victoria Memorial Eye Hospital on April 2, 1906.

The following Statements I. and II. give some idea of the work done by the hospital, which has reached all classes and castes and all districts in Ceylon, and has undoubtedly been most successful in dealing with blindness, and in familiarizing the natives with the most modern treatment :—

I.—Statement of Indoor Patients treated at the Victoria Memorial Eye Hospital from April 2, 1906, to the end of 1911.

	1906 (Nine Months)	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	Total.
Ceylon	**479**	**567**	**640**	**678**	**642**	**705**	**3,711**
Western Province ..	327	365	411	431	380	418	2,332
Central Province ..	36	42	58	37	84	86	343
Northern Province ..	—	2	1	1	—	6	10
Southern Province ..	65	87	94	114	62	89	511
Eastern Province ..	1	—	2	3	4	2	12
North-Western Province ..	14	20	19	28	29	39	149
North-Central Province ..	8	2	9	—	3	3	25
Province of Uva ..	8	5	12	12	13	15	65
Province of Sabaragamuwa .	20	40	32	52	64	47	255
Foreign	—	4	2	—	3	—	9

* "The dictum that 'blindness is more prevalent in hot countries than in cold' means more than that climate is a cause. Climate is a cause of the muscular relaxation, nervous exhaustion, and mental lassitude which help disease and retard recovery ; but the causes of the greater prevalence of eye diseases in hot countries are not purely climatic causes ; they are the less degree of civilization, the lack of sanitary routine, the constant dust and strong winds, and the superabundance of reflected light (strong tropical light) fatiguing the eyes."—Report by Dr. Andreas Nell, Medical Officer in Charge, Victoria Memorial Eye Hospital.

II.—Statement of Outdoor Patients treated at the Victoria Memorial Eye Hospital, 1909–1911.

	1909.	1910.	1911.	Total.
Ceylon	**6,533**	**7,859**	**8,584**	**22,976**
Western Province	5,759	6,864	7,474	20,097
Central Province	171	262	310	743
Northern Province	16	12	21	49
Southern Province	309	363	402	1,074
Eastern Province	6	12	11	29
North-Western Province	77	107	137	321
North-Central Province	14	16	15	45
Province of Uva	32	36	44	112
Province of Sabaragamuwa	138	176	164	478
Foreign	11	11	6	28
Colombo District	5,367	6,404	6,931	18,702
Negombo District	55	90	123	268
Kalutara District	337	370	420	1,127
Kandy District	120	184	245	549
Matale District	16	20	26	62
Nuwara Eliya District	35	58	39	132
Jaffna District	14	12	11	37
Mannar District	2	—	7	9
Mullaittivu District	—	—	3	3
Galle District	196	235	277	708
Matara District	81	97	101	279
Hambantota District	32	31	24	87
Batticaloa District	4	9	9	22
Trincomalee District	2	3	2	7
Kurunegala District	51	63	74	188
Puttalam District	10	14	16	40
Chilaw District	16	30	47	93
Anuradhapura District	14	16	15	45
Badulla District	32	36	44	112
Ratnapura District	62	83	96	241
Kegalla District	76	93	68	237
India	7	8	3	18
Straits Settlements	3	1	1	5
Singaporo	1	—	—	1
Federated Malay States	—	1	1	2
Egypt	—	1	—	1
Minicoy	—	—	1	1

Dr. Andreas Nell, Medical Officer in Charge, Victoria Memorial Eye Hospital, has kindly furnished me with the following interesting notes on the causes of blindness in Ceylon, based on the statistics of cases treated at the Victoria Memorial Eye Hospital between April, 1906, and April, 1911 :—

" The eauses of blindness in Ceylon can be best discussed by arrangement in six divisions : (1) Congenital Causes, (2) Local Diseases of the Eye, (3) Trauma or Injury, (4) Constitutional Diseases or Diatheses, (5) Drugs, (6) Personal and Domestie Hygiene.

" (1) *Congenital Causes of Blindness.*—In 84 cases examined, 42 cases of total ineurable laek of sight and 17 cases of irremediable impairment of sight were due to malformations of the eyeball ; 14 cases of total incurable laek of sight and 11 cases of irremediable impairment of sight were due to deranged eonditions of the optic nerve and retina and ehoroid. The second group is attributable to syphilis affecting the fœtus. These 84 eases are, of course, only a proportion of the ' born blind ' in Ceylon, but as they were brought from remote villages in all parts of the Island, they can be considered representative.

" (2) *Local Diseases of the Eye causing Blindness.*—Eye diseases may temporarily cause remediable impairment of sight, or, in severe cases, may cause permanent impairment of sight in one or both eyes, or may end in total incurable loss of sight. The result depends on the severity of the disease and the adequacy of the treatment.

" (*a*) *Ophthalmia Neonatorum*, or the ophthalmia of the new-born, is likely to cause blindness, unless incessant care be taken to free the closed lids, wash out the discharge with antiseptic lotion, and apply the usual remedies regularly. In 96 of the cases examined proof was adduced that the disease was ' primary ' ; certain preventive procedures are taught to all trained midwives, and in large towns such ' primary ' cases should be fewer every year. The other 23 cases examined were ' secondary, ' and should not have occurred if physician and midwife were sufficiently careful. The indirect transfer of the disease in these 23 cases may have been by the wash basin, clothing, handkerchief, towel, fingers of the physician, nurse, or mother, or by flies ; these are preventible causes of infection. Of 820 totally blind mentioned in paragraph (*e*), a great number were due to ophthalmia in early infancy ; the spread of sanitary teaching, a wider knowledge of the perils of sepsis, and an increase in the number of trained midwives are the best means of preventing this form of ophthalmia.

" (*b*) *Purulent Ophthalmia* in adults is as dangerous to vision as the ophthalmia of the new-born ; in both conditions there is peril to the cornea, the glassy transparent central front of the eye ; as the lids are generally kept closed, sometimes with spasm, the discharge flooding the eye is constantly lying on the cornea ; its infection results in an ulceration, which healing leaves a scar ; the thickness and size of this scar, an opaque scar, determine whether the final impairment of vision is partial or complete. In the 1,495 cases examined, the majority came for treatment after several days' duration of the disease. Earlier treatment is the best safeguard against impairment of vision.

" (*c*) *Catarrhal Ophthalmia* (5,109 cases), one of the causes in which blindness is preventible ; with ordinary care this disease should not prove to be a cause of impairment of vision, still less a cause of blindness, but in paragraph (*e*) it will be noted that cases of blindness have been caused by village treatment of ordinary ophthalmia, *e.g.*, the use of powdered earthenware and lime juice as a remedy.

" (*d*) *Trachoma or Granular Ophthalmia*, a chronic, often unnoticed, lid trouble capable of causing serious damage to the transparency of the cornea, is a common cause of impairment of sight in Ceylon. The disease is prevalent, and a great number of cases seek treatment only after months or years of apathetic endurance of ' something wrong with the eyelids.' About half the cases seen seek advice only when the corneal dulness is noticed. As out of 1,430 cases only 43 were seen in the first year, and 1,034 in the fifth year, there are apparently very many cases in the Island. The necessity of a protracted course of treatment, and the delay in recovery of clearer vision, have been obstacles to persuading cases to continue curative treatment after relief had been afforded from slight acute symptoms, which trouble their minds more than the existence of the more dangerous trachoma.

" (*e*) *Corneal Diseases* are common. Apart from conditions due to constitutional diseases, the local corneal disease is principally ulceration, which would cause impairment of vision and might cause total incurable loss of sight. A mere loss of transparency appears not serious enough to the patient's friends or relatives, but it is enough to blur vision ; an

opacity when the ulcer is healed impairs vision, and a large scar causes practical blindness. Sepsis is the *causa causans* in the unfavourable cases. The danger of sepsis after trifling abrasions from foreign bodies (iron filings, emery wheel chips, anvil sparks, coal, road grit, sand, &c.) in the cornea and conjunctiva (1,790 cases); the chances of septic infection after injuries of the cornea (432 cases) cannot be estimated by the ordinary patient. The next stage in such accidents, the results of septic infection of an apparently trifling injury, is more palpable, and leads to resort to treatment; the ulcerations of the cornea (2,565 cases) so caused can be seen by friends and relatives, but though treatment will heal the ulcer, the scar, even when slight, impairs vision, and such corneal causes of impairment of vision can be noticed in any Ceylon crowd. The worst form of scarring, an extensive or total obliteration of the cornea, means total incurable loss of sight. Among the many hopelessly blind brought up for advice were 820 cases of destruction of the cornea, and the original cause was investigated in these cases: 7 from chickenpox, 5 from smallpox, 49 from measles, 37 from severe injuries, 312 from trifling injuries similar to those enumerated in paragraph (3) *infra*, and the remainder attributed to 'sore-eyes,' including in this description ophthalmia of the new-born, purulent ophthalmia of adults, and catarrhal ophthalmia. From replies given to questions it appeared that very many of the cases were at the beginning catarrhal ophthalmia, in which cases sepsis and bad hygiene were the causes of the sad result.

"(*f*) *Squint* causes impairment of vision of the squinting eye; as a squint causes double vision, the brain suppresses the fainter image, and the squinting eye being longer out of use gradually loses its efficiency. A popular delusion that squint should not be treated because the child is too young is the exact contrary of the truth: that the squint should be attended to and treated as early as possible, even in the infant, and that the older the child grows the more difficult is the cure.

"(*g*) *Glaucoma* (312 cases examined) must be prevalent in Ceylon. Though only 21 cases were seen in the first year, 137 were seen in the fifth year; a large proportion of these were chronic incurable cases of many years' standing, but a number of recent cases still come up nearly weekly. Whether many more of the incurably blind will be brought up for advice is not uncertain; there is a constant number of these arriving after the return to a village of some cured patient; and it is certain that some of these incurables will be cases of chronic glaucoma.

"(3) *Traumatic Causes of Blindness* are less in Ceylon than in big industrial centres. The same danger from sepsis and bad hygiene threatens small injuries as well as large gashes or lacerations. The 37 severe injuries and 312 trifling injuries mentioned in paragraph (*e*) were similar to the following, which were examined as injuries:— Besides the 432 cases of trifling corneal injury and 1,790 cases of foreign bodies in the eye, there were 432 cases of extensive injury, in some of which total incurable loss of sight was unavoidable, *e.g.*, 7 extensive lacerations from fence sticks, 3 similar cases from roof sticks protruding at the eaves, 39 penetrating wounds from explosion of blast holes, 11 from explosion of firework mixtures, and 5 due to falls from a height and associated with head injuries, the remaining 367 being injuries received in the jungle from sticks and thorns piercing the cornea. The trifling injuries of the cornea were due to a baby's finger nail, the spike of an ear of paddy, the tip of a blade of 'water grass,' the edge of a jungle leaf, falling débris from a thatched roof,

and pricks with a sewing needle. Punctures by needles and other sharp instruments were responsible for 95 traumatic cataracts ; and blows upon the eye were the cause of 39 cases of displacements of the lens.

"(4) *Constitutional Diseases and Diatheses* are responsible for many cases of impairment of vision and some cases of total incurable loss of sight. In 37 cases of total loss malignant new growths were the cause. In 7 cases the only assignable cause was enteric fever ; in 23 cases paralysis was the cause ; in 11 cases brain and spinal cord diseases. Numerous cases of malarial cachexia were seen, and were free of any corneal malnutrition or eye trouble ; some cases of anchylostomiasis were as free. No cases of leprosy were seen at the Eye Hospital ; but in the lepers examined at Hendala Asylum the cause of impairment of sight was local leprotic changes. Syphilis was the *causa causans* of total incurable loss of sight or irremediable impairment, by corneal and iritic changes, in 107 cases, by disease of the choroid, optic nerve, and retina in 103 cases. Tuberculosis in the system was a common cause of eye trouble. In 2,779 cases by local changes attributable to tubercle toxin ; in 210 cases by a dangerous corneal malnutrition, keratomalacia, found in feeble, languid children suffering from marasmus, and with the constant possibility of rapid ulceration of the cornea from very slight causes or without any apparent cause.

"(5) *Drugs.*—The use of opium was the cause of impairment of vision in only 1 case, lead poisoning in only 1 case, quinine in only 2 cases, and the use of tobacco in only 5 cases. Probably many such cases have not attended for advice, and yet the rarity of cases is strange, especially with regard to tobacco, as a rank coarse tobacco is so commonly used in chewing with a betel quid and in smoking. The use of alcohol was the cause of serious impairment of sight in 94 cases, all of which were cases using tobacco as well as alcohol.

"(6) *Personal and Domestic Hygiene.*—Neglect of hygienic principles is a cause of blindness in Ceylon, as domestic deficiencies and faulty personal habits naturally aggravate eye diseases and increase the chances of ill-effects. Trivial cases become severe, and severe cases respond badly to medical treatment, since the personal habits are dirty, home surroundings insanitary, and attention to advice perfunctory.

"*Prevention.*—(*a*) In certain conditions blindness is not preventible, as in congenital malformations, extensive wounds of the eye, inherited disease of the optic nerve and retina.

"(*b*) In many serious eye diseases blindness is possibly preventible, as in purulent ophthalmia, glaucoma, granular ophthalmia, and injuries.

"(*c*) In the majority of eye diseases blindness *is* preventible, and the many cases among the 820 mentioned in paragraph 2 (*e*) which could be referred to this class show that much remains to be done in the prevention of blindness.

"The increase of knowledge of sepsis, the better teaching of hygiene, easier access to ophthalmic infirmaries, and earlier attention to the apparently slight affections are all very desirable measures ; in addition, systematic inspection of all children attending schools would detect conditions likely to cause very serious eye disease."

From an examination of the figures for the blind by Districts and races in 1901 and 1911 it appears that the geographical distribution of the blind is very much the same in 1911 as in 1901 ; there are increases in the number of blind amongst the Sinhalese in the Kalutara,

Kandy, Matale (males only), Galle (males), and Ratnapura Districts, and decreases in the Colombo Municipality, Colombo, Nuwara Eliya, Matara, Hambantota, Kurunegala, Anuradhapura, Badulla, and Kegalla Districts. The highest proportions of blind amongst the Sinhalese were in the Ratnapura and Kandy Districts, and the figures given in "Statement II., the Outdoor Patients treated at the Eye Hospital" (*vide supra*), show a large and increasing number of patients from these Districts.

Amongst the Tamils there are increases in the number of blind in the Northern Province, and decreases in the Eastern Province. There appears to be an increase in the number of blind amongst the Moors in the Districts where they are found in the largest numbers: Galle (nearly three times as high a proportion of blind males and nearly twice as high a proportion of blind females), Colombo Municipality (females only—decrease in blindness amongst the males), Kandy (males only), Mannar, Batticaloa, and Puttalam and Chilaw (males only).

There are decreases in the planting districts—except in the Kalutara, Badulla (males only), and Ratnapura (males) Districts—in the proportion of blind Tamils, and there would appear to be an all-round decrease in the number of blind amongst the immigrants (*vide* Tables B and C).

The proportions of the blind in each race of the Island in 1901 and 1911 are given in Table B:—

Table B.—Proportion of the Blind of each Sex in each Race, 1901 and 1911.

Races.	1901. Males. One in	1901. Females. One in	1911. Males. One in	1911. Females. One in
All Races	**836**	**1,130**	**896**	**1,263**
Low-country Sinhalese	819	1,160	905	1,294
Kandyan Sinhalese	555	808	588	862
Tamils	1,288	1,467	1,364	1,811
Ceylon Tamils	—	—	1,066	1,729
Indian Tamils	—	—	1,816	1,913
Moors	1,294	1,660	1,337	1,847
Ceylon Moors	—	—	1,285	1,833
Indian Moors	—	—	1,642	2,151
Burghers and Eurasians	1,669	2,360	2,668	3,331
Malays	1,284	2,742	1,136	—*

* No blind amongst Malay women in 1911.

It will be seen that, except in the case of the Malay males, there has been a decrease in the number of blind since the last Census for every race in Ceylon; in the case of the Malays the proportion of blind amongst the males has increased from 1 in every 1,284 to 1 in every 1,136.

Dr. W. H. de Silva, in his Report as Medical Officer in Charge, Victoria Memorial Eye Hospital, in 1907, writes: "In connection with the cases treated I have to make two observations, viz., that trachoma and ophthalmia neonatorum are on the increase. These cases mostly come from among the Malays living in the Slave Island Ward. Malays are an alien race, and they are not living under the best sanitary surroundings. Trachoma has not as yet got a hold on the indigenous Sinhalese population. Some steps should be taken for notification of these cases, if the spread of the disease and its usual complications and sequelæ ending in blindness are to be prevented."

The proportion of the blind of each race to 10,000 persons of that race is shown in Table C :—

Table C.—Number of Blind Persons in every 10,000 of the Population in each Race, 1901 and 1911.

Races.	1901. Males.	1901. Females.	1911. Males.	1911. Females.
All Races	**12**	**9**	**11**	**8**
Low-country Sinhalese	12	9	11	8
Kandyan Sinhalese	18	12	17	12
Tamils	8	7	7	6
Ceylon Tamils	—	—	9	6
Indian Tamils	—	—	6	5
Moors	8	6	7	5
Ceylon Moors	—	—	8	5
Indian Moors	—	—	6	5
Malays	8	4	9	—*
Burghers and Eurasians	6	4	4	3

* No blind amongst Malay women in 1911.

It will be seen that there is an all-round decrease of 1 in every 10,000 of the population for each race ; in the case of the male Burghers the reduction is 2 in every 10,000. The proportion of blind amongst the Indian Tamils and Moors is small, and the reduction in the proportion of blind amongst the Tamil population is probably chiefly due to a decrease in the blind amongst the estate population. Close supervision is now exercised at Tuticorin to prevent blind beggars and persons suffering from diseases crossing to Ceylon.

In the following Table D is shown the percentage of the blind in each age period in 1901 and 1911 :—

Table D.—Number and Percentage of the Blind at each Age Period, 1901 and 1911.

Age Period.	Number.						Percentage.					
	Persons.		Males.		Females.		Persons.		Males.		Females.	
	1901	1911	1901	1911	1901	1911	1901	1911	1901	1911	1901	1911
0—10	633	562	377	343	256	219	16·9	14·2	16·6	14·1	17·3	14·3
10—20	739	713	432	429	307	284	19·7	18·0	19·0	17·7	20·8	18·6
20—30	718	698	431	426	287	272	19·2	17·6	19·0	17·6	19·4	17·8
30—40	556	539	375	333	181	206	14·8	13·6	16·5	13·7	12·2	13·5
40—50	457	491	281	319	176	172	12·2	12·4	12·4	13·1	11·9	11·2
50—60	339	437	195	260	144	177	9·0	11·0	8·6	10·7	9·7	11·6
60 and over	305	517	178	318	127	199	8·2	13·1	7·8	13·1	8·6	13·0

Up to 40 in the case of the males, and up to 30 in the case of the females, there is a considerable decrease in the percentage of the blind in 1911 as compared with 1901 ; from 40 onwards the percentage of blind amongst the males is higher in 1911 ; and in the period 60 and over it is nearly double what it was in 1901. Amongst the females, while the percentage of blind women between 30 and 40 is higher in 1911, in the next period 40–50 it is lower than it was ten years ago ; from 50 onwards the percentage in 1911 is considerably higher, especially for the last period 60 and over. This table apparently shows that blindness is on the decrease in Ceylon, for according to the Age Tables the percentages in the higher age periods have been shown to be higher

than in 1901, and persons of all races appear to live longer than they did a decade ago. The comparatively high proportions in the periods over 50 can be explained by survivals of the aged blind and the number of cases of blind for these age periods that one would expect to find in them. Amongst children the decrease in blind is considerable, as it is in the next two age periods. Undoubtedly, the improved treatment of the blind and the spread of education on the subject through and from the Victoria Memorial Eye Hospital should tend still further to reduce the number of blind in Ceylon at the next Census.

The proportion of blind is greatest for both males and females in the age period 10–20, as in 1901. Females show the higher proportion up to 30 and between 50 and 60; in all other periods the males are in the higher proportion. The most remarkable decrease is that of 3 per cent. in the female blind under 10 years of age—possibly further evidence of the greater care taken of female children.

The total number of *deaf-mutes* in Ceylon at the Census of 1911 was 3,233 (1,921 males and 1,312 females), as compared with 2,578 deaf-mutes enumerated in 1901, of whom 1,542 were males and 1,036 females. The proportion of deaf-mutes to the total population was 1 in 1,230 males in 1901 and 1 in 1,132 males in 1911, and 1 in 1,612 females in 1901 and 1 in 1,472 females in 1911.

There has, therefore, been an increase in the number of deaf-mutes, which may be partly attributed to the further investigations made in 1911 into each doubtful return. Comparisons with the figures for Censuses prior to 1901 are fallacious, for the deaf and dumb were shown under several heads, *e.g.*, deaf, dumb, dumb from birth, deaf from birth, &c.

The following Table E shows the number of deaf-mutes in every 10,000 of the population in each race, 1901 and 1911:—

Table E.—Number of Deaf-mutes in every 10,000 of the Population in each Race, 1901 and 1911.

Races.	1901. Males.	1901. Females.	1911. Males.	1911. Females.
All Races ..	**8**	**6**	**9**	**7**
Low-country Sinhalese	9	6	10	7
Kandyan Sinhalese	8	5	9	7
Tamils ..	8	7	7	7
Ceylon Tamils ..	—	—	9	8
Indian Tamils ..	—	—	6	6
Moors ..	5	5	6	6
Ceylon Moors ..	—	—	6	7
Indian Moors ..	—	—	6	3
Burghers and Eurasians	3	4	3	6

The proportion of deaf-mutes in Ceylon (9 males and 7 females in every 10,000 of each sex) is high; at the 1901 Census in India there were 6 males and 4 females who were deaf and dumb in every 10,000 persons of each sex, and 5 males and 4 females in England and Wales.

There has been an increase of 1 deaf-mute in every 10,000 males and in every 10,000 females for "all races"; for the Low-country Sinhalese and for the Moors of 1 in every 10,000 males and 1 in every 10,000 females, and 1 in every 10,000 males and 2 in every 10,000 females amongst the Kandyans; for the Burgher and Eurasian males the proportions are the same, but for the females there has been an increase of 2 deaf-mutes in every 10,000 persons.

There is a decrease of 1 deaf-mute in every 10,000 Tamil men; the figures for Tamil women are unchanged. The Ceylon Tamils show a

considerably higher proportion of deaf-mutes than the Indian Tamils; the proportion of deaf-mutes amongst the Ceylon Moor and Indian Moor males is the same, but there are only two deaf-mutes amongst the Indian Moor women in Ceylon, as compared with 74 deaf-mute Ceylon Moor women.

The highest proportion of deaf-mute males is found amongst the Low-country Sinhalese; the lowest amongst the Burghers and Eurasians. Amongst the females the Ceylon Tamils show the highest proportion, the Indian Moors the lowest.

There are more deaf-mutes than blind in the town of Colombo (out of 92 deaf-mutes 57 are Low-country Sinhalese), and in the Districts of Jaffna (out of 296 deaf-mutes 295 are Ceylon Tamils), Mullaittivu, Puttalam, Chilaw (out of 107 deaf-mutes 95 are Low-country Sinhalese), and Nuwara Eliya (out of 149 deaf-mutes 109 are Indian Tamils—one-third of the deaf-mutes amongst the Indian Tamils are found in the Nuwara Eliya District).

The highest proportion of deaf-mutes amongst the Sinhalese is found amongst males in the Chilaw and Kalutara Districts, amongst the females in the Puttalam and Chilaw Districts.

Amongst the Tamils the highest proportions for males are in the Nuwara Eliya and Mannar Districts, and for females in the Puttalam and Chilaw Districts. Amongst the Moors there are high percentages of deaf-mutes in the Kalutara and Puttalam Districts.

Only 6 of the deaf-mutes were entered as insane in addition to being deaf and dumb, while 3 were also entered as blind. Cases were found in the schedules of deaf-mute children with parents one or both of whom were deaf-mutes.

The next Table F gives the percentage and number of deaf-mutes in each age group in 1901 and 1911:—

Table F.—Number and Percentage of Deaf-mutes at each Age Period, 1901 and 1911.

Age Period.	Number.				Percentage.			
	Males.		Females.		Males.		Females.	
	1901	1911	1901	1911	1901	1911	1901	1911
0—10 ..	317	358	225	280	20·6	18·6	21·7	21·3
10—20 ..	427	558	288	375	27·7	29·1	27·8	28·6
20—30 ..	354	450	245	280	22·9	23·4	23·6	21·3
30—40 ..	228	251	130	159	14·8	13·1	12·5	12·1
40—50 ..	120	162	75	118	7·8	8·4	7·2	9·0
50—60 ..	65	81	46	63	4·2	4·2	4·4	4·8
60 and over ..	31	61	27	37	2·0	3·2	2·6	2·8

Compared with 1901 there is a decrease in the percentage both of males and females for the periods under 10 and 30–40, and an increase in every other period, except between 20–30, for the females, which shows a lower percentage than in 1901, while the figures for the males for 50–60 are the same at both Censuses.

Nearly three-fourths of the deaf-mutes are found in the age groups under 30, and the percentage steadily declines above this age period; it appears to be the case in all countries that deaf-mutes are short-lived.

The real tests as to whether there has been an actual increase or not in the number born deaf and dumb are the figures for the first age

group under 10 and a comparison between the figures for 0–10 in 1901 and 10–20 in 1911.

In 1901 there were 117 deaf-mute males and 77 females under 5, and 200 males and 148 females between 5 and 10 were deaf-mutes.

In 1911 the numbers are under 5, 108 males and 68 females, between 5 and 10, 250 males and 212 females. In 1901 there were 542 deaf-mute children under 10, in 1911 there were 638, but during the last five years there appears to have been a decrease in the number of children born deaf and dumb.

It is in the earliest age periods, however, that there are the most cases of self-deception or concealment on the part of parents of their child's affliction ; it is only as the child grows older that the hope of its being backward is abandoned and deaf-mutism is admitted. There were 317 deaf-mute males and 225 females *under 10 in 1901, and in 1911* there were 558 male and 375 female deaf-mutes *between 10 and 20.* There is also an increase of 23 in the number of male deaf-mutes between 20 and 30 in 1911, compared with the number between 10 and 20 in 1901 ; these 23 and the differences in the age groups 0–10 in 1901 and 10–20 in 1911, viz., 241 males and 150 females, should all be added to the deaf-mutes *from birth* in 1901—an increase of 414—if none of them were immigrants, as very few indeed, if any, are likely to have been.

These figures show that there is a considerable field for the charitable efforts of those who are endeavouring to secure a school for the deaf and dumb in Ceylon ; there is no such school at present in existence.

An appeal was made for funds for the establishment of a school for deaf, dumb, and blind children in Ceylon through the Ceylon Press at the end of 1910.

The Hon. Mr. A. J. R. de Soysa generously gave a site for the building between Mount Lavinia and Angulana. An appeal was made for a sum of Rs. 37,500 to start the work and to maintain it for two years or more. It is now hoped to commence building before the end of 1912. Of the sum of Rs. 37,500 asked for, by the middle of 1912 Rs. 22,700 had been received or promised. Government has voted an annual subsidy of Rs. 1,500, and supporters of the movement in England have promised £250 (Rs. 3,750), if the balance (Rs. 11,050) can be raised in Ceylon. The salaries of the Principal and her Assistant have been guaranteed by friends in England.

The work is one deserving of the support of all who are interested in improving the lot of, perhaps, the most helpless and most afflicted of all living creatures.

Comparisons with previous Censuses in the case of the *insane* are difficult, owing, as has been already explained, to the distinction previously made between insane and idiots. In the figures given in the Census Report* for 1901, which were compared with the figures for previous Censuses, the inmates of the Colombo Lunatic Asylum—the only lunatic asylum in Ceylon—were omitted. These numbered in 1901 496 (295 males and 201 females). The insane, as separated from the idiots, at the 1901 Census, numbered 933 (601 men and 332 women), or inclusive of the Lunatic Asylum inmates 1,429 (896 males and 533 females).

In 1911 the insane were returned at the Census as 1,801 (1,123 males and 678 females), including the Lunatic Asylum with 418 males and 247 females. It is probable that persons classed as idiotic in 1901 may have been included in 1911 as insane ; but, on the other hand, it is also

* Census Report for 1901, Vol. I., p. 149.

very likely that many insane persons were not returned as such, as their relations were afraid that they might be removed from their custody if so described in a Government return. The number of insane in Ceylon is likely, therefore, to be above the number returned at the Census.

Comparing the figures for 1901, as adjusted by the addition of the Asylum inmates, with those for 1911, we find that in 1901 there were 5 insane males and 3 insane women in every 10,000 of each sex, as compared with 5 insane males and 4 insane females in every 10,000 in 1911. Those classed as idiotic in 1901 are omitted from this comparison.

In India, at the Census of 1901, there were 3 insane males and 2 insane females to every 10,000 persons of each sex. In England and Wales the proportion of insane is very much larger: according to the Report of the Commissioners of Lunacy, on January 1, 1912, there were 36 males and 39 females certified as insane in every 10,000 males and females respectively. While in Ceylon one in every 2,280 persons is insane, in England and Wales the insane are reckoned as one in every 269 of the population.

Insanity in the East and the West is regarded from very different standpoints; but there is no doubt that the helpless lunatic is far more frequent in the West than in the East, and that persons suffering from nervous diseases, hysteria, and mental breakdown swell the high proportion of the insane in European countries. In the East there is not the same nervous and mental strain and stress of living for persons of feeble intellect, and consequently the number of persons who are mentally incapable of taking care of themselves is far smaller than in the West. Insanity in the East takes a much more virile form, bordering frequently on fanaticism, and often leading to wild and murderous outbreaks.

The apparently great disproportion between the number of insane in asylums in the West and the East may be partly explained by the fact that the large majority of those confined as insane in the East are dangerous to others as well as to themselves, and require restraint; while in the West large numbers of the insane are persons who are simply incapable of doing anything for themselves—nervous breakdowns, hysteria, are as far out of the usual groove of Eastern thought as a belief in possession by the devil is remote from the ordinary conceptions of the West.

The following Table G gives the number of insane for each race in 1911 and the proportions to the population:—

Table G.—Number and Proportion of Insane of each Sex in each Race, 1911.

Races.	Number. Males.	Number. Females.	Proportion to Population. Males. One in	Proportion to Population. Females. One in
All Races	**1,123**	**678**	**1,937**	**2,849**
Low-country Sinhalese	638	328	1,401	2,508
Kandyan Sinhalese	136	106	3,864	4,463
Ceylon Tamils	125	80	2,149	3,242
Indian Tamils	115	117	2,621	1,962
Ceylon Moors	60	26	2,035	4,300
Indian Moors	6	2	4,379	3,226
Europeans	7	1	664	2,947
Burghers and Eurasians	27	15	494	888
Malays	8	2	852	3,089

Comparisons cannot be made with the previous Census figures, for the 1901 figures include the idiotic, and it has not been possible to ascertain the races of the lunatics in the asylum in 1901.

The highest proportion of lunatics is found amongst the Burghers and Eurasians, both for males and females; 1 in 494 Burgher males was entered as insane at the 1911 Census.

At the Madras Census of 1901 the Eurasians showed the highest proportion of insane, and at the 1891 Census the Madras Commissioner wrote: "Insanity is far more prevalent among the Eurasians than among any other class. The proportion is 1 insane in every 410." Eurasians also showed the highest percentage of insane for all races in India at the 1901 Census.

The next highest proportion of insane is amongst the Europeans and Malays, but the numbers are too small—8 and 10 respectively—to be any indication of the extent of insanity amongst these races in Ceylon.

The lowest proportion of insane to the total population is found amongst the Indian Moor males and the Kandyan females. There are fewer insane amongst the male Indian Tamils than amongst the Ceylon Tamil males, but more insane Indian Tamil than Ceylon Tamil females.

There is considerable difference between the proportion of insane amongst the Low-country Sinhalese and the Kandyans; the latter show a very low percentage of insane, and only 242 cases of insanity in all. The Chilaw and Kalutara Districts show the highest proportion of insane males, and the Kalutara District the highest proportion of insane females.

The number of persons from the Kalutara and Panadure Districts in the Lunatic Asylum has been more than once the subject of comment by the Superintendent of the Asylum. Dr. Owen Johnson, Acting Medical Superintendent of the Lunatic Asylum in 1902, in his Administration Report, writes: "In the majority of the admissions into the Asylum, the cause of the affliction was quite obscure, and I do not in these remarks presume to offer anything like a decided opinion on the etiology of lunacy. In a very few cases only were histories available, and these were generally of so meagre and unreliable a nature as to be utterly worthless. But the comparatively large number of admissions from the Kalutara and Panadure Districts seemed to me to suggest a cause. These Districts, as is well known, contain a very large number of distilleries, and are by repute the home of the arrack trade of the Island. Is lunacy in its incidence in these Districts a mere coincidence, or may it not be that an intimate association exists between it and the practice of arrack drinking? In some of the cases no history of excessive drinking or drinking even in moderation was available, but my suggestion is that the disease is not due directly to the practice, but rather to a neurosis inherited from dissolute forbears."

The following Table gives the total number and percentage of insane at each age period:—

Table H.—Number and Percentage of the Insane at each Age Period, 1911.

Age Period.	Number.			Percentage.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
0—10	46	20	26	2·6	1·8	3·8
10—20	197	125	72	10·9	11·1	10·6
20—30	496	316	180	27·5	28·2	26·6
30—40	492	316	176	27·3	28·1	26·0
40—50	307	186	121	17·1	16·5	17·8
50—60	160	95	65	8·9	8·5	9·6
60 and over	103	65	38	5·7	5·8	5·6

The highest percentage of insane amongst both males and females was in the period 20–40, the figures for the two periods 20–30 and 30–40 being almost exactly similar. The very small number of insane in the period 0–10 is noticeable; there were only 46 cases in all. *In 1901* there were 31 insane males and 12 insane females and 22 idiotic males and 6 idiotic females *under 10*, excluding the Asylum inmates, very few, if any, of whom are likely to have been under 10, while *at the 1911 Census* there were 125 males and 72 females amongst the insane *between 10 and 20.* It is most unlikely that so many persons should have become insane between the years of 10 and 20, and the explanation of the low figures in 1901 and 1911 for insane children under 10 is probably the reluctance of parents to admit that their children are insane.

There is a considerable decrease in the number of insane for all periods above 40; it is the case, certainly in the East, that the insane, especially the males, are short-lived.

Comparing the figures for males and females, there are 5 males to every 3 females amongst the insane; the proportion of female lunatics in Ceylon is the same as in India in 1901. Except in England, where the females appear to live longer than the males, or fewer female lunatics are cured,* the number of insane males is generally found greatly to exceed the number of insane females.

In Ceylon the females were in a higher proportion under 10 and between 40 and 60; over 60 the proportions were very similar, and in no age period was there any considerable difference between the average number of insane males and females.

The Colombo Lunatic Asylum is the only one of the kind in Ceylon; it is maintained by Government, and no patient is admitted to it except upon an order made after judicial inquiry.

The first mention of a Lunatic Asylum in Ceylon occurs in the speech of Sir James Stewart Mackenzie made in the Legislative Council in 1839. Up to that time insane persons had no special hospital provided for them, the jails and, for a period, the Leper Asylum at Hendala being used for their custody.

The smallpox hospital at Borella was subsequently converted into a lunatic asylum, but it was found to be too small for the purpose, and the present asylum was completed in 1884.

The number of insane enumerated in the asylum on the night of the Census was 665 (418 males and 247 females); in 1901 the numbers were 496 (295 males and 201 females).

The Medical Superintendent, in his Report on the Asylum for 1910–11, says: "The rate of increase of the Asylum population is itself accelerating. I do not think this is entirely due to an increase in insanity in the inhabitants of the Island generally; part may be due to that, but the number of insane persons under treatment in the Asylum is a very small one in relation to the total population, and it seems likely that as communication becomes easier, cases hitherto retained in remote districts will more and more be sent to the Asylum. Since the judicial interpretation of the term 'insanity' seems also to be widening, that factor has also to be taken into account in estimating the chances of future increase in the number to be provided for."

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* According to the Report of the Commissioners of Lunacy for 1911, 46·5 per cent. of insane in England and Wales are males and 53·5 per cent. females.

The following Table 1 gives the races of the persons enumerated in the Asylum on the night of the Census :—

Table I.—Patients in the Lunatic Asylum at the Census of 1911.

	Total.	Males.	Females.
Low-country Sinhalese	378	238	140
Kandyan Sinhalese	110	58	52
Ceylon Tamils	39	32	7
Indian Tamils	61	32	29
Ceylon Moors	28	24	4
Indian Moors	5	5	—
Europeans	6	6	—
Burghers	35	20	15
Malays	3	3	—
Total	665	418	247

More than half the inmates were Low-country Sinhalese, and next come the Kandyans, who however number less than one-third of the Low-country Sinhalese; more than one-third of the Sinhalese insane in the Island are confined in the Asylum, of the Tamils nearly one-fourth are inmates of the Lunatic Asylum. Indian Tamils come third, and number 61; this number is probably less than at the last Census, as by arrangement with the Madras Government insane natives of India are now being sent back to India. Out of 42 insane Burghers in the Island 35 are in the Asylum.

According to the 1901 Census Report, when inmates of the Asylum were omitted in the figures for the insane, the lowest proportion of insane was shown to be amongst the Burghers and Eurasians, excluding only the Europeans; while at this Census they show the highest proportion, the divergency being explained by the Asylum figures.

Out of 592 patients who were able to state their birthplace, 157 were born in the Colombo District, 95 in Galle, 83 in Kalutara, 52 in Kandy, 28 in the Colombo Municipality, and 24 in the Kurunegala District. 42 gave India as their birthplace.

At the Indian Censuses information is obtained as to the number of *Lepers.* Both at the last and at this Census it was considered whether similar information should be obtained in Ceylon, but it was decided that the attempt to obtain particulars under this head should not be made.

Leprosy is a disease which it is very difficult for any one but a medical man to diagnose with certainty, and it is probable that persons suffering from parangi or yaws, which prevails to a considerable extent in some parts of Ceylon, especially in the North-Central and Northern Provinces, would have been entered as lepers.

The Lepers Ordinance, No. 4 of 1901, provides for the compulsory detention of lepers in the Leper Asylum, on the assumption that the disease is contagious. This Ordinance has not been strictly enforced, and it is extremely improbable that persons suffering from leprosy who had not been reported by the headmen under the Ordinance as lepers, would have been entered as such at the Census. Detention in the Leper Asylum is regarded by the large body of the inhabitants of Ceylon as imprisonment, to be avoided by every means possible.

The Indian Census Commissioner, in his Report on the Census of India in 1901, says: "It is possible, however, that the Census figures as they now stand fail to represent the full prevalence of leprosy in India. The disease is regarded with horror and disgust, and those who suffer

from it conceal the fact whenever they are able to do so...... Apart from wilful suppression, it is probable that the efforts made in 1891 and at the present Census to exclude cases of mere skin discoloration from the return have resulted in the omission of a certain amount of the true corrosive disease."*

There is a proposal to establish a leper colony on an island close to Batticaloa, and there are a few lepers isolated at the Kalmunai hospital. But the only leper asylum in the Island at present is the Hendala Leper Asylum near Colombo.

This Asylum is now just over two hundred years old; it was founded, according to Dutch authorities, in 1708, which date appears on a stone tablet in the institution bearing a monogram (H. B.) on a shield, which has recently been deciphered by the Government Archivist as the initials of the Dutch Governor Hendrek Boeker, who held office in Ceylon from 1707 to 1716. The foundation of the asylum at the date mentioned is also confirmed by a statement in a Dutch paper recently published in Holland, and official correspondence at the period between the Dutch Governors of Batavia and Ceylon, from which it appears that "the leper hospitals (Lazarus-huys) at Malacca, Amboina, Ceylon, and the Coast of Malabar were built respectively in the years 1697, 1701, 1708, and 1724"; and as regards the institution in Ceylon, "that it had 25 lepers and contained 48 rooms, each large enough for the accommodation of 28 patients, and was considered by the Government of Batavia as much too large for the purpose, being built on too extensive a scale." The Asylum, therefore, existed as a Government institution long before the British occupation of Ceylon, and its reputed transfer to the British Government by a Dutch lady, who was herself a leper, is apparently without foundation.

An interesting account of the asylum appears in a communication dated March 17, 1842, from Doctor J. Kinnis, an Army Medical Officer who served in Ceylon, to the Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal:—

"In October, 1834, and March and April, 1836, I paid seven visits to the Lunatic and Leper Hospital of Ceylon, and found at the first mentioned date 25 lepers and 14 patients suffering from other diseases under treatment. Betwixt 1834 and March, 1836, there were admitted 12 lepers, and in March and April, 1836, the number of lepers in the institution had increased to 30. The officers and servants attached to the hospital were a superintendent, an overseer, a medical sub-assistant, two gardeners, four female cooks, and two coolies for drawing water and carrying provisions from the bazaar, &c. Every patient was allowed by Government, monthly, one parrah of rice and four rix-dollars, or 6 shillings sterling, which was expended for him in the purchase of other articles of food, his breakfast being hoppers (rice cakes) and coffee, his dinner and supper curry and rice. The daily expense of one patient's ration, in addition to that of the rice allowance, was about a fanam and a half, or six pice, which is equivalent to 2½*d*.

"The daily cost of a patient's ration at present (1901) is 28 cents for a native and 50 cents for a European, and the daily average number of patients 272·29."†

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* Census Report for India, 1901, Vol. I., pp. 146 and 147.

† Report of Medical Superintendent (Mr. W. H. Meier), Hendala Leper Asylum, 1901.

The number of patients in the Leper Asylum at the 1901 Census was 263 (209 males and 54 females). In 1911 the figures were 376 (275 males and 101 females).

Special information was obtained at this Census of these lepers as to (1) the occupations now pursued by the lepers in the Asylum, (2) the occupations the lepers could and would follow if they were not in hospital, (3) the occupations of the lepers prior to their admission, (4) the occupations of the persons on whom the lepers depended or would depend if they were discharged and were not required to work for their living.

With regard to (1), it was found that out of the 376 lepers, 331 follow no employment, 157 were pronounced to be physically unfit for any work, 32 of the women find occupation as seamstresses, and 13 men occupy themselves—7 of whom are gardeners and 4 tailors.

Of the occupations (2) which the lepers state they would follow if free, by far the largest numbers gave "cooly" (67) and paddy cultivator (59); there were 11 men who stated that they would take up carpentry. No other occupation had more than six followers.

These figures show the class of persons in the Asylum; leprosy amongst the well-to-do is rare in Ceylon.

The past occupations (3) of the lepers afford further evidence on this point: 92 were cultivators, 44 were coolies or field labourers, 19 were carpenters, 14 cart drivers, and 10 mat weavers.

Only 87 out of the 376 had followed no occupation, and most of these were women—evidence that the majority of these cases were attacked by or developed leprosy when adults.

The occupations (4) of the persons on whom the lepers depended or would depend if they were discharged and could not work for their living afford evidence as to the homes from which these lepers came, and the occupations followed by their parents and relations: 156 would depend upon cultivators, 28 upon coolies, 21 upon carpenters, and 13 upon cart drivers.

In view of the "fish" theory of the causation of leprosy, it is of interest to note how far the lepers at Hendala appear to be drawn from the fishing population: 10 of them stated that they would follow occupations connected with fishing, 14 had been fishermen, and 20 would be dependent upon fishermen if discharged and unable to work for themselves.

In his Administration Report for 1903 the Principal Civil Medical Officer states: "There are 207 known lepers throughout the Island, whose names and addresses are registered, and who are periodically examined. They are in the non-contagious stage of the disease, and there is no room at present for them in the leper institutions. The approximate leper population may be put down at about 616." In subsequent reports it is admitted that it is practically impossible to estimate the number of lepers in Ceylon.

In his Administration Report for 1910–1911 the Principal Civil Medical Officer says that 628 cases of leprosy were treated in the Government medical institutions during the eighteen months (January 1, 1910, to June 30, 1911), with a mortality of 63, and adds, "the present accommodation for lepers is quite inadequate."

Accepting an estimate of 600 lepers in Ceylon, there would be 15 lepers to every 100,000 persons; in India at the Census of 1901 there were 48 male and 17 female lepers in every 100,000 of the population of each sex. As in India, the proportion of lepers amongst males is undoubtedly considerably higher than amongst females.

CHAPTER XV.

EDUCATION.

Particulars obtained at the Census—Demand for education—for an English education—Leading events in history of education, 1901–1911—Education and the Legislative Council—Literacy by sex and race, 1881—1911—by districts—Tamil proverbs on education—Estate population—Literates in Colombo Municipality by race and sex—Literacy by ages—The "learning" and the literates—Education in Kandyan districts—Female education amongst the Tamils—Rural Schools Ordinance—Comparison with India—Female education—its progress in Ceylon—Literates by religion—Literate Buddhists and Christians in Ceylon and India—Committee of Oriental Studies—Comparison of increases in literates amongst Christians and non-Christians—by races and districts—Proportion of literates amongst the different Christian sects—Mission work—Literates in English—by race and religion—English speaking—in the towns—compared with India—English literates in Ceylon and in India—Low standard of English—Teaching of English—The Vernaculars and English—Examinations—Teachers—Natives of Ceylon who are literate in English, but illiterate in the Vernacular—Schools and Scholars in Ceylon—Expenditure on education in Ceylon—Comparison of Census figures and figures of Department of Public Instruction—Books and newspapers in Ceylon.

The particulars given in the Census schedules enable figures to be furnished showing the literacy and illiteracy of the population of Ceylon. No particulars are given with regard to the number of persons "learning." An attempt was made at the Indian Censuses of 1881 and 1891 to obtain such information, but it was found that the returns of those "learning" or under instruction were of little value—children who had not long been at school were entered as illiterate and so omitted from the return of those "learning," while more advanced students were entered as literate. The figures for those "learning" or children under instruction and the Educational Department statistics varied very considerably.

At this Census it was considered whether any attempt should be made to obtain entries in the case of children as to whether they were at school or not, but it was finally decided that the success of any such attempt was extremely problematical. The main object of the Census is to ensure that all persons are enumerated. An attempt to obtain particulars which might lead to intentional concealment of children—as would probably be the case where parents had rendered themselves liable to prosecution for not having sent their children to school—would defeat the principal end of the Census. The accuracy of figures so obtained would also be very doubtful.

At the 1901 Census the column referring to literacy was headed "Whether able to read and write any language," and the enumerators were instructed to enter in this column the word "Yes" if the persons enumerated could *both* read and write any language, and "No" if he could not.

At this Census the instructions given to the enumerators were, "Enter in this column his mother tongue against each person who can read and write it. If he cannot read and write his native language, but can read and write another language, insert the name of that language."

The object of this alteration was to enable information to be obtained as to the number of persons who, though literates—as being able to read and write a language—might yet be unable to read and write their own language. As will be seen from Table W (*vide* p. 441, *infra*), the number of persons who cannot read and write their own language and yet can read and write English is fairly considerable.

The last Census was the first at which information was collected as to the number of persons able to read and write English, so this is the first Census at which it is possible to make comparisons as to the progress made in the knowledge of English—in the number of literates in English.

Information was also obtained at this Census as to the number of the English-speaking population—in Ceylon, especially in the towns, there is a considerable number of persons who, though they are unable to read and write English, can speak the language and speak it well. Visitors to Ceylon, especially if they come from India, are always struck by the general use of English and the colloquial knowledge of the language shown by natives of all classes (*vide* Table U, p. 435, *infra*).

One of the most remarkable features of the decade (1901–1911) has been the rush into education. The improved standard of comfort throughout the country, the growth of wealth, accompanied by considerable changes in manners and customs, have all produced an enormous demand—which may almost be described as a passion—for education.

The older generation regard education as an investment for their children, which will enable them to take up positions to which their newly-acquired wealth entitles them. The small landowner and cultivator who has prospered believes that education will make a clerk of his son or fit him for a learned profession, that the latter will then hold a better position in the world than his father, and that consequently the fortunes and, what appeals to him equally strongly, the status of the family will be assured. The younger generation seek escape from rural life, from manual toil, from work which they begin to regard as degrading, in an education which will enable them to pass examinations, which will lead to posts in offices in the towns, and so to appointments which entitle the holders to the respect of the class from which they believe they have emancipated themselves.

Education points the way of all advancement, and in a progressive community, which has enjoyed a period of exceptional prosperity, it is only right and proper that the people should be aroused to a sense of the importance of the education to be given in the schools.

The demand has passed considerably beyond the desire for a good vernacular education, which is no longer associated with advancement; it is now a popular clamour for an English education.

The problems which education has had to meet during this period are mainly associated with English education.

The period has therefore been an exceptionally critical and important one for the Educational Department. The following may be mentioned as leading events in the history of education during this decade.

1901.—(January 26.) Appointment of Superintendent of School Gardens and opening of school gardens in Ceylon.

1902.—Committee on Oriental Studies formed, for revival of study of Sanskrit and Pali literature.

1903.—The Training College for Teachers opened.

1904.—Appointment of Commission to report on the best means for making vernacular education compulsory throughout Ceylon.

1904.—Appointment of an Inspectress of Needlework.

1906.—Appointment of an Inspectress of Girls' English Schools.

1908.—Women students received in the Training College.

1908.—Rural Schools Ordinance came into force in certain districts. Appointment of Commission to report on the Royal and Technical Colleges.

1911.—(May.) Laying of foundation stone of new Royal College.

1911.—(June–August.) Visit of Mr. J. J. R. Bridge, H. M. Inspector of Secondary Schools. to report on the Secondary English Schools of Ceylon.

1911.—(July.) Appointment of Committee "to make a general survey of the system of education now prevailing in Ceylon, and to investigate in particular the present provision for secondary and higher education."

Special reference will be made elsewhere to these events as they affect the subjects dealt with in this chapter, but this list shows that Government and the Department of Public Instruction have been fully alive to the demands of the period, and that every effort is being made to bring the educational system of the country into touch with its needs.

The Franchise Bill (Ordinance No. 13 of 1910) recognized an educational qualification for voters "for the Ceylonese Electorate" for the election of the "Ceylonese Member" of the Legislative Council.

Considerable progress has been made since the time of the Dutch, when we read of one "Captain Witzenburgh (who) was a brave Soldier about 50 years of age, he was then (*circ.* 1680) in Columbo as Commander and was likewise one of the Council, which consists of eight Men only, who are treated with no less Title than that of Honourable. They Judge and give Sentence in all Causes, as well Capital as others. Our chief Merchant one Van Vorsten was the President of them. He had been rais'd to this from a Cabbin-boy. The best part of them *could neither write nor Read*, nor could the Captain I am speaking of, tho' he was the third of the Council."*

The number of literates at this Census was 878,766 males and 204,062 females, as compared with 657,615 males and 115,581 females in 1901. In 1901, 347 males in every 1,000 were literate, in 1911 in every 1,000 males 404 males were literate ; the proportions for the females are in 1901 69 in every 1,000, in 1911 106 in every 1,000.

Table A on page 401 gives the percentage of literates of each sex and race at the four Censuses 1881, 1891, 1901, and 1911.

The illustrations on page 402 and opposite pages 422 and 424 show the proportion of literates and illiterates for males and females for the native races. The literates are denoted by the figures reading open books ; the illiterates, except in the case of the Low-country Sinhalese

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* Christoph Schweitzer's "Account of Ceylon (1676–1682)," published in the "Ceylon Literary Register," Vol. IV., p. 116.

and Tamils, tower above their educated compatriots, and in the case of the females the disproportion is considerable. The races are represented by figures of children, as the progress of literacy in the Island depends upon the rising generation.

Table A.—Percentage of Literates of each Sex and Race, 1881, 1891, 1901, and 1911.

Race.	Males.				Females.			
	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
All Races	**24·6**	**29·9**	**34·7**	**40·4**	**2·5**	**4·4**	**6·9**	**10·6**
Europeans ..	84·8	89·5	89·9	93·2	74·2	85·0	85·2	86·3
Burghers and Eurasians	59·5	63·7	70·2	70·0	49·6	58·0	65·7	67·3
Sinhalese { Low-country	25·1	31·0	40·8	47·9	2·2	4·0	11·1	17·4
Sinhalese { Kandyan ..			30·7	36·4			1·6	2·8
Tamils { Ceylon ..	21·4	25·5	28·2	46·0	2·0	3·0	4·1	10·9
Tamils { Indian ..				20·4				1·5
Moors { Ceylon ..	26·3	29·7	33·2	31·4	1·4	1·0	2·5	2·6
Moors { Indian ..				51·8				1·9
Malays	40·2	46·1	53·4	53·3	3·3	6·0	16·1	14·3
Veddas	2·9	2·6	3·6	8·0	0·3	—	0·02	0·7
Others	25·1	31·9	44·5	42·2	3·1	6·0	16·4	12·3

The figures given in Table A show that the number of literates in Ceylon is steadily increasing, the increase between 1901 and 1911 (5·7 per cent. for males and 3·7 per cent. for females) being the highest recorded at any Census. It is probable, too, that the test of literacy is more searching at every Census.

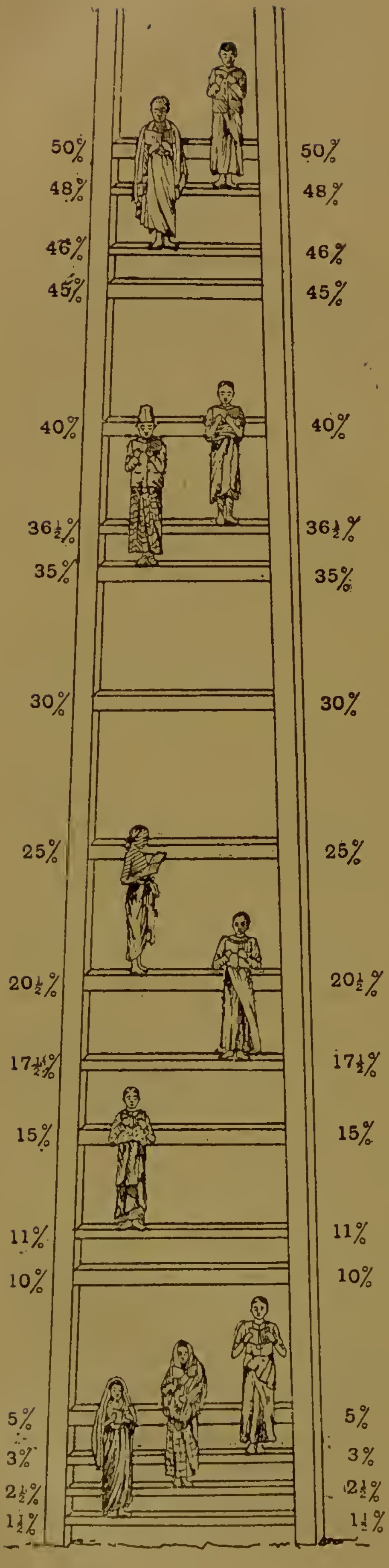
There are nearly twice as many literate males, and nearly five times as many literate females, as there were thirty years ago.

Only 6·8 per cent. of the *European* males and 13·7 per cent. of the females are illiterates, and the percentages of the two sexes under five years of age are 5·6 and 10·0 per cent. respectively.

Burghers and Eurasians come next, with percentages of 70 and 67 per cent. for males and females respectively. There has been no increase in the proportion of literates amongst the males since the last Census, but the proportion of Burgher males to females has increased. The percentages of male and female Burghers and Eurasians under five are 13·7 and 13·4 respectively.

The *Malays* come third amongst the males, as they have done at every Census, but the figures for male literates as compared with 1901 are stationary. For generations the Malays have been found in large number in the Police Force, and in employments as domestic servants, watchers, &c., which require a certain standard of literacy, and consequently we find the Malay males the only native race to show a higher proportion of literates than illiterates.

The percentage of literate Malay women has decreased at this Census from 16·1 to 14·3. In 1881 and 1891 the percentages for Malay females were 3·3 and 6 per cent. respectively, and there was an increase of 10 per cent. between 1891 and 1901. It is probable that the figures for 1901, and even those for 1911, are in excess of actual fact. The Malay women, being Muhammadans, are kept secluded, and it is likely that the husbands may have stated that their wives were literates, as they were ashamed to say that their women folk were not as well educated as themselves and their children. Proportions of 16 and 14 per cent. literate amongst Muhammadan females are very high. The proportion of literates among the Muhammadan females for the whole of India was only 3 *per 1,000.*



Next to the Malays come the *Low-country Sinhalese*, with proportions of 47·9 and 17·4 per cent. literate for males and females respectively. The increase in literacy amongst the Low-country Sinhalese is considerable, being 7 per cent. for males and 6 per cent. for females—the highest increase for any race during the decade.

At previous Censuses the figures for *Tamils*, as they included the Indian and Ceylon Tamils, gave no indication of the literacy of the Tamil resident in Ceylon. As pointed out in the Census Report for 1901, the Tamil rate of literacy would then have been much higher if the immigrant cooly were excluded. It is now possible to show how far the figures for Tamils are affected by the "foreign" element—the percentages for Ceylon and Indian Tamil males were 46 and 20 per cent. respectively: that is to say, the proportion of literate Ceylon Tamil to Indian Tamil males was more than 2 to 1. In the case of the females the disproportion was even greater—there are 7 literate Ceylon Tamils to 1 literate Indian Tamil woman.

The Tamils taken together show increases of 4 and 2 per cent. in males and females respectively, a lower proportion of literates amongst the males than amongst Moors taken collectively.

In the case of the *Moors* we find that the Indian Moors, unlike the Indian Tamils, raise the proportion of literates. There is a higher percentage of literates than illiterates amongst the Indian Moormen, and this is what might be expected. These immigrants are merchants and petty traders from South India, who have come over to Ceylon on business—a very different class from the Indian Tamil.

These figures afford further evidence that the distinction between Ceylon and Indian Moors and Tamils was correctly understood by the enumerator.

The proportion of literates amongst the Moor females is only 2½ per cent., and the Indian Moor females (most of whom are small children or Ceylon Moor women living with Indian Moors temporarily resident in Ceylon) show a lower percentage than the Ceylon Moors. As compared with the last Census, the Moors show an increase of 2 per cent. in the number of male literates ; the figures for females are the same as at the 1901 Census.

The *Kandyan Sinhalese* show a higher percentage of male literates (36 per cent.) than the Tamils or Moors taken collectively; a lower proportion of literate females than the Tamils, and only slightly higher than the Moors.

The Kandyans show increases of nearly 6 per cent. and slightly over 1 per cent. in the number of literate males and females respectively.

The disproportion of literate females amongst the Kandyan and Low-country Sinhalese is even more marked than in 1901.

The figures given for *Veddas* have little value, except in so far as they show that the persons so described at this Census were jungle folk, amongst whom a low standard of literacy might be expected—only 8 per cent. of the males and 7 per 1,000 of the females were literates, and probably none of these were even demi-Veddas.

It serves no useful purpose to compare the relative literacy of the races classed under the head "Others," as they include 78 different races.

Before commenting further on the progress of education amongst the different races, it is important to ascertain where literacy is generally on the increase, and where each race shows a higher percentage of literates than at the last Census.

The tables which have been prepared for the first time at this Census showing literacy *by age and sex*, for each race in the principal districts where these races are found—Tables I, J, K, and L—also throw considerable light on the rate of progress of the native races, especially amongst the children.

Table B shows the percentage of persons able to read and write in each Province at the last two Censuses :—

Table B.—Percentage of Persons able to Read and Write in each Province at the 1901 and 1911 Censuses.

Province.	Persons.		Males.		Females.	
	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.
Ceylon	**21·7**	**26·4**	**34·7**	**40·4**	**6·9**	**10·6**
Western	29·5	36·0	42·6	48·9	14·6	21·2
Northern.. ..	24·2	28·9	42·2	47·4	6·0	10·6
North-Western ..	23·1	28·3	37·8	44·6	4·9	8·1
North-Central ..	20·8	24·2	37·2	42·1	1·04	2·0
Southern.. ..	19·6	24·1	32·8	38·3	5·9	9·5
Sabaragamuwa ..	18·3	20·5	31·1	34·3	2·7	3·5
Central	15·8	19·6	26·0	32·4	3·5	4·9
Eastern	16·1	18·0	27·9	30·6	3·1	4·7
Uva	13·3	15·0	23·0	26·3	1·9	2·2

The order of Provinces for males and females in 1911 is as follows :—

No.	Province.	Proportion of Literates.	No.	Province.	Proportion of Literates.
	Males.			Females.	
1.	Western	48·9	1.	Western	21·2
2.	Northern	47·4	2.	Northern	10·6
3.	North-Western	44·6	3.	Southern	9·5
4.	North-Central	42·1	4.	North-Western	8·1
5.	Southern	38·3	5.	Central	4·9
6.	Sabaragamuwa	34·3	6.	Eastern	4·7
7.	Central	32·4	7.	Sabaragamuwa	3·5
8.	Eastern	30·6	8.	Uva	2·2
9.	Uva	26·3	9.	North-Central	2·0

As compared with 1901, the order is almost exactly the same, the only differences being that the Central Province has displaced the Eastern Province for seventh place amongst the males, the Eastern Province going down one place, and the Central Province going up one.

Every Province shows an increase in literacy for both males and females, the largest increase being for males in the North-Western Province, for females in the Western Province, which has double the percentage of literates amongst the females that is found in any other Province and ten times the percentage in Uva and the North-Central Province.

It is of interest to compare these figures and the order of Provinces with the proportion of children under instruction to the total population in the various Provinces :—

Table B 1.—Proportion of Children under Instruction to Total Population in each Province, 1901 and 1910.

Province.	Proportion of Children under Instruction to Total Population. In 1901. One in	In 1910. One in
Northern	11	8
Western	10	9
Southern	15	11
Eastern	17	14
North-Western	25	15
Central	29	17
North-Central	28	22
Sabaragamuwa	32	25
Uva	54	44

These figures show an all-round increase in the proportion of the "learning." The largest increase in the proportion is in the Central Province from 1 in 29 to 1 in 17, while the North-Western and Uva Provinces show large increased proportions (from 1 in 25 to 1 in 15 and 1 in 54 to 1 in 44 respectively). The increases in these Provinces are very largely due to the increase in the number of estate children receiving instruction.

The following Table B 2 shows the mean distance in miles between schools in each Province in the Island : that is to say, the maximum distance which a child would have to walk to attend a school, supposing all the schools in each Province to be exactly equidistant.*

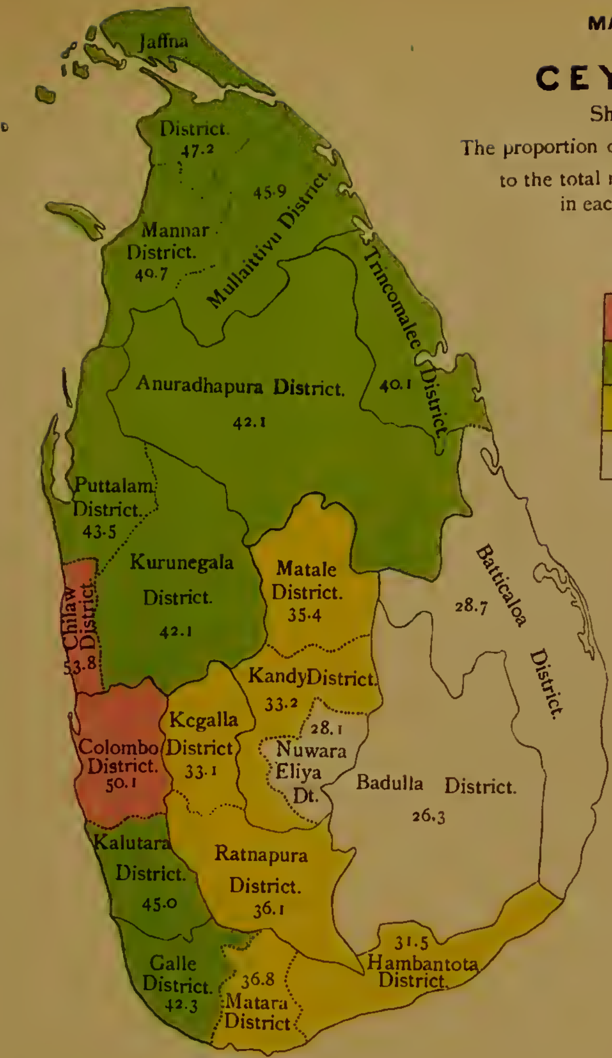
* This calculation is based on the formula : $\log. d = 1·0312347 - \frac{\log. n}{2}$

n = number of schools in 100 square miles ; d = distance between them.

MAP OF

CEYLON

Showing
The proportion of **MALE** Literates
to the total number of Males
in each District.



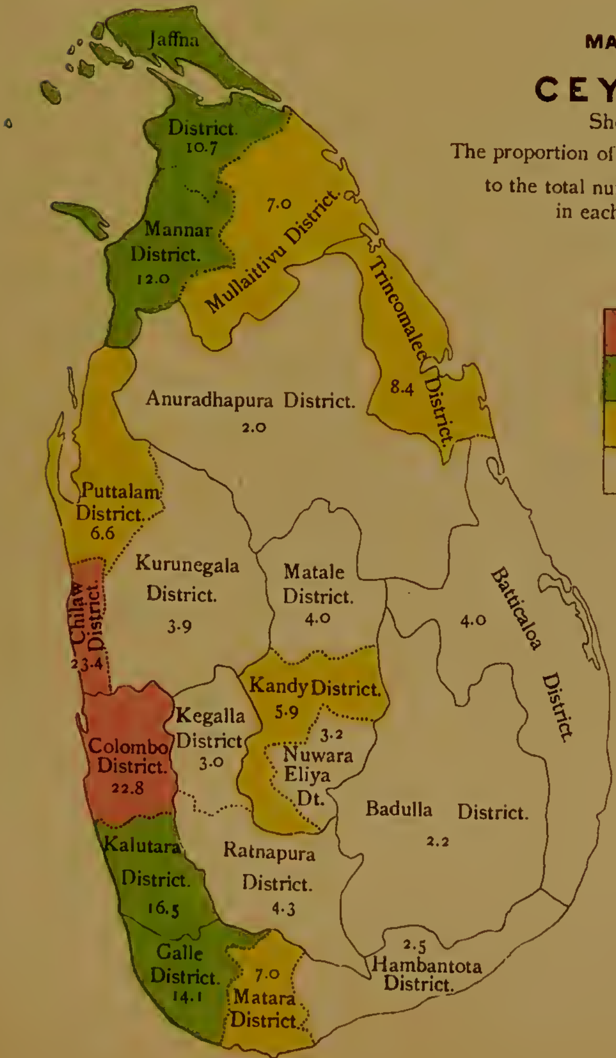
(red)	over 50 per cent Literates
(green)	Between 40 & 50 „ „
(yellow)	„ 30 & 40 „ „
(white)	Under 30 „ „

The figures given in each District show the percentage of Literates in that District.

MAP OF

CEYLON

Showing
The proportion of **FEMALE** Literates
to the total number of Females
in each District.



(red)	over 20 per cent Literates
(green)	Between 10 & 20 „ „
(yellow)	„ 5 & 10 „ „
(white)	Under 5 „ „

The figures given in each District show the percentage of Literates in that District.

Of course, it is not the case that the schools are equally distributed over the whole area—a large number of schools are crowded together in towns; there are also many villages where the schools are duplicated by the existence of a girls' school as well as a boys' school. In the case of the Northern Province, where the population is very unevenly distributed, about three-fourths of the schools are found in about one-seventh of the area of the Province.

Making allowance, however, for these conditions, the arithmetical mean for a Province affords a good indication of its position as compared with other Provinces, while the increase in the number of schools during the decade is also shown in this table :—

Table B 2.—Number of Schools and Distance between Schools in each Province, 1901 and 1910–11.

Province.	Government and Grant-in-Aid Schools. 1901.	1910–11.	Distance in Miles between Schools. 1901.	1910–11.
Western	656	836	1·59	1·41
Central	191	415	3·73	2·53
Southern	269	342	3·03	2·69
Northern	374	422	3·22	3·03
Sabaragamuwa	113	164	4·41	3·66
North-Western	106	198	5·71	4·18
Eastern	135	174	5·88	5·18
Uva	38	72	9·79	7·11
North-Central	28	46	12·85	10·02

The longest distance which a child in the Western Province would have to walk to reach a school (according to these calculations) is rather less than three-quarters of a mile, while in the North-Central Province the maximum distance is five miles. In 1901 in this Province the distance was nearly six and a half miles.

In Uva the distance has been reduced from nearly 5 miles in 1901 to 3½ in 1911. The average maximum distance for the Island is 3 miles.

The Central Province takes a much higher place (second) than in any table showing the comparative literacy of the Provinces. The illiteracy of the large estate population in this Province and the low rate amongst the Kandyans are the reasons for its comparative illiteracy. During the decade considerable efforts have been made to improve the educational position of the Kandyans and of the estate population. This table shows that the Province is comparatively well supplied with schools—their number has more than doubled in the decade—while it also shows that the spread of education does not primarily depend on the multiplication of schools, and that the population has to be attracted to the schools as well as be provided with them.

The North-Western Province owes its high place in the literacy table principally to the small, though thickly populated, District of Chilaw. There are large areas in this Province with few schools, which explain its low position in this table and the comparatively long distance (2 miles) which, if the schools were equidistant, the pupils must walk.

The following Table B 3 shows the proportion of literates to a hundred pupils in each Province:—

Table B 3.—Proportion of Literates to 100 Pupils in each Province.

Province.	Proportion of Literates to 100 Pupils.
Northern	233
Eastern	243
Southern	268
Western	311
Central	339
North-Western	443
Sabaragamuwa	512
North-Central	530
Uva	658

If the proportion of pupils in the schools was fairly constant from year to year, and it could be assumed that the literates had all passed through these schools, the ratio between the number of pupils and the number of persons returned as literates might be expected to be fairly uniform for the different Provinces. It will be seen that such is not the case. In the Northern Province there are nearly 5 literates to every 2 pupils, while in Uva there are 13 literates to 2 pupils. The Northern Province comes second in the order of literacy, while Uva is last.

Table B 1 explains this table, and the order in both is almost the same. The Eastern Province shows the second lowest proportion of literates to pupils—while it comes fourth in Table B 1—the proportion of children under instruction being 1 in every 14 of the population. These figures show a very high proportion of illiterates amongst the adults in the Eastern Province, which is confirmed by the Age Tables K and L, *infra.*

The three Provinces—Uva, North-Central, and Sabaragamuwa—show the highest proportion of literates to pupils, as also the lowest proportion of children under instruction. The need for further educational progress in these three Kandyan districts is evident.

The high proportion of pupils to literates in the Northern Province is due partly to the large proportion of children under instruction to the total population (1 in 8), and partly to the large number of literate Tamils who have emigrated or gone South.

This table also confirms the impression (referred to at length below) that in the most civilized parts of the Island a high standard of literacy was demanded, which must have excluded children, many of whom are literates though still under instruction.

The figures for pupils are for Government and grant-in-aid schools, and do not include pupils in unaided schools.

The figures for literacy by Provinces, Districts, and Municipalities show the highest percentage of male literates in Chilaw District, the lowest percentage in Badulla. The highest percentage of female literates is found in the town of Colombo, among Districts in Chilaw; the lowest in the Anuradhapura District.

The following tables show the proportion per cent. of the literates for the different races in the Districts where they are found in the largest number.

Table C gives the proportion per cent. of the Low-country Sinhalese population in Low-country Districts in 1901 and 1911 :—

Table C.—Proportion per Cent. of the Low-country Sinhalese Population able to Read and Write, 1901 and 1911.

District.	Males. 1901.	Males. 1911.	Females. 1901.	Females. 1911.
Colombo	43·6	51·8	13·8	22·5
Kalutara	39·1	49·0	11·6	18·9
Galle	37·3	42·5	8·5	14·2
Matara	30·0	36·6	3·8	6·8
Hambantota	27·0	31·0	1·7	2·2
Puttalam	53·8	57·6	12·7	28·1
Chilaw	49·2	56·1	16·5	26·0

Puttalam shows the highest percentage of male and female literates, but the Low-country Sinhalese in this District are mostly adult immigrants from the Colombo District. Chilaw comes second, and with Colombo these three Districts show a higher proportion of literates than illiterates amongst the Low-country Sinhalese, and also a comparatively high proportion of literate females—percentages of 28, 26, and 22 respectively compared with percentages of 12, 16, and 13 per cent. in 1901. The District with the lowest percentage of literates, both male and female, is Hambantota, and undoubtedly this is the most backward Low-country District in educational matters. The Assistant Government Agent reports that education has made considerable advance in this District during the decade. The number of schools has increased by 10, and the average daily attendance from about 1,900 in 1901 to 3,600 in 1910.

The largest increase in the percentage of literates in any District during the decade has been amongst the males in the Kalutara District —10 per cent. The Assistant Government Agent reports that " there has been an increase of 18 Government schools and 68 grant-in-aid schools during the decade. It has been possible to introduce compulsory attendance throughout the District, with very gratifying results."

Amongst the females, the largest increase has been in the Chilaw District (9½ per cent.), excluding the Puttalam figures, which represent only a small number.

The next Table D shows the proportion per cent. of the literate Kandyan Sinhalese population in 1901 and 1911 in the Kandyan Districts :—

Table D.—Proportion per Cent. of the Kandyan Sinhalese Population able to Read and Write, 1901 and 1911.

District.	Males. 1901.	Males. 1911.	Females. 1901.	Females. 1911.
Kandy	27·9	35·7	2·2	4·6
Matale	35·3	39·3	1·5	2·3
Nuwara Eliya	30·1	34·6	2·1	2·7
Kurunegala	33·0	40·0	1·1	2·3
Anuradhapura	38·0	43·5	0·6	0·8
Badulla	22·2	25·9	1·5	1·2
Ratnapura	28·7	35·1	1·8	3·3
Kegalla	33·4	35·9	2·0	2·4

Comparing this table with the previous one, the backwardness of the Kandyan as compared with the Low-country man in education is shown at once. While three Low-country Districts show a higher percentage of literates than illiterates, and the Kalutara District figures disclose an almost equal division (49 literates and 51 illiterates),

the highest percentage of literates amongst the Kandyan Districts is 43½ per cent. in the Anuradhapura District; while taking the figures for the females, there is no Kandyan District with a higher percentage than 4½ per cent. (Kandy District), which is less than the percentage in any Low-country District except Hambantota.

The Anuradhapura District takes the first place in literacy of the males amongst the Kandyan Districts, as it did in 1901, and, similarly, it takes the lowest place for female literacy at both Censuses. The high percentages of male literates in this District both at this Census and at the last is surprising. There were only 14 Government schools in the District in 1901, there are now 40—the Province is a large one with a big jungle area.

The figures in Table D show a high percentage of literates over 20 years of age in this District.

The Director of Public Instruction ascribes the high percentage of male literacy in the North-Central Province to some extent to the fact that "the schools, though not many in number, have been almost all Government Gansabhawa schools, so that attendance has been compulsory. Their positions have been well chosen, and they have for many years received much personal attention from the Revenue Officers in charge of the Province. The proportion of boys actually at school has been higher than in other Kandyan Districts."

Every Kandyan District shows an increase in male literates, the largest increase being nearly 8 per cent. in the Kandy District, followed by the Kurunegala District, which now comes second in literacy, instead of fourth as in 1901, with an increase of 7 per cent. Amongst the Kandyan Districts, with the exception of the Badulla District, which shows a small decrease, the proportion of female literates has increased, the largest increase being 2½ per cent. in the Kandy District.

The Badulla District shows the lowest percentage—26 per cent.—of male literates amongst all the Kandyan Districts.

The Government Agent, however, reports that "education, though still backward, has made considerable advances, eighteen new Government schools, fourteen grant-in-aid schools, and four unaided schools having been opened during the decade."

Table E shows the proportion per cent. of literates amongst the Tamil population in the principal Tamil Districts in 1901 and 1911:—

Table E.—Proportion per Cent. of the Tamil Population able to Read and Write, 1901 and 1911.

District.	Males.		Females.	
	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.
Jaffna	42	46·9	6	10·6
Mannar	44	52·4	8	17·6
Mullaittivu	42	45·8	4	7·6
Batticaloa	33	37·6	4	6·6
Trincomalee	45	49·5	6	12·8

Figures are given for Tamils collectively, as it was only at this Census that Ceylon and Indian Tamils were shown separately, but in the Districts given the proportion of Indian Tamils is very small.

The Mannar District shows a higher percentage of literate than illiterate males, and an increase of nearly 8½ per cent. in the proportion of literates. Mannar also shows the highest proportion of literate females (17½ per cent.), double the percentage in 1901. This high proportion of literates is largely due to the efforts of the Roman Catholic Mission.

who have established several excellent schools for boys and girls in this District. The proportion of literate Christians to the total Christian population of this District is 59 per cent. for males and 21 per cent. for females. Trincomalee comes second, the number of literates and illiterates being almost exactly divided. The proportion of literate females is double what it was in 1901, and is nearly 13 per cent. Jaffna shows an increase of nearly 5 per cent. for males and females, and percentages of literates of 47 and over 10 per cent.

The Assistant Government Agent, Mullaittivu, in his report on the Mullaittivu District, writes: "At the last Census the District was noticeable for its large percentage of literates. Here, however, statistics were misleading. The District is backward in the matter of education, and I am inclined to believe that the enumerators put down as 'able to read and write Tamil' any person who could sign their names. The percentage of literates will be found to be smaller in 1911." Such is *not* the case. There is an increase of nearly 4 per cent. for both males and females, and the District shows the high proportion of nearly 46 per cent. literate amongst the males. There are high percentages of literates both for Hindus and Christians for the age period 20 and over.

The Batticaloa Tamil shows an increased percentage of nearly 5 per cent., but has not yet reached a proportion of 40 per cent., and is some way behind the Tamil of the Northern Province.*

The Ceylon Tamil is thoroughly appreciative of the benefits of education, and it may be confidently predicted that the percentage of literates will increase rapidly.

Tamil literature abounds in references to the value of education.

"*The poverty of the learned is better than the wealth of the unlearned.*"†

"*The illiterate who boasts of high rank may be compared to dust mixed with paddy—unhusked rice.*"‡

"*Wealth without learning is like beauty without chastity.*"§

"*A well-instructed youth is an old man.*"||

"*Though of low origin, the learned rank with the highest caste.*"¶

"*What country is foreign to a man of learning?*"**

The following Table F shows the percentage of literates amongst the Indian Tamils in the principal planting districts in 1911:—

Table F.—Proportion per Cent. of Literates amongst the Indian Tamil Population in the Principal Planting Districts in 1911.

District.	Percentage of Literates, 1911. Males.	Females.
Kandy	20·7	1·4
Matale	19·9	2·3
Kurunegala	19·3	2·6
Nuwara Eliya	18·6	0·9
Badulla	17·2	0·9
Kalutara	14·8	1·9
Kegalla	14·8	1·0
Ratnapura	13·3	1·2

* *Vide* p. 221, *supra*.
† கல்லாதார் செல்வத்திலுங் கற்றார் வறுமை நலம்,
‡ கல்லா ஒருவன் குல நலம் பேசுதல் நெல்லுடன் பிறந்த பதராகும்மே.
§ கல்வியில்லான் செல்வங் கற்பில்லாள் அழகு.
|| கல்வியுள்ள இளைஞன் கன கிழவன்.
¶ கீழ் குலத்தானாலுங் கற்றவன் மேல் குலத்தான்.
** வித்துவானுக்கு எது பரதேசம்?

The highest proportion of male literates ($20\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.) is found in the Kandy District. The very large majority (91 per cent.) of these Indian Tamils were included in the estate population. The lowest proportions are in the Ratnapura and Kegalla Districts, which only came into great prominence as estate districts during the decade, and whose labour forces have only been a short time in the district, and are consequently less settled.*

The percentage of female literates is, as might be expected, low. The highest proportion is found in the Kurunegala District; the lowest in the Nuwara Eliya and Badulla Districts.

It would have been of much interest to have compared these figures with those in 1901. It would certainly have been found that there is a considerable increase in the number of literates amongst the Indian Tamil population in Ceylon.

The education, or want of education, of the Tamil cooly children aroused considerable interest in 1903–4, and a special report on the subject was issued early in 1905.

There has been a marked increase in the number of estate schools and of children receiving instruction. In 1904 there were only 60 schools, of which 2 were Government schools and 58 aided schools. In the schools examined, the number of pupils was 2,139, of whom 1,936 were boys and 203 were girls. At the end of 1910 there were 227 aided estate schools, and the number of schools examined for grant was 199. Returns were received by the Department of Public Instruction from 841 estates, on which the total number of children of school-going age was 24,242. The number of children attending school on these estates was 11,468, of whom 9,413 were boys and 2,055 girls. The difficulties in the way of the education of the estate cooly child are that he is a wage earner, his parents are themselves illiterate, and from the nature of their work they see little material use or value in being anything else.†

The percentage of literates amongst the Indian Tamils in Ceylon was 204 per 1,000 for males and 15 per 1,000 for females, and of these Tamils 83 per cent. may be said to be estate coolies. The proportion of literates for the whole of the Madras Presidency, from which these coolies come, at the 1911 Census was 138 per 1.000 for males and 13 per 1,000 for females.

Table G gives the proportion per cent. of the Moor literates to the total population in the districts where Moors are found in the largest number.

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* *Vide* table on p. 293, *supra*.

† The report of the Sub-Inspector of Estate Schools published in the Administration Report of the Director of Public Instruction for 1909 pithily explains these difficulties : " The children of kanganies and kanakapulles are, as a rule, regular in attendance. But it is not an easy thing to secure a good attendance of cooly children. The reasons are not far to seek. About 90 per cent. of the labourers come from the lowest classes of South India; they are illiterate, know not the value of education, and consequently do not care to educate their children. The teacher is satisfied when he gets his pay. The children between the ages of six and ten, whom the Ordinance requires to attend schools, are timid, and dread the teachers and the class room. Again, most of these children work during the day to earn their daily bread. When the work is over, they run up to the lines with greedy appetite and will not again stir out. The improvident cooly cannot support his family if his children are stopped from work; it is too much to expect the estate also to feed all children of school-going age. Naturally, the progress will be slow, but this ought not to be a cause for disappointment."

Table G.—Proportion per Cent. of the Moor Population able to Read and Write in each District, 1901 and 1911.

District.	Males. 1901.	Males. 1911.	Females. 1901.	Females. 1911.
Kalutara	39·0	40·5	2·5	3·7
Kandy	36·0	39·8	2·0	2·9
Jaffna	63·0	64·4	2·4	3·5
Mannar	33·0	40·9	0·1	0·5
Mullaittivu	39·0	45·1	1·3	1·9
Galle	39·0	39·9	7·0	8·2
Matara	41·0	45·6	11·0	6·6
Hambantota	34·0	38·3	4·6	4·7
Batticaloa	14·4	15·1	0·2	0·2
Trincomalee	26·0	25·9	0·4	0·4
Puttalam	35·0	36·9	0·7	1·7

The highest proportion of literate Moor males is found in the Jaffna District, where as high a percentage as 64·4 per cent. is found. The Moors in this District are mostly traders, and a knowledge of accounts is indispensable to them. They recognize the advantages of education, and those in Jaffna reside in a quarter of the town—a portion of Vannarponnai West—where there are several schools. The average distance between these schools is not more than two or three hundred yards.

The highest percentage of literate Moor females occurs in the Galle District (8 per cent.). The highest proportion in 1901 was amongst the Moor females in the Matara District, 11 per cent.—at this Census the percentage is 6½.

The Southern Province is ahead of any other part of the Island in the provision of schools for Moorish girls, and more interest appears to be displayed amongst the Moormen of Galle in the education of their women folk than is the case elsewhere. The Director mentions in his Administration Report for 1902 that a " wealthy Moorman, Mr. Magdon Ismail, of Galle, set a bright example to his countrymen by giving a considerable sum of money (nearly Rs. 300) to be distributed among the Moorish girls' schools of the Southern Province in prizes for attendance and needlework."

The Muhammadan girls' schools at Galle, Matara, Tangalla, and Miella show an average daily attendance of over 50.

The Batticaloa District, which may be regarded as the premier Moorish District, showed at the last Census a very low proportion of literates, 15 per cent. males and 2 per 1,000 females, an increase of only 7 in every 1,000 males, while the figures for females are stationary.

Mr. Freeman, in his Administration Report on the Eastern Province for 1907, writes of education in the Batticaloa District : " This is entirely in the hands of the Missionary bodies, Roman Catholic and Wesleyan. There are many Mission schools and a fair number of Hindu and Moorish schools. The Moors are the least educated in the ordinary sense, but they are none the less good traders and agriculturists, and I am inclined to think their non-participation in modern forms of education rather an advantage, for Moors compare favourably with the local Tamils in agricultural industry."

" The Rural Schools Ordinance was introduced in January, 1910, and five new Government schools have been sanctioned by the District Schools Committee, and will be opened as soon as they can be constructed.

These schools are intended chiefly for the Moors, who do not care, as a rule, to send their children to the Christian Mission schools. More Government schools will be opened each year, according to the funds at the disposal of the District Schools Committee; and in course of time the education of the Moors should be fairly well provided for;" is the report of the Government Agent on education in this District in 1910.

The following Table H shows the percentages of literates of each race and sex to the total population in the town of Colombo, 1911:—

Table H.—Percentage of Literates in Colombo Municipality by Race and Sex, 1911.

Race.	1911. Males.	1911. Females.
Low-country Sinhalese	54·3	26·8
Kandyan Sinhalese	58·7	20·2
Ceylon Tamils	57·7	27·6
Indian Tamils	35·6	6·7
Ceylon Moors	36·8	6·6
Indian Moors	41·8	1·3
Europeans	93·1	88·2
Burghers and Eurasians	68·5	66·8
Malays	54·2	14·2

Comparing this table with Table A, we find that there is a higher proportion of literates for every race in Colombo than in the Island generally, with the exception of the Indian Moors and Burghers.

This is, of course, to be expected, for the large majority of these races are immigrants who have come into Colombo for employment, and in a large and important seaport many of the occupations in which there are openings are those which demand a certain standard of literacy.

The considerably higher percentage of female literates amongst the Kandyan Sinhalese, Low-country Sinhalese, and Ceylon Tamils is remarkable. It must, however, be also taken into account that the big schools in Colombo attract a large number of pupils from outstations, and that these swell the number of literates; in the case of the large colleges all who have passed a certain standard would be entered as literates. Among the Kandyan females this is especially the case, most of them probably being girls at school in boarding schools in Colombo.

The lower percentage of literates amongst the Indian Moors is probably due to the fact that many in Colombo are found amongst the cooly class, while those in the districts are usually itinerant traders, jewellers, &c. The Burghers and Eurasians include many of the mechanic class and the lowest class of Eurasians.

The percentages of literates in the lower age periods in the Colombo Municipality are not as high as they should be (*vide* Tables I, J, K, L), and there is undoubtedly room for improvement and for an increase in the number of schools open to the poorer classes in the town.

The following tables give information which has been compiled for the first time at this Census:—Literates by Age and Sex for the principal Low-country and Kandyan Sinhalese and Tamil Districts, and for the town of Colombo. The first table is for Low-country Sinhalese.

Table I.—Low-country Sinhalese Literates per 1,000 of each Sex in each Age Group for Low-country Sinhalese Districts.

	Males.	Females.
Colombo Municipality :—		
5—10	158·2	127·1
10—15	505·9	356·0
15—20	715·3	492·3
20 and over	694·5	296·4
Colombo District :—		
5—10	235·1	158·7
10—15	630·0	402·4
15—20	767·9	444·9
20 and over	701·3	234·6
Kalutara District :—		
5—10	204·4	129·8
10—15	632·7	342·7
15—20	703·6	398·5
20 and over	671·7	198·3
Kandy Municipality :—		
5—10	158·9	145·3
10—15	616·7	419·8
15—20	764·2	578·2
20 and over	751·6	330·3
Galle Municipality :—		
5—10	128·6	86·4
10—15	484·2	363·5
15—20	684·2	337·6
20 and over	625·5	228·2
Galle District :—		
5—10	173·0	96·5
10—15	515·8	240·1
15—20	821·1	288·3
20 and over	641·9	138·8
Matara District :—		
5—10	132·8	53·8
10—15	418·7	136·4
15—20	565·7	150·2
20 and over	567·7	69·9
Hambantota District :—		
5—10	73·3	13·0
10—15	271·3	34·2
15—20	396·2	51·6
20 and over	490·2	24·1
Puttalam District :—		
5—10	104·3	87·6
10—15	443·8	252·0
15—20	613·9	261·9
20 and over	629·7	217·1
Chilaw District :—		
5—10	255·1	202·4
10—15	687·9	412·2
15—20	594·3	414·9
20 and over	762·2	232·2

If there has been an increase in literacy during the period 1901–1911 we should expect to find the proportion of literates between 15 and 20 exceeding the proportion of literates aged 20 and over. For all in the age group 15 and 20 must have been between 5 and 10 at the beginning of the decade, and so of the school-going age; one would allow for few cases of persons learning to read and write after they had reached

the age of 20. In fact, as vernacular education becomes compulsory in Ceylon, and the provisions of the Rural Schools Ordinance are enforced, there should be no illiterates, except amongst those suffering from some mental or physical disability, in this age period.

In the Colombo, Galle, and Kalutara Districts, and the towns of Colombo, Galle, and Kandy the literate Low-country Sinhalese between 15 and 20 exceed those in the group 20 and over ; in the case of Galle District by 179 per 1,000.

The highest proportion of literates in any age period is found amongst the males in the Galle District (among those aged 15–20), 82 in every 100 of whom are literate. Considering the number of emigrants from this District (most of whom must be literates), this percentage is very high; it is higher for the District even than for the town. There are nearly four and a half times as many literate as illiterate Buddhist males between 15 and 20, and all the male Christians in this age group (63) are literate.

The next highest proportion is in the Colombo District, where three-fourths of the males in this age group are literate.

The Government Agent of the Western Province reports that " the progress of education has been very marked, more especially in the matter of the vernacular schools under the operation of the Rural Schools Ordinance of 1907. The amount of administrative work to be done by the District Schools Committee has increased rapidly in four years. At the end of 1910 a special officer had to be appointed to supervise the construction of school buildings. The improved quality of these buildings is very noticeable. The Mudaliyars and minor headmen now devote much time to enforcing the regular attendance of children at the various schools."

In the Matara, Hambantota, Puttalam, and Chilaw Districts the proportion of literates over 20 is greater than the proportion of literates between 15 and 20. The difference in the Matara District is very small. It is curious that Matara, with its traditions as a famous seat of learning (" *To be born at Kalutara and educated at Matara is the best fortune a man can want*," is a well-known Sinhalese saying), should show a low percentage of literates (*vide* Table C, *supra*), though there has been an increase of 66 per 1,000 since the last Census. The explanation probably lies in the illiteracy of the remote parts of the District—the Morawak korale and the Kandaboda pattu show more illiterates than literates at the age period 15–20.

Hambantota is the most backward of all the Low-country Districts, and shows the lowest proportion of literates in every age period.

The proportion of Low-country Sinhalese in the Puttalam District is small, and, being mostly immigrants, the age periods are affected accordingly.

The Chilaw District is the only District in the Island where there is a larger proportion of male literates amongst the predominant population in the period 10–15 than in the period 15–20. The explanation appears to be that a large proportion of the youth of Chilaw obtain their education during the latter age period in the Negombo and Colombo Districts, and so are not included amongst the literates in the Chilaw District. The females show a high proportion in this age group, and higher than those in the age periods 10–15 and 20 and over. The proportion of male literates over 20 in this District is larger than in any other District in the Island.

In the case of the females, in every District the proportions of literates between 10–15 and 15–20 is considerably higher than in the 20 and

over period ; in the Kalutara, Galle, Matara, and Hambantota Districts the proportions between 15 and 20 are more than double those over 20. These figures are abundant evidence of the great increase in the number of female literates; amongst all races it is the same, and, with the exception of the Kandyan females in the Anuradhapura District, where the proportion of literates between 15 and 20 and 20 and over is almost the same, the latter being slightly the higher, in every District the rising generation of women shows a considerably higher proportion of literates than their elders.

Summarizing the figures for the Low-country Sinhalese, it is evident that education is making great progress amongst both sexes, and that in every District, especially along the seaboard from Chilaw to Galle, there has been a very large increase in the number of literates.

The proportion of male literates is higher in the case of every native race and every District between 15 and 20 than between 10 and 15, with the solitary exception of the Chilaw District.

The school-going age is taken to be between 6 and 12 years. Therefore the literacy figures for the age period 10–15 should apparently be the best test of the progress in literacy during the decade. The previous period may claim the number of literates between 15 and 20. It may be argued that if these exceed proportionately the figures for the literates between 10 and 15 there would appear to have been little or no advance made during the decade.

In fact, such an argument is fallacious. In the first place, those between 15 and 20 at this Census were between 5 and 10 at the last Census, and few of them were probably literate then, while most of them undoubtedly went to school for the first time during the decade.

Though six is the school-going age, a large proportion of children do not go to school or learn to read and write until after ten, or until they are in their teens, especially in the remoter parts of the Island. In many districts schools are so far apart that the small children cannot walk the distances. New schools, too, open up new districts, and the establishment of a school means pupils of all ages—often youths of 15–20, who are not earning their livelihood or assisting their parents in the fields.

Again, the tendency with the enumerators, especially the village headman, is to err on the side of severity in interpreting literacy; the "learning," or those under instruction, were probably in very many cases not admitted to be literates, who were taken to be only those who had gone through their course of instruction.* The small boy or girl who could read and write in a low standard was very probably entered as unable to read and write, the idea in the mind of the enumerator, and probably of the parent too, being that the child had been sent to school to read and write, and until the school course was completed the work was not accomplished, and only then could it be said that the object had been attained.

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* "Experience in every Province has shown that the distinction between those under instruction and those able to read and write but no longer in a state of pupilage is one which it is advisable to abandon at a future enumeration, since there is a general tendency to disregard it. The former class is considered inferior to the latter......the dignity of the castes to whom literacy according to social ordinance should be restricted revolted at the notion that the half-naked urchin set to drive his father's cattle as soon as he has completed the 4th vernacular standard should be entered as literate, whilst the Brahman, reading for his degree in Arts, was relegated to the category of pupils."—*Census Report for India, 1891.*

Education is reverenced in the East—the teacher and even the lesson book are treated with a respect bordering on worship, which can scarcely be realized in the West. It would to many minds savour of impiety to admit as literate or to enter as an educated person one who is still pursuing his studies. Once education is completed it may be regarded as a means, while being pursued it is an end only to be attained by considerable effort.

The Tamil proverb, "*The King who had learnt his letters tore and threw away his ola*,"* ridicules the idea of any one believing that he has no longer any need of records when he has once completed his education, but it also reveals the point of view from which education is regarded.

There is little doubt that in the earlier age groups the figures do not represent the actual number of children who have learnt to read and write in the schools.

The highest proportion of literate males and females between 5 and 10 amongst the Low-country Sinhalese is found in the Chilaw District. In the next age group (10–15) Chilaw again leads for males and females, but for the latter the town of Kandy shows a higher average. Between 15 and 20 the Galle District leads for males, and Kandy town for females; amongst the districts, Colombo shows the highest percentage of females in this period. For 20 and over Chilaw is first for males, Kandy town and Colombo District for females.

Hambantota has the lowest proportion of literates of both sexes in each age period. This district and Matara are the most backward in the Low-country, and it is due to the illiteracy of these two districts that the prosperous Southern Province comes only fifth for males amongst the Provinces in order of literacy. It must, however, be realized that Galle and Matara send out large numbers of male immigrants to other Provinces, most of whom are literates, who swell the proportion of literates elsewhere at the expense of their districts of birth. The figures, however, for the earlier age groups, which are unaffected by emigration, show that there is room for further educational progress in these two districts.

The next table shows the proportion of literate Kandyans to a thousand Kandyans in each age group by sex for the principal Kandyan districts and the towns of Colombo and Kandy :—

Table J.—Kandyan Sinhalese Literates per 1,000 of each Sex in each Age Group for Kandyan Districts.

	Males.	Females.
Colombo Municipality :—		
5—10	200·0	174·4
10—15	500·0	193·1
15—20	634·7	362·1
20 and over	692·5	191·5
Kandy Municipality :—		
5—10	148·5	93·2
10—15	462·5	225·7
15—20	626·3	259·9
20 and over	551·4	90·6
Kandy District :—		
5—10	85·8	21·0
10—15	372·6	73·3
15—20	500·7	95·8
20 and over	564·4	51·4

* எழுத்தறிந்த மன்னன் இழுத்தெறிந்தான் ஓலையை.

	Males.	Females.
Matale District :—		
5—10 ..	83·2	11·6
10—15 ..	392·7	33·6
15—20 ..	570·2	46·0
20 and over ..	600·3	27·2
Nuwara Eliya District :—		
5—10 ..	119·9	15·0
10—15 ..	384·7	42·6
15—20 ..	514·8	47·0
20 and over ..	523·2	32·1
Kurunegala District :—		
5—10 ..	109·1	14·3
10—15 ..	318·2	39·6
15—20 ..	465·3	40·2
20 and over ..	594·6	26·4
Anuradhapura District :—		
5—10 ..	58·6	2·6
10—15 ..	326·7	11·4
15—20 ..	520·6	9·9
20 and over ..	645·0	10·2
Badulla District :—		
5—10 ..	41·8	5·5
10—15 ..	181·9	16·6
15—20 ..	311·3	24·5
20 and over ..	438·6	14·7
Ratnapura District :—		
5—10 ..	84·8	21·3
10—15 ..	357·7	64·4
15—20 ..	530·7	78·1
20 and over ..	525·0	35·5
Kegalla District :—		
5—10 ..	77·6	15·9
10—15 ..	334·7	34·9
15—20 ..	563·0	44·8
20 and over ..	565·1	29·3

With the exception of the Ratnapurá District and the town of Kandy, the proportion of literates over 20 exceeds that of literates in any other age group; the standard of literacy between 15 and 20 is, however, comparatively high, for, with the exception of the Kurunegala and Badulla Districts, in every district there are more male literates than illiterates between 15 and 20. In every district, except Anuradhapura, the proportion of literates amongst the females in both age groups 10–15 and 15–20 is greater than for the period 20 and over—evidence of marked progress in female education amongst the Kandyans.

The Kandyans, however, showed an increase at this Census of nearly 6 per cent. in literate males and only slightly over 1 per cent. in the number of literate females. The explanation probably is that until quite recent times there were very few Kandyan women who could both read and write, and that consequently the proportion in the age group 20 and over is very small, and additions in this group are probably Kandyan women who have learnt to read and write as grown up girls and not in the schools. In 1901 there were only 6,730 literate Kandyan females; there were 407,222 illiterates. In 1911 there were 13,000 literates; the illiterates numbered 459,000. For some years to come the proportion of literates for all age periods cannot be high, owing to the large number of illiterate women.

It must be admitted that there has not been the same educational progress amongst the Kandyan that there has been amongst the Low-country males. The Kandyan in the rural districts is by no means

convinced as yet of the advantages to be gained from the education imparted in the village school; he is imbued with racial and caste prejudices and is suspicious of change. The Kandyan, too, is essentially a cultivator and not a trader, he does not migrate to other districts,* his interests are centred entirely in his own village. As a consequence the Kandyan does not wish to send his son to school for longer than he can possibly help, he requires his services at home and in the field, and at the most considers that a smattering of arithmetic and the ability to spell out a simple writing in his own language is all the educational equipment required. Consequently many Kandyans can only read their own language; if they find the necessity later, they may learn to write it.

Information was obtained from the Census returns as to the number of men between 20 and 30 who did not earn their own living but depended upon others. There were 16,236 Kandyans between 20 and 30 who were entered as dependent upon cultivators. A very large number of these young men, though they have no separate occupations of their own, are engaged in working in their fathers' fields, and have been so employed since the time they left school. The Kandyan would probably consider this explanation as in itself sufficient to justify the illiteracy prevailing in the Kandyan districts.

Amongst the better educated Kandyans, however, there is now a considerable demand for education, and excellent work has been done amongst the leading Kandyans through the efforts of Trinity College, Kandy, and Hillwood Girls' School, which is specially intended for the daughters of Kandyan chiefs. Increasing numbers of Kandyan children are sent to Colombo for their education.

The Ratemahatmayas are generally taking the lead in the educational advance, and the increase in female education especially is principally due to their efforts. Their example is bound to produce considerable results, and the figures for the lower age periods probably represent a much higher standard of literacy and education than the proportions for the adults.

Excluding the figures for the towns, the District with the largest proportion of male literates in the first age group 5–10 is Nuwara Eliya; in the next two age groups (10–15 and 15–20) Matale leads; while over 20 the Anuradhapura District shows the high proportion of 645 literates per 1,000. Badulla shows the lowest proportion in each age group.

For the females, the highest proportion of literates between 5 and 10 are in the Ratnapura District, while in the other age periods the Kandy District leads. Anuradhapura comes last in each age group.

Of education in the Ratnapura District, the Government Agent writes: "The number of schools of all kinds in existence in 1901 was 60; in 1911 it had risen to 90. Almost every one of the rising generation can read and write Sinhalese." But he adds: "Little interest is taken in education either by the headmen or the general public, and school attendance is on the decline." The figures do not bear out this last statement, and Ratnapura is the only District where there are more male literates between 15 and 20 than over 20.

The remarks made above with regard to the enumerators' interpretation of literacy particularly apply in the case of the Kandyan districts. It is curious that there should be a higher proportion of literates over 20 in the Anuradhapura, Matale, Kurunegala, and

* *Vide* pp. 289 and 290, *supra*.

Kegalla Districts than in the town of Kandy and Kandy District, and it is probable that the standard of literacy demanded in the last two was considerably higher than that of the enumerators in the more remote parts of the Island. In the Kurunegala District, for example, there was a proportion of over 3 to 2 literates in the age group 20 and over in the Wanni Hatpattu, while in the Local Board limits, though the number of Kandyans was small, the illiterates exceeded the literates at these ages.

Good progress has undoubtedly been made, especially amongst the Kandyan women, the influence of whom in this matter will be very great, and will considerably affect the education of future generations.

The next table gives the literacy by age groups and sex for the Ceylon Tamils in the principal Tamil Districts :—

Table K.—Ceylon Tamil Literates per 1,000 of each Sex in each Age Group in Tamil Districts.

	Males.	Females.
Colombo Municipality :—		
5—10	204·8	153·0
10—15	565·1	398·9
15—20	703·2	421·8
20 and over	723·6	335·3
Jaffna District :—		
5—10	177·3	86·6
10—15	485·1	210·8
15—20	638·8	217·1
20 and over	641·1	95·3
Mannar District :—		
5—10	320·0	141·4
10—15	636·7	361·5
15—20	708·2	354·8
20 and over	679·7	161·4
Mullaittivu District :—		
5—10	153·2	72·1
10—15	407·1	141·6
15—20	628·5	145·7
20 and over	636·5	72·4
Batticaloa District :—		
5—10	165·2	58·2
10—15	374·9	108·1
15—20	515·5	116·2
20 and over	545·0	67·6
Trincomalee District :—		
5—10	252·7	162·2
10—15	646·4	251·7
15—20	688·4	203·7
20 and over	612·9	112·6

The figures for the Colombo Municipality show a higher proportion of literates over 20 than between 15 and 20 owing to the number of Jaffnese employed in Colombo; the percentage of literates between 10 and 15 and 15 and 20 is also high, due to the number of children who have been sent to Colombo schools from the Northern Province, and in the later age group to immigrants—youths who have completed their school course and come up to Colombo to obtain employment. The number of these and of emigrants to the Malay States, &c., is so large that it lowers the proportion of literates between 15 and 20 in the Jaffna District. The figures for literates over 20 and between 15 and 20 are almost exactly the same. There can be no question as to whether

education is spreading in the Jaffna District. The Jaffna Tamil will get all the education he can, and literacy is only limited by the supply of education available.

In the town of Jaffna there are 14 boys' schools and 15 girls' schools and 11 mixed schools with an attendance averaging 3,915.

The Mannar District shows the highest proportion of literates for any Tamil district in every age period except 10–15, where Trincomalee leads. The proportion of literates between 15 and 20 is higher than in the later age group. Mullaittivu shows a slightly higher proportion of literates over 20 than between 15 and 20, and the smallest proportion of literates between 5 and 10, as might be expected in a district where the schools are scattered. In all other age periods the Batticaloa District comes last. It is undoubtedly the most backward Tamil district in the Island. Trincomalee, on the other hand, has a high proportion of literates throughout, and the proportions of literates between 10 and 15 and 15 and 20 exceed the proportion over 20.

The Trincomalee Tamil until recent years obtained well-paid employment in the Naval Dockyard and in the Military and Naval establishments ; many were also employed as domestic servants, &c., and in occupations which demanded a knowledge of reading and writing. The number of literates in this district has always been high.

The proportion of literates amongst the Ceylon Tamils in the first age group (5–10) is well above the average for all races. The Tamil boy apparently either goes to or leaves school earlier than the Sinhalese boy, or else he learns quicker, and his literacy is more readily accepted by the enumerator.

Amongst the females the proportion of literates between 15 and 20 is in every case higher than the proportion for 20 and over ; in the Jaffna, Mannar, and Mullaittivu Districts it is double the proportion over 20. Female education is undoubtedly making considerable advances amongst the Tamils.

The Ceylon Tamil has not been slow to recognize the benefits of education for himself and his sons, and to realize that it is a sound investment for future profit. Centuries of prejudice have, however, to be overcome to persuade him that there is any advantage to be derived from educating his wife and daughters.

"*Though she may wear cloth upon cloth and is able to dance like a celestial, she is not to be desired if she can press a style on a palm leaf*"* (*i.e.*, can write) is an old Tamil proverb.

The Tamil professes a poor opinion of the judgment of women—

"*No matter how skilled a woman may be in numbers and letters, her judgment will be second rate.*"†

"*The thoughts of a woman are afterthoughts,*"‡ and still more uncomplimentary is the dictum that—

"*He who listens to the advice of a woman is a fool.*"§

The qualifications required of a wife are summed up in the saying, "*A wife gets up before daybreak and looks after her domestic affairs.*"||

There has, however, been a considerable change in the towns in the position of women, partly due to the influence of European civilization and modern thought amongst the more educated Tamils, who are

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* சேலைமேற் சேலைகட்டித் தேவரம்பை யாடினாலும் ஓலைமேல் எழுத்தாணி ஊன்றும் பெண் ஆகாது.

† எண்ணறக்கற்று எழுத்தற வாசித்தாலும் பெண் புத்தி பின் புத்தியே.

‡ பெண் புத்தி பின்புத்தி.

§ பெண் புத்தி கேட்கிறவன் பேய்.

|| மனையாள் விடியுமுன் எழுந்து வீட்டுப் பண் செய்வாள்.

students and thinkers, the efforts of the Christian sects in the establishment of girls' schools, and the recognition of the good work done by the lady medical missionaries.

Excluding the Colombo town figures, the highest proportions of female literates between 5 and 10 are found in the Trincomalee District, over 10 in the Mannar District.

The largest proportion of illiterate females is found in every age period in the Batticaloa District.

The following statement shows the proportion of literates amongst the Ceylon Moors according to age and sex in those parts of the Island where the Moors are found in large numbers :—

Table L.—Ceylon Moor Literates per 1,000 of each Sex in each Age Group for the principal Moor Districts.

	Males.	Females.
Colombo Municipality :—		
5—10	58·8	20·3
10—15	242·4	74·3
15—20	485·8	109·4
20 and over	555·9	84·4
Kalutara District (Kalutara Totamune only) :—		
5—10	20·3	6·1
10—15	192·6	22·1
15—20	511·0	30·3
20 and over	694·5	17·2
Kandy District (Harispattu and Pata Dumbara only) :—		
5—10	6·4	12·6
10—15	83·5	11·1
15—20	346·9	31·1
20 and over	527·9	28·5
Mannar District (Mannar Island and Musali only) :—		
5—10	48·3	—
10—15	349·1	5·8
15—20	514·0	13·6
20 and over	581·0	7·4
Batticaloa District (Manmunai Pattu North, Chammanturai pattu, Eravur and Koralai, Nindavur and Karaivaku pattus, and Akkarai pattu only) :—		
5—10	85·6	0·4
10—15	56·8	1·0
15—20	109·2	2·1
20 and over	242·4	2·7
Trincomalee District (Koddiyar pattu and Tamblegam pattu only) :—		
5—10	62·6	1·7
10—15	198·4	—
15—20	355·3	—
20 and over	342·0	1·3
Kurunegala District (Weudawili Hatpattu and Katugampola Hatpattu only) :—		
5—10	22·6	2·3
10—15	162·1	3·6
15—20	314·0	—
20 and over	590·3	9·5

Puttalam District (Puttalam Local Board, Puttalam division, and Kalpitiya division only) :—	Males.	Females.
5—10	34·3	—
10—15	187·1	—
15—20	394·2	32·5
20 and over	542·2	9·4

With the exception of the Trincomalee District, every district shows a higher proportion of male literates over 20 than between 15 and 20, partly due to the number of literate Indian Moors in the higher age groups, and also to the fact that the literate Moors are principally composed of adult Moorish merchants and traders, who find it essential to their business that they should read and write, though they may never have attended any other school than a Koran school. Many of the 20 and over literates have learnt their lessons during this decade.

In the case of the females—with the exception of the Batticaloa District, where the proportions are almost exactly the same, and the Trincomalee District, where there are literate females only in the lowest and highest age group—the proportion of literate females between 15 and 20 is greater than for those over 20.

The figures for Galle and Matara were not separately compiled, certain typical districts only being chosen. Kalutara shows the highest proportion of male literates over 20; Mannar between 10 and 15 and 15 and 20; and Batticaloa, which has for all other periods the lowest percentage of male literates, shows the highest proportion in the first age group 5–10, which is a promising sign of an improvement in the literacy of this backward district, though unfortunately there is a drop in the next age group, and it is possible the figures for the first group are misstatements by parents hoping to prevent the school attendance of their children being enforced. The lowest percentage between 5 and 10 is found amongst the Kandy District Moors.

Among the females, excluding the town of Colombo, which has a long lead in each age group, Kandy District leads in the earliest age period, the reverse being the case for the males, while the Kalutara Moors are in the highest proportion in the next group (10–15), and in 15–20 Puttalam, and for 20 and over Kandy. The percentages are all very low, under 1 per cent. in the case of every district, except Kandy nearly 3 per cent., and Kalutara nearly 2 per cent.

There are only 3 literates amongst the 3,672 Moor women for whom figures by age are given in the Trincomalee District.

The education of every boy in the rural districts of Ceylon to read and write his own language is only a matter of time. As regards the towns, the only question probably will be whether the boy will first learn to read and write English and abandon his own mother tongue, whether he will become literate in English *only* or literate also in the vernacular.

The introduction of the Rural Schools Ordinance (No. 8 of 1907), and the establishment of District Schools Committees with the provision of funds for the erection, repair, &c., of school buildings, will ensure in time the attendance of all male children, and perhaps eventually all female children also at school.

The following Table M gives the proportion of literates (male and female) to a thousand of each sex in Ceylon and the Provinces and States of India at the 1911 Census.

PROPORTION PER CENT OF LITERATES AND ILLITERATES BY RACE ~~AND BY~~ MALES.

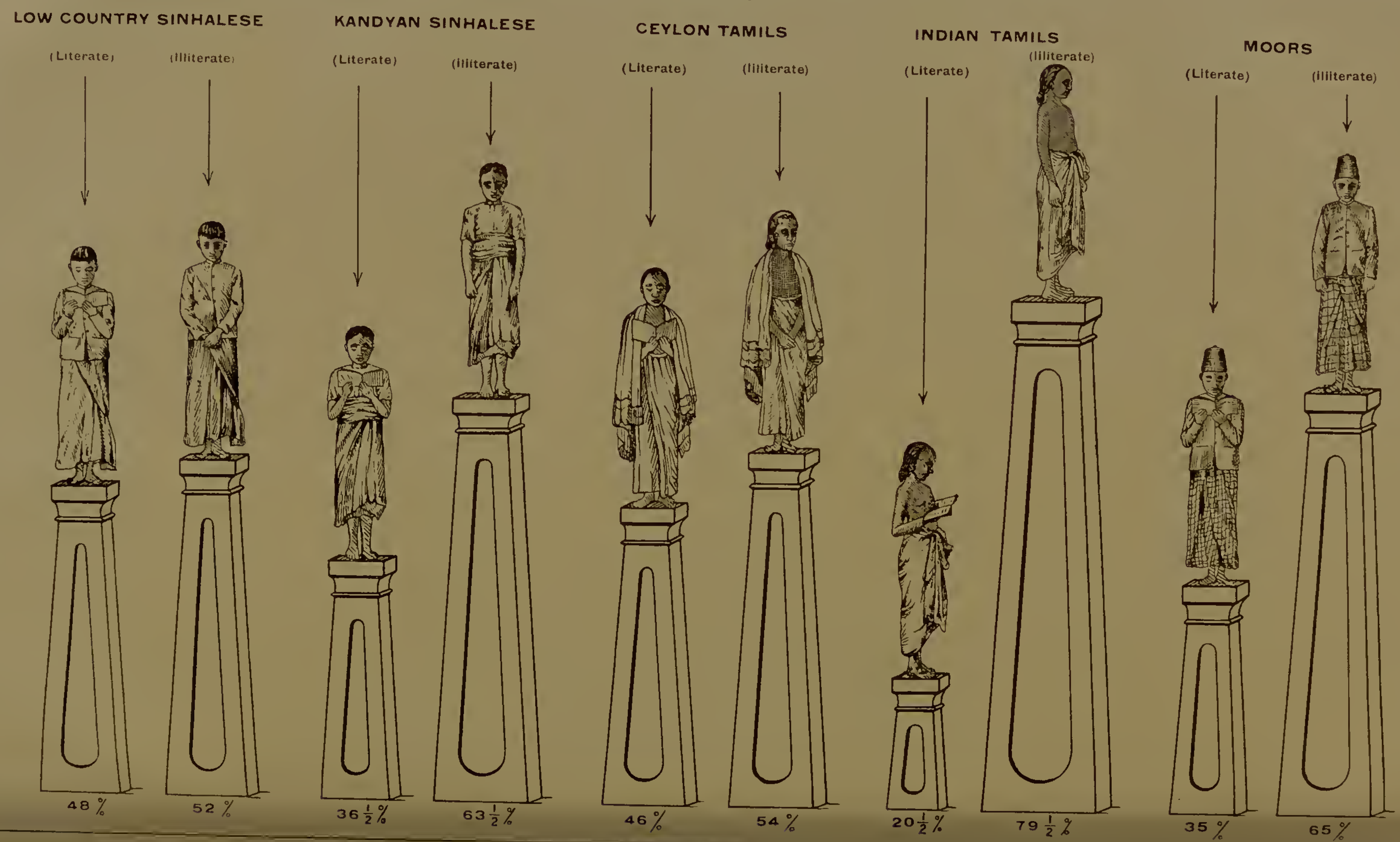


Table M.—Proportion of Literates in Ceylon and the Indian Provinces and States at the Census of 1911.*

Province or State, &c.	Proportion per 1,000. Males.	Females.
Assam	88	6
Bengal	140	11
Bihar and Orissa	80	4
Bombay	121	14
Burma	377	61
Central Provinces and Berar	68	3
Madras	138	13
North-West Frontier Provinces	57	6
Punjab	65	6
United Provinces	61	5
Baroda	175	21
Bihar and Orissa States	44	2
Bombay States	118	11
Central India Agency	48	3
Central Provinces States	23	1
Hyderabad	51	4
Kashmir	38	1
Madras States	238	47
Mysore	112	13
Punjab States	51	3
Rajputana	59	2
INDIA	**106**	**10**
CEYLON	**404**	**106**

These figures show Ceylon to be far in advance of India; there are nearly four times as many male literates and ten times as many female literates in Ceylon as in India.

The 1891 Census figures for Burma showed a higher proportion of male literates than the 1901 figures for Ceylon, but during the past twenty years the number of male literates in Burma has decreased by about 70 per mille, while the Ceylon male literates have increased in the same period by 105 per mille. The decrease in Burma may be due to a higher standard of literacy being required by better educated enumerators.

Ceylon, of course, possesses enormous advantages, from its size, compact area, its highly developed means of communication, and the fact that the country has in most parts been opened up, when compared with the vast Provinces and States of India. The difference is, however, so great, and the progress of education in Ceylon has been so much more rapid than in India, that these figures go far to explain why Ceylon, though so closely connected with India, is yet in many ways as remote from India in civilization, thought, manners, and customs as the Western world.

The superiority of Ceylon in the literacy of its inhabitants is most marked in the case of the females; only one Province or State in India (Burma) can show *half* the number of female literates per mille that Ceylon can.

The Ceylon Census figures prove that, with the exception of the Moorish females, amongst whom education seems to have made little or no progress, the decade has shown a considerable, in some parts remarkable, development of, accompanied by a *demand* for, female education.

* I am indebted to the courtesy of the Commissioner of Census for India for kindly supplying me in advance with the figures for the Indian Provinces and States at the 1911 Census.

The Director of Public Instruction in his Administration Report for 1903 wrote :—

" It may be inferred that 25 per cent. of the female population of this country get something in the way of education. Those who are familiar with the beliefs and feelings of the people and the conditions of life in India and Ceylon will not see any reason for dissatisfaction in these figures. . . . .

" In parts of the Western Province the number of girls receiving education approximates to the number of boys. In the whole of the North-Central Province there are only 219 girls at school. It would be unwise at present to attempt to carry out any wholesale measure for compulsory female education. It is one of the things to which the Oriental mind requires to be habituated gradually ; when the villagers have seen voluntary girls' schools at work for some time, and good instead of harm resulting from them, they become anxious to have girls' schools in every village. This is now actually the state of things in many parts of the Low-country Sinhalese districts, and it is desirable that steps should be taken to meet this demand. It is only by female education that a better standard of home life can be attained in these districts. . . . .

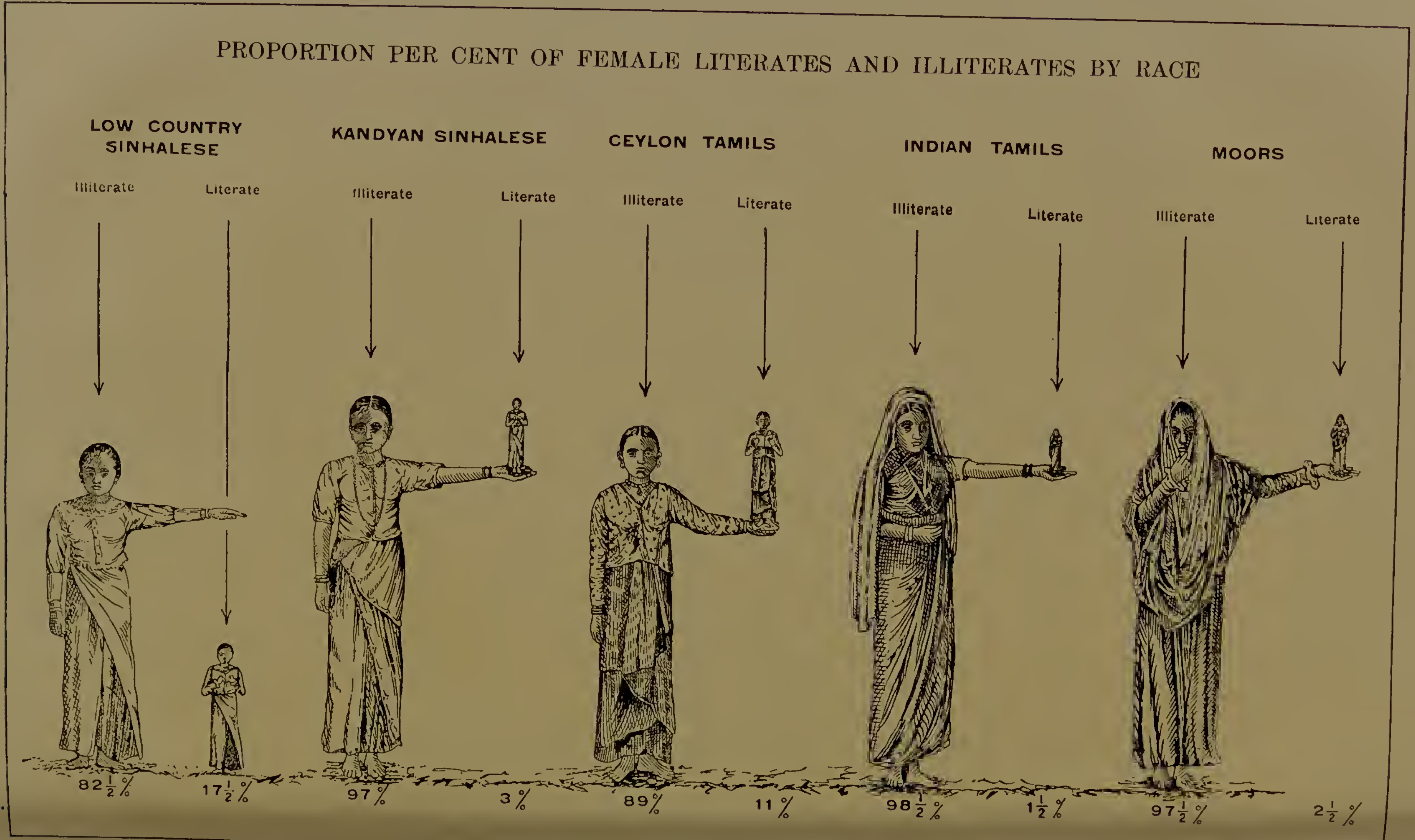
" In many parts of the Kandyan districts female education is still regarded with strong dislike and distrust, based perhaps on the idea that it will upset the traditional customs of home life, and render women unable or unwilling to perform those duties which are usually assigned to them. Whatever its cause, there is no doubt about the reality of the feeling, and it is better not to show impatience in dealing with it. In some places it is rapidly disappearing. In others, where no girls' schools whatever exist, opportunities will be found of starting a change in feeling by means of one or two schools which receive the personal interest of an enlightened Ratemahatmaya.

" In the Tamil districts the girls' boarding schools provided by Mission bodies still form the main part of what is done in the way of female education. It is impossible to go into these institutions without being favourably impressed with the work done in them. But it is not easy to form an estimate of the influence which that work has had on the life of the villager. It does not seem to have led to the same demand for female education among the people themselves, which forms a striking feature in many places in the Western Province. This may in some measure be due to the difference between the feelings and traditions of the Hindu and those of the Sinhalese. On the other hand, it is possible that the same cause might have led to the same effect if the girls' boarding schools had been accompanied by the establishment of girls' schools instead of mixed schools in the villages."

The value of female education to the country is so great that its importance cannot be exaggerated. It is probable that on the education of the mothers of future generations the preservation of the vernaculars as living languages in Ceylon depends ; the education of the children is unlikely to be neglected if their mothers can read and write their own language, and if children learn to read and write their own language at home, their school progress will be far more rapid and successful.

It is not only their children's position, but also their own, that education determines for the women of this country.

Amongst the Sinhalese, women have never been deliberately excluded from the acquisition of knowledge, but their education was regarded


PROPORTION PER CENT OF FEMALE LITERATES AND ILLITERATES BY RACE
LOW COUNTRY SINHALESE
Illiterate
Literate
82½%
17½%
KANDYAN SINHALESE
Illiterate
Literate
97%
3%
CEYLON TAMILS
Illiterate
Literate
89%
11%
INDIAN TAMILS
Illiterate
Literate
98½%
1½%
MOORS
Illiterate
Literate
97½%
2½%

rather as an accomplishment attainable only by the few—never as a necessity. Under the Kandyan kings females were, it is recorded, taught letters and such sciences as astrology and medicine. The Sisterhood of nuns established in 307 B.C. exercised a great influence on the education of women, and mention is made in Buddhist writings of works in prose and poetry being read by women.

The poem "Kusajataka Kavya," by Alagiyavanna Mohottala, was composed (1610 A.D.) at the request of Meniksami, a lady, we are told in the poem, who was a scholar in Sinhalese, Pali, and Sanskrit. In the early part of the nineteenth century there were learned Sinhalese ladies, one of whom, Runa Hamine, was a poetess of such repute that she was requested by the Rev. D. J. Gogerly, of the Wesleyan Mission, to undertake the versification of the Bible, of which she executed a large portion.*

The Dutch made many attempts to educate the women of the country, but with little success.

In the "Instructions from the Governor-General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon (1656–1665)," it is laid down "that the boys and girls should be made to attend schools, and be there received into Christianity—a practice which the Roman Catholics did not follow"; and it is added: "The observance of this point will cause some difficulty, because the natives think a great deal of their daughters, and the parents will not consent to their going to school after their eighth year. They may, perhaps, receive a little more instruction on the visits of the clergyman."†

Spence Hardy, writing of female education, says: "The priests may not teach girls, and so all mothers are uneducated. Under the Dutch, the girls were taught certain forms, and they had to show that they understood the catechism and creed before they could be married; but they were not taught to read. There were sometimes more girls than boys under instruction, as in 1772, when the numbers returned in the Colombo District were 5,755 boys and 8,478 girls. An obstacle was thrown by the English Government in the way of the attendance of the girls at school undesignedly. A tax was put on wearing jewels, of two shillings per annum for each person, and four shillings for a family, which kept many girls at home, as their parents would not pay the tax and would not allow their children to appear in public without their jewels."‡

Up to 1869 no girl had been taken in her school course beyond the curriculum of an ordinary primary school, but now the course of a girl's education is in most respects the same as for a boy, and the Cambridge examinations—unfortunately in the opinion of many—play as important a part in the school course in many girls' schools as they do in the boys' schools of Ceylon.

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* This gifted lady is said to have addressed the following verse to her reverend employer, who apparently had not fulfilled all her expectations:—

සි ය ක් කෝටි වැඩි වටි බයිබලෙ වද නා
දෙ ට ක් යයක් නොවටිද කව් කල පම ණා
අ ගෙ ක් පිරිමි කලෙ නම් තනතුරු දෙව නා
ලි ය ක් කල නිසා මැති සිතට නොම ගෙ ණා

Is not the portion, versified (by me) of the words of the Bible, which is worth more than a thousand million (pieces of gold), worth two hundred thousand (pieces of gold)? If (this work) was done by a man, you would have secured for (him) office and rank, (but) as it was done by a woman, you did not take (it) into consideration.

† "Instructions from the Governor-General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon, 1656–1665," translation by Sophia Pieters, pp. 93, 94.

‡ Spence Hardy's "Jubilee Memorials," p. 253.

Everywhere there are signs of the demand for female education, even amongst the Kandyan women.

"The advancement of education has done a great deal for the females," writes a chief headman in the Kurunegala District. "They are really very intelligent and pick up things very soon. There are only a few girls' schools in the district, and if more schools are opened more advancement will be found among villagers. In olden days girls were taught only to read, but not to write. This I presume is to prevent them from writing love letters. I think this a mistake. At present they marry in haste and in some cases they are in a hurry to get a divorce."*

While there has been an all-round increase in the attendance at girls' schools, there have been notable successes by individual girl students, which have produced considerable effect in an Eastern country where woman's sphere has been hitherto so strictly defined. The Jamsetjee Jeejebhoy Medical Scholarship was awarded for the first time on record to a Sinhalese lady in 1902.

Although nothing but satisfaction can be felt at the spread of female education, there is considerable doubt in the minds of many as to whether the course of education in the girls' schools—more particularly in the girls' English schools—succeeds in its objects, either in preparing the girls for a home life or in improving their mental outlook.

"The education which is actually going on in girls' English schools follows the lines of the education of boys, except that it is supplemented by the teaching of needlework. This applies not only to the elementary education prescribed by the Code, but also to the higher classes which are usually preparing for the Cambridge examination. In fact, this examination has been the main force which has kept the higher education of girls along the same lines as that of boys. It is worth noticing, too, that many of those who come from England to join the teaching staff of Ceylon girls' schools have been connected with girls' high schools in England, and have brought with them the high school point of view. The approximation between the education of boys and that of girls which has taken place during the last half century in England has been largely due to the influence of girls' high schools. The results of the movement, as they are now apparent in England, are not, on the whole, such as to inspire confidence in the English high school system as a final solution of the problem of female education; and, in spite of the authority of Plato, we think that the question, whether the curriculum of girls should be the same as that for boys, must still be regarded as an open one."†

Those who have the best interests of the people of Ceylon at heart are likely to agree with Mrs. Paul Pieris that "a good deal more might be done by devoting the time which is wasted in obtaining a valueless smattering of Latin, French, theory of music, and trigonometry, to laying the foundations of a knowledge of practical music, drawing and painting, dressmaking and fine needlework, subjects which will not only add to the charm of a girl's home life, but will also lead to a considerable saving in household expenditure."‡

It must, however, be remembered that education, like every other ware in the market for which a price must be paid, has to meet a demand. The demand at present appears to be for a Cambridge

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* *Vide* remarks *re* Kandyan divorces, pp. 335, 336, *supra*.

† Report of the Education Committee, 1911–1912. Sessional Paper XIX. of 1912, p. 21.

‡ Quoted in Sessional Paper XIX. of 1912, p. 22.

certificate.* A demand has to be created in the parents for a different type of education, while at the same time some substitute in the form of a Government certificate in domestic science, or in such branches of woman's work as may be decided to be most helpful in after life, should take the place of the Cambridge certificate.

The parents can scarcely be blamed for desiring their daughters to secure certificates, on which the schools appear to set an enormous value as an advertisement for themselves as well as for their pupils.

The Educational Department appointed in 1904 an Inspectress of Needlework, and this subject has undoubtedly received considerably more attention. In 1906 the first Inspectress of Girls' English Schools was appointed.

In 1908 women students were received at the Training College; there is a considerable demand for the course, and its results should be most beneficial. Little progress or development on improved lines can be hoped for until the teachers are themselves taught; the Ceylon girls' schools are in great need of teachers who have themselves been well taught.

Education has always been a source of religious controversy. In Ceylon to-day emulation rather than controversy describes the attitude of the different religions in educational matters. Buddhists and Hindus as well as Christians have opened fresh schools and spent considerable sums of money on education during this period. Muhammadanism alone of the principal religions in Ceylon has seemingly been unaffected by the educational wave. Mounting guard over their Koran schools, its followers have made little or no effort to open schools of their own, and the majority of the Muhammadan children receiving instruction are found in Government and Christian schools. Now that vernacular education is being made compulsory, Moors may be induced to start Muhammadan schools.

The following Table N shows the percentage of literates of each religion and sex at the four Censuses 1881, 1891, 1901, and 1911 :—

Table N.—Percentage of Literates of each Religion and Sex at the Four Censuses 1881, 1891, 1901, and 1911.

Religion.	Males.				Females.			
	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
Buddhists ..	23·5	28·7	34·9	41·8	1·4	2·6	5·2	9·1
Hindus ..	19·8	23·3	25·9	29·6	1·0	1·8	2·5	4·0
Muhammadans ..	26·9	30·5	34·4	36·2	1·5	1·5	3·3	3·2
Christians ..	41·4	50·0	55·2	60·3	13·6	21·7	30·02	38·8

Every religion shows an increase in the percentage of literates amongst males and females, except in the case of the Muhammadan females, who are practically stationary.

* "Apart from the practical value for those who want to go in for teaching, it improves a girl's position socially to have passed a Cambridge examination, and this helps towards a better marriage settlement. That girls' education should have any higher or more lasting results than this is not, I think, a matter of general desire throughout Ceylon."—Miss E. M. Shire, B.A., Lady Principal, Wesleyan Mission Girls' School, Pettah, quoted in Sessional Paper XIX. of 1912, p. 22.

The largest increase in male literates is 7 per cent. amongst the Buddhists, a larger increase than at any previous Census. The percentage of Buddhist literates is now nearly double what it was thirty years ago. Literacy amongst Buddhist females has nearly doubled in the decade.

The Christians, as might be expected, show the highest proportions amongst all religions: 60 men and 39 women in every 100 Christian men and women are literates ; the females show an increase of nearly 9 per cent.

It is of interest to compare the figures for Buddhists and Christians in Ceylon with those for India. At the Census of 1911, in India, the Buddhists (most of whom were found in Burma) returned 40·4 per cent. males and 5·8 per cent. females as literates, showing a lower proportion of literate males and females than Ceylon. The figures for Burma, with which the Ceylon figures for Buddhists can be fairly compared, were at the 1911 Census 41·2 per cent. literate males and 6 per cent. literate females amongst the Buddhists—a lower proportion than in Ceylon, though the figures for males are very nearly the same.

Of the Christians in India, 29·3 per cent. of the males and 13½ per cent. of the females were returned as literates. This very low rate of literacy, as compared with Ceylon, is due to the native converts to Christianity being found in India amongst the most ignorant sections and lowest castes in the community. In Ceylon the Christians are most numerous on the seaboard, where they have been established in some parts for over three hundred and fifty years, and principally in the most civilized and advanced districts in the Island.

The two districts in Ceylon in which Christianity is the predominant religion—Chilaw and Mannar—stand respectively first amongst the Sinhalese and Tamil districts in point of literacy.

Were it not for the Christian Indian Tamils (out of 41,000 only 12,600 are literate, and of those on estates less than one-fourth) the proportion of literates amongst the Christians would be considerably higher.

The Muhammadans show a higher proportion of literate males than the Hindus, but the increase in the percentage of literates amongst the latter is double the increase among the Moors.

The proportion of literates amongst the Hindus would be higher if the Ceylon Tamils only were included; the unlettered immigrants considerably reduce the standard of Hindu literacy.

The Hindu females have displaced the Muhammadan females at this Census, and now come third.

A considerable impetus was given to higher scholarship amongst the Buddhists, and especially amongst the priests, by the establishment of the Committee of Oriental Studies in 1902 through the efforts of Mr. S. M. Burrows, C.C.S., then Director of Public Instruction. Mr. Burrows writes in his Administration Report for 1902 : " I was interested to find in the course of my travels that at many centres ' pirivenas ' had been started or had been for some time in existence, *i.e.*, classes of adults held by Buddhist priests for the study of Sanskrit, Pali, and higher Sinhalese. But it seemed that many of them were working without any very definite plan, and that only a little organization was required to turn this movement to good account, and, while zealously safeguarding its indigenous and independent character, to make it more progressive, attractive, and useful, I called a general meeting to consider the question. It was excellently attended both by the priesthood and the laity, and there seemed a unanimous desire

to adopt the scheme I proposed, which was certainly not to turn these 'pirivenas' into Government or subsidized high schools, but to start a course of yearly examinations, at first of an unambitious kind, gradually rising to higher flights, and possibly to a degree, if the movement was well responded to. A very representative general committee was accordingly appointed, and from it was selected a sub-committee to draft an examination schedule, which was duly passed, and the date of the first examination fixed for 1903. It now depends on the people themselves whether the scheme is a success. There will, of course, be many difficulties to contend with; possibly the enthusiasm that often attends a new idea may die off prematurely when it comes to real hard work. But it was at least refreshing to see the amount of real interest that is still felt in the ancient literature of this country, and it would be a literary sin not to make some effort to keep it alive."*

The following Table O shows the proportion of the literates of each religion to a hundred literate persons at each of the last four Censuses:—

Table O.—Proportion of the Literates of each Religion to a hundred literate Persons, 1881–1911.

Religion.	Percentage of							
	Males.				Females.			
	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
Buddhists ..	57·7	59·3	59·7	61·7	34·1	38·0	45·6	52·4
Hindus ..	18·0	16·5	17·8	17·04	8·0	8·0	8·0	8·5
Muhammadans ..	8·3	7·5	7·2	6·5	4·0	2·0	3·1	1·9
Christians ..	16·0	16·5	15·3	14.7	53·5	51·0	43·3	37·03

These figures show the considerable advance made by the Buddhists during the decade. The comparison with the figures for Christians is fair if native races only are taken into account.

The proportion of male literate Christians amongst the Sinhalese was 57 per cent. in 1901 and 62 per cent. in 1911; the percentage of male literates amongst the non-Christians in 1901 was 35 per cent., in 1911 42 per cent.

Amongst the females the percentages were for Christian literates in 1901 31 per cent., in 1911 41 per cent.; for non-Christian literates, in 1901 5 per cent., in 1911 9 per cent.

The increased percentage amongst the males is greater for the Buddhists than for the Christians, and the reverse as regards the females.

It must, however, be realized that the proportion of illiterates amongst the Christians was, as compared with the Buddhists, comparatively small, and that the latter have much more ground to make up. On the other hand, the Christian Sinhalese are mostly found in the most civilized and advanced districts in the Island, while there are Buddhists in every Sinhalese district in the Island.

Amongst the Tamils the percentage of literates amongst the Christians has increased from 46 to 52 per cent. amongst the males

* *Vide* p. 262, *supra*.

and from 17 to 25 per cent. amongst the females. For the non-Christians the increases are from 26 to 30 per cent. amongst the males and from 2½ to 4 per cent. amongst the females.

The advances amongst the Christians are much the greater, but the Christian Missions have for the most part dealt with limited areas—the headquarters of the Ceylon Tamils and where schools do most abound. As has been stated above, amongst the Indian Tamils, of whom 92 per cent. are Hindus, there are comparatively few literates, and nearly all these are amongst the Christians. The progress of literacy amongst these people is bound to be considerably slower than amongst Tamils resident in Ceylon.

The following Tables P and Q show the progress amongst the Christians and non-Christians in the Sinhalese and Tamil races since the last Census for the principal districts where Christians are found in any number :—

Table P.—Proportion per Cent. of Sinhalese Christians and non-Christians able to Read and Write, 1901 and 1911.

District.	Percentage of Males.				Percentage of Females.			
	Christians.		Non-Christians.		Christians.		Non-Christians.	
	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.
Colombo Municipality	63·4	61·7	49·3	51·5	40·5	42·9	17·3	18·8
Colombo District ..	54·6	61·7	40·1	49·3	29·4	42·1	9·2	17·0
Kalutara District ..	58·4	65·4	37·8	48·0	35·2	49·5	9·8	16·9
Kurunegala District .	59·8	64·5	34·5	41·8	19·9	27·1	1·3	3·0
Puttalam District ..	54·9	55·9	40·9	46·2	14·3	25·7	1·1	1·8
Chilaw District ..	52·4	58·4	44·9	54·0	24·8	36·1	4·7	12·0

Amongst the Sinhalese males there are increases in literates in all the districts amongst both Christians and non-Christians, the increases amongst the latter being the greater. There is, however, a decrease in the Christian literates in the Municipality, probably due to the floating population. The largest increases are amongst non-Christians in the Kalutara (10·2 per cent.), Colombo (9·2), and Chilaw (9·1) Districts. Amongst the Christians the largest increased percentages are in the Colombo (7·1) and Kalutara (7) Districts. No District can show as high a percentage of literate non-Christians as the lowest percentage amongst the Christian literates. Amongst the female population there are large increases all round, non-Christians showing increases of 7·8 per cent. in the Colombo District, 7·3 in Chilaw, and 7·1 in Kalutara. Considering the low percentages of female literacy the increases are very considerable, and in the case of Chilaw there are nearly three times as many literate females amongst those who are non-Christians in 1911 as in 1901, and there were nearly twice as many in Colombo and Kalutara. There are twice the number in Kurunegala, though the proportion of literate non-Christian Sinhalese females in that District is now only 3 per cent.

Amongst the Christians, starting from a very much higher standard of literacy, the proportion of literate Christian females for each of these districts—except Puttalam—in 1901 was higher than the highest proportion reached by non-Christians in 1911. The largest increases

are 14·3 per cent. in the Kalutara District, 12·7 per cent. in Colombo District, and 11·4 in the Puttalam District. The figures for the Puttalam District show a remarkable difference in the proportion of literate Christian and non-Christian females—over 25½ per cent. of the Christian females are literate, and only just over 1½ per cent. of the non-Christians. In Kurunegala 27 per cent. of the female Christians are literate, while only 3 per cent. of those who are not Christians can read and write. The proportions for these two Districts are affected by the Kandyans, only a very small number of whom are Christians, the proportion of illiterate girls and women amongst the Kandyans being much higher than amongst the Low-country Sinhalese.

The next table shows the proportion of Tamil Christians and non-Christians who were able to read and write in 1901 and 1911 in Tamil districts :—

Table Q.—Proportion per Cent. of Tamil Christians and non-Christians able to Read and Write, 1901 and 1911.

District.	Percentage of Males.				Percentage of Females.			
	Christians.		Non-Christians.		Christians.		Non-Christians.	
	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.
Colombo Municipality	53·9	53·8	39·4	36·6	27·6	29·2	10·1	9·6
Jaffna District ..	49·1	57·2	41·2	45·7	21·4	32·8	4·2	7·8
Mannar District ..	50·2	58·8	30·0	39·3	10·1	20·1	2·0	6·0
Batticaloa District ..	53·9	59·9	31·6	35·9	28·0	35·3	2·7	4·3
Trincomalee District .	49·7	58·9	44·5	48·5	12·1	32·9	5·3	9·9

In every case the male Christians show a higher proportion of literates than illiterates, the standard being very nearly the same for each district, while the highest proportion of literates amongst those who are not Christians is 48½ per cent. in the Trincomalee District.

The highest percentage of literates is found amongst the Christian Tamils of the Batticaloa District both for males and females, proportions of 60 and 35 per cent., while of the non-Christians in this district 36 per cent. of the males and 4 per cent. of the females only are literates. The work of the Roman Catholic, Wesleyan, and Church of England Missions in this district is responsible for this high proportion of literacy amongst a generally backward population. These figures alone are a remarkable tribute to the educational work being done by Missionary bodies in Ceylon.

The largest increased percentage amongst the Christian Tamils for males as well as females is 9 per cent. for males and nearly 21 per cent. for females in the Trincomalee District, where there are now nearly three times as many literate Christian females as in 1901. In the Mannar District the increase is double.

Amongst others than Christians the largest increased percentages of literates amongst the males and females is in the Mannar District, 9 per cent. and 4 per cent. respectively, the latter representing a three-fold increase from 2 in 1901 to 6 female literates in every 100 in 1911. These increases are, however, largely due to the Roman Catholic and Wesleyan Mission schools in this District, which are attended by Hindus and Muhammadans.

Trincomalee shows the highest proportion of male and female literates amongst non-Christians—48½ per cent. and just under 10 per cent. respectively.

The proportion of Christian literates amongst the females varies from 20 per cent. in the Mannar District to 35 per cent. in the Batticaloa District. Amongst those who are not Christians, 10 per cent. is nearly reached by Trincomalee, while Batticaloa only shows 4 per cent. literate. The increases in literacy amongst non-Christians in the Tamil districts are not so large as in the Sinhalese districts, but considerable progress is shown.

The next statement is prepared from the lists furnished by the Director of Public Instruction, showing by religions the pupils in Government and grant-in-aid schools in 1910, and their proportion to the total number of persons of these religions in Ceylon, and to 15 per cent. of the total being the estimated number of children of school-going age for each religion :—

Table R.—Proportion of School Children of each Religion to 1,000 Persons and to 15 per Cent. of the Total Number of Persons belonging to each Religion.

Religion.	Proportion to Total Number.	Proportion to 15 per Cent. of the Total Number.
Church of England	133·5	907·3
Presbyterians	138·7	924·7
Wesleyans	170·4	1,189·2
Roman Catholics	137·6	917·1
Christians of other denominations	159·5	1,063·5
Muhammadans	21·8	145·6
Hindus	50·5	336·4
Buddhists	76·3	508·1

These figures show the high percentage of Christian children receiving instruction. Practically nine in every ten Christian children of school-going age are at school. It must be recognized, however, that these figures are for *Government* and *grant-in-aid schools only*, which nearly all the Christian children attend. No return of religions is collected by the Public Instruction Department from the 36,754 pupils who in 1910 attended *unaided* schools. A very large number of these children are Buddhists, and the proportion of Buddhists would undoubtedly be considerably higher if these were taken into consideration.

The following Table S shows the proportion of literates amongst the different Christian sects :—

Table S.—Proportion of Literates among the Christian Sects at the 1911 Census.

	Percentage of Literates. Males.	Females.
CHRISTIANS	**60·3**	**38·8**
Presbyterian	84·6	84·6
Church of England	74·5	63·9
Baptist	73·6	63·3
Congregationalist	71·3	72·2
Wesleyan Methodist	70·6	56·7
Salvationist	62·3	43·6
Roman Catholic	57·5	33·9
Other Christian Sects	56·6	37·4

The high percentage for both males and females throughout is remarkable, and shows what good work, more especially amongst the females, is being done by the Mission schools.

It must be recognized that these sects do not all appeal to the same classes, and that a lower percentage of literates does not by any means imply that less is being done towards the furtherance of education.

For example, the Roman Catholics include some of the poorest and most backward villages in the Island, especially in the Northern Province. The Wesleyans have carried their Mission work into remote parts of the Island, and even to the Veddas. The Church of England, through the Tamil Cooly Mission, is working amongst the illiterate estate Tamil coolies. The Presbyterians, on the other hand, are, with very few exceptions, all Europeans or Burghers.

The Salvationists, considering that their work has been principally among the most backward and depressed castes, show a high proportion of literates.

Comparison with 1901 is not possible, as figures for literacy by Christian sects were not compiled at the last Census. At the next Census it should be interesting to note the progress made by each denomination.

The figures hitherto dealt with have been for vernacular education only. About 88 per cent. of those at school are receiving a purely vernacular education, and the vernaeular schools really constitute the elementary education of the country. It must be remembered that English is practically a foreign language to all but a small fraction of the population—the Europeans, Burghers, and Eurasians, together form only ·83 per cent. of the total population.

The result is that most of the schools in which English is taught are teaching a language which is foreign to the great majority of their pupils.

The distinction between elementary and secondary education is replaced by the distinction between vernacular and English schools.

Out of a total *literate* population of 1,082,828, 94,643 persons, or 8·7 per cent., were returned as able to read and write English, as compared with a percentage of 9·9 in 1901. Excluding the European, Burgher, and Eurasian literates, the total native population literate in English is 70,679 (57,881 males and 12,798 females), showing a percentage of 6·7 per cent. for males and 6·6 per cent. for females, and 6·7 for the total population.

In the total population the number of English literates is 3·3 per cent. for males and 1·2 per cent. for females. Exeluding the Europeans, Burghers, and Eurasians from the total population, the proportions are only 2·7 per cent. and 7 per 1,000 for males and females respectively.

In 1901 the proportions for all races were—English literates 3 per cent. for males and 1·1 per cent. for females, and, excluding Europeans, Burghers, and Eurasians, 2·5 for males and ·6 for females.

These figures show increases in English literates of only 3 per 1,000 and 1 per 1,000 for males and females respectively since the last Census, while the proportion of literates in English amongst those who are literate in the vernacular has actually decreased. This decrease is probably partly due to the considerable increase in literates which has not been accompanied by a corresponding increase in literates in English, while the actual increase of English literates in the total population may in part represent those who have learnt English only and are illiterate in the vernaculars.

The increase is, however, probably larger than appears from these figures, as the 1901 Census was the first at which particulars were obtained with regard to English literacy. It is probable that many persons who were then only able to speak English were entered as English literates. At this Census separate information was obtained as to ability to speak English, so that the distinction between ability to read and write and to speak only was brought out clearly. Again, as in the case of literate school children, the tendency probably was *not* to enter as English literates children who had only learnt the rudiments of reading and writing in English, even though they might be able to read an English primer and write an English exercise. The figures are therefore no indication of the number of persons learning English, though there are comparatively very few old people amongst the native English literates.

The following Table T gives the percentage of English literates of each race and religion for 1901 and 1911 :—

Table T.—Percentage of English Literates of each Sex, Race, and Religion, 1901 and 1911.

Race and Religion.	Males. 1901.	Males. 1911.	Females. 1901.	Females. 1911.
Race.				
All Races	**3·04**	**3·3**	**1·1**	**1·2**
Europeans	88·9	87·0	83·7	82·8
Burghers and Eurasians	65·7	67·01	61·6	64·1
Low-country Sinhalese	3·4	3·5	0·9	1·04
Kandyan Sinhalese	0·5	0·7	0·09	0·1
Tamils	2·7	3·1	0·5	0·7
Ceylon Tamils	—	4·9	—	1·1
Indian Tamils	—	1·5	—	0·18
Moors	1·4	1·5	0·04	0·1
Ceylon Moors	—	1·7	—	0·1
Indian Moors	—	0·9	—	0·02
Malays	33·5	33·5	1·5	1·9
Religion.				
Buddhists	1·5	1·6	0·2	0·3
Hindus	1·7	1·8	0·1	0·2
Muhammadans	3·02	3·04	0·1	0·2
Christians	16·2	16·8	9·5	10·01

The percentage of Malay literates—as at the last Census, when the figures for males were the same—are remarkably high, being ten times as high as the number of English literates amongst the Low-country Sinhalese. The proportion of Malay women who can read and write English is higher than for any other Ceylon race. Though the employments principally followed by the Malay require a certain standard of literacy, it is doubtful whether the standard of English literacy amongst the Malays is as high as from these figures it would appear to be.

There is a higher proportion of English literates amongst the Ceylon Tamils than amongst the Low-country Sinhalese, due no doubt to the demand for an English education amongst the Tamil urban population, who find employment in increasing numbers in clerical work on estates and in Government Service in the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States, and the town of Colombo.

Including the Indian Tamils, the Tamils show a lower percentage of English literates than the Low-country Sinhalese. The proportion of English literates amongst the Indian Tamils, as might be expected,

is very small, only 1·5 and ·18 per mille for males and females respectively. Out of 4,500 male Indian Tamils who are literate in English 3,000 are Christians, and out of the 411 Indian Tamil women who are able to read and write English 373 are Christians.

Only *one* Indian Moor woman was enumerated as able to read and write English, and the number of Ceylon Moor women literate in English was just under 100.

The proportion of English literates amongst the Kandyans is very small, less for males even than amongst the Indian Moors, and the lowest for the Island. The number of English literates amongst the Kandyans is 4,200 (3,600 males and 600 females).

Comparing the percentages of English literates by religions the Christians naturally come first, and, exclusive of European, Burgher, and Eurasian Christians, would still be first with proportions of 11·8 per cent. for males and 4·8 for females, instead of nearly 17 and 10 per cent., respectively, for all races.

Muhammadans, on account of the high percentage shown by the Malays, come second amongst the males; amongst the females Hindu women show as high a percentage of English literacy as the Muhammadans, and both come just below the Buddhists, who on account principally of the lack of knowledge of English amongst the Kandyans come last for the males. The order is the same as in 1901, and the similarity in the figures for English literacy for all races and religions in 1901 and 1911 is striking. The increases are small all round, and in no case either for a race or a religion exceed 6 per 1,000, which is the increase amongst the Christian males and females. Excluding European, Burgher, and Eurasian Christians, the English-speaking amongst whom vary according to the proportion of the ages, the increases in English literacy amongst the Christians in the native races since the last Census are 6 and 5 per 1,000 for males and females respectively, so that the increase in literacy in English amongst Christians is irrespective of the European and Burgher population, and does for the most part represent educational work done by Christian schools.

The next Table U shows the proportion of persons of each sex able to read and write English and able to speak English to 1,000 of the total population for the Provinces and Municipalities :—

Table U.—Proportion of Persons of each Sex able to Read and Write English and able to Speak English to 1,000 of the Total Population.

Province and District.	English Literates.		Able to speak English.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
CEYLON	**33**	**12**	**35**	**13**
Western Province	58	26	63	27
Central Province	35	13	38	14
Northern Province	33	9	34	9
Southern Province	21	7	21	7
Eastern Province	24	7	21	7
North-Western Province	11	4	11	3
North-Central Province	13	2	13	3
Province of Uva	20	6	21	7
Province of Sabaragamuwa	15	3	15	4
Colombo Municipality	170	114	191	119
Kandy Municipality	198	133	217	136
Galle Municipality	100	44	110	48

In every 1,000 persons in Ceylon there are 2 males more and 1 female more who can speak English than the number who can read and write it—or in other words, 2 males and 1 female in every 1,000 persons in Ceylon can *speak* English though unable to read and write the language. This is assuming that every person who can read and write English can also speak it; such is generally but not invariably the case. For instance, in the Eastern Province the proportion of persons who can speak English is 3 per mille less than those who can read and write it, due probably to the number of Moors who learn enough English for trade purposes, but who are not accustomed to speak it. In the North-Western Province 4 per 1,000 females can read and write English, and only 3 per 1,000 can speak it. The higher proportion of literates is probably due to the number of Kandyan girls who learn English at school, but do not use the language in their homes; though they may have passed a certain standard in English, they may never speak it again after leaving school, and in time probably are unable or unwilling to express themselves in it.

The largest excess of English-speaking over English literates is found, as would be expected, in the Western and Central Provinces—5 and 3 per cent. amongst the males. The figures for the towns show at once where the English-speaking are in the largest numbers—in Colombo 19 males and 12 females in every 100 can speak English, while 17 males and 11·4 females in every 100 are English literates.

These are very high proportions. Even if we exclude the European, Burgher, and Eurasian population of Colombo, the proportions are 13·3 and 5·2 per cent. for male and female English literates respectively, and 14·8 and 5·4 for the English-speaking.

The figures for the cities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras at the 1901 Census *for all races* were :—

	Percentage of English Literates.	
	Males.	Females.
Calcutta	13·2	4·5
Bombay	9·3	3·2
Madras	14·0	3·0

In the town of Kandy the proportions are still higher—the very numerous cooly class in Colombo lowers the proportion there—20 males and 13 females are literates in English, and 22 males and 14 females in every 100 can speak English. There are probably very few towns in the East where an Englishman can hope to find an average of one person in five who will understand what is said to him and be able to reply in English.

In the town of Galle in every hundred of each sex 10 men and 4 women are English literates, and 11 men and 5 women can speak English.

The test questions put to those who claimed to speak English were: "Can you talk in English ?"; "Can you understand a question put to you by an Englishman and reply to him in English ?"; and "Able to speak English" was defined as meaning "Able to conduct a short conversation or understand and answer questions put in English."

These instructions were found from personal investigation and inquiries from the Commissioners and Chief Headmen to have been very strictly interpreted, and there is no reason to suppose that the figures show a higher proportion of English-speaking than is actually the case. In fact, the standard of English-speaking is probably higher than the standard of English literacy.

Travellers from the West and from the East are always struck by the knowledge of English found in Ceylon. It is possible for any one to-day who does not know a word of the vernaculars to travel through all the best known parts of Ceylon—to visit the principal towns, the buried cities, Trincomalee, &c., without ever requiring to use any other language than English, and seldom, if ever, needing an interpreter. In such event there is almost certain to be a native within call who can act as such, and who probably can interpret both from Sinhalese and Tamil into English.

The only districts in the Island where only 1 man in a 100 can speak English are Hambantota (1 per cent.) and Kurunegala (9 per 1,000).

Comparing the figures for English literacy with those for the Indian Provinces and States at the Census of 1911, the Ceylon figures show a very much higher proportion of English literates in Ceylon than in India :—

Table V.—Proportion of English Literates in Ceylon and in Indian Provinces and States at the Census of 1911.

Province and State.	Proportion per 10,000 English Literates. Males.	Females.
Assam	97	5
Bengal	199	13
Bihar and Orissa	44	3
Bombay	171	28
Burma	91	20
Central Provinces and Berar	61	6
Madras	121	13
North-West Frontier Province	83	7
Punjab	90	12
United Provinces	49	7
Baroda	88	4
Bihar and Orissa States	13	1
Bombay States	74	2
Central India Agency	35	3
Central Provinces States	10	1
Hyderabad	34	5
Kashmir	36	1
Madras States	141	20
Mysore	117	21
Punjab States	34	3
Rajputana	21	2
INDIA	**95**	**10**
CEYLON	**326**	**123**

In Ceylon 326 males and 123 females in every 10,000 persons of each sex were returned as literate in English, compared with 95 males and 10 females in India in 1911; that is to say, there were three and a half times as many male and twelve times as many female English literates as in India.

Comparing Ceylon with Madras the differences are nearly as great—only 121 males and 13 females in every 10,000 of each sex were able to read and write English at the Madras Census.

The Census Commissioner for India, writing of the Madras figures for 1901, says: " The figures for the English-knowing are much smaller [they were then 90 and 10 in every 10,000 males and females respectively] than one would have expected from the extent to which this language enters into the general school curriculum, and from the fact that it is taught even in primary schools in the larger towns, as well as from the increasing degree to which it is spoken by the lower

classes, especially by domestic servants, and it would seem that the standard taken by the enumerators must have been too high to permit of their inclusion. Many of those who can speak English are not able to read and write it."

These remarks apply to the Ceylon figures for 1911. It must, however, be realized that, though the amount of progress may seem to be small, as pointed out by Mr. Bridge in his report on Secondary English Schools in Ceylon, " in the schools as a whole, four-fifths or more of the pupils who enter an English school for the first time are vernacular-speaking and have no knowledge of English, the proportion of English-speaking homes is small, and for most, progress in English is wholly or very largely confined to school work."

There are no grounds for anxiety as to the demand for " English learning " in Ceylon, it is practically unlimited: what does give cause for anxiety is the supply. It has been observed that the standard of English-speaking is probably higher than that of English literacy; even amongst the illiterate or uneducated one hears English *spoken* with understanding, but amongst the literate and educated it is almost rare to meet English *written* with understanding.

It is not proposed here to deal with the question of the teaching of English in Ceylon. The reports of the Education Committee (Sessional Paper XIX. of 1912) and of Mr. Bridge (Sessional Paper XXI. of 1912) deal fully with the subject.

It is enough to say that of the 94,000 persons in Ceylon who were stated to be able to read and write English, the proportion of those who are able to read and write English with intelligence is lamentably small. In every branch of Government work, of commerce, of trade, there are the same complaints of the difficulty of obtaining clerks or men for any branch of work where a simple knowledge of English is required, who are able to express themselves grammatically, correctly, intelligently, or even intelligibly in English.*

While the Sinhalese and Tamils both appear to have marked aptitude for interpreting from one language into another, it is strange that there should be so few, especially amongst the younger generation, who can express themselves in writing in clear and simple English.

This reason appears partly to lie in the medium of thought—the language in which the original ideas are conveyed or transmitted. The interpreter hears one language and puts it into another; he has to think out the translation, grasp the meaning, and convey the sense; he is not required to use any standardized form of words, or ransack his memory for the words he believes ought to be used; he is untrammelled by precedent, he is obliged to think, and think aloud. The clerk, on the other hand, who is told to draft a letter, too frequently works it out in English, and not in an English translation of the sense of what he is intended to convey in the letter, but in English words which he has memorized as correct for the occasion. His mind is stocked with expressions which are to him inseparably associated with certain circumstances, and which he has learnt to use under what he supposes to be similar circumstances quite irrespective of the context—meaning becomes lost in form.

" *You have a big book at home, but you cannot recollect anything,*"† is a Sinhalese proverb. In fact, " more words and phrases are taught than ideas communicated."

* *Vide* Sessional Paper XIX. of 1912 (Education Committee's Report), V., Commercial Education, pp. 10, 11.

† ගෙදර මහ පොතක් ඇත, එකක් වත් මතකනැත.

Mr. Bridge in his report (Sessional Paper XXI. of 1912, pp. 24, 25) gives several instances of the kind of teaching which results in the dire confusion and abuse of the English language typical of so much of the English written to-day. "Word lists similar to the vocabularies which the English boy compiles for his Latin author are a familiar feature of the schools, and they are productive of very strange misconceptions and much looseness and vagueness of thought. The meanings written down are (if accurate at all) those required by the context, but the pupil naturally regards the two words given as synonyms and ignores any variety of usage."

Mr. Bridge's summary of the general result of the English school system may be quoted here as explaining the whole crux of the position :—

"It is evident that by reason of the large proportion of non-English-speaking children the English school system in Ceylon involves a striking departure from the accepted principle that the early education of a child must be in its mother-tongue. Clearly education based on a medium other than that in which the whole of a child's ideas are contained is in reality education limited to the acquisition of the new language. The teacher gives new names to things familiar to a child, and the child learns them and gradually secures a vocabulary in the new tongue, but it is obviously impossible to add to the medium except by means of the concrete, viz., objects or actions which the child identifies and understands ; this is necessarily a slow process, in which the whole of the mental faculties are occupied with language ; new names are given to the old ideas, but no new ideas can be added. It seems obvious that approach to the mind—education—is absolutely conditioned by the extent to which the child has progressed in the new medium, and that anything added outside the range of that progress can only be added mechanically as a matter of verbal memory.

"The English school system in Ceylon disregards this essential limitation on progress, and proceeding independently of understanding bases its work largely on the mechanical use of the memory. The result is evident both in the very small proportion of pupils who attain to the standard of success indicated by the results of the local examinations, and in the absence of almost all prospect of progress in the majority of those who fail to reach even that standard."

One of the most important changes affecting education during the decade was made in the Code of 1911 in regard to the teaching of the vernaculars in English schools.

"Grants for the teaching of the vernaculars in English schools were previously confined to the work of standards VI., VII., and VIII. of the vernacular schedules. From the beginning of 1912 pupils of English schools may also be presented for grant in the five lower standards of the vernacular schedules if they have not previously earned grant in those subjects in a vernacular school. The following note was also attached to clause 109 of the Code :—

"'Notice is given that after December 31, 1912, no grant will be paid for any scholar of Sinhalese or Tamil extraction promoted from that date from the fourth or a lower standard into the fifth or higher standard, or into corresponding forms of English schools, who has not passed in reading and writing the fifth standard or an equivalent examination in one of the vernaculars.'

Table W.—Sinhalese, Ceylon Tamils, and Ceylon Moors who are Literate in English, but Illiterate in their Native Language.

District.	Low-country Sinhalese.		Kandyan Sinhalese.		Ceylon Tamils.		Ceylon Moors.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Colombo Municipality	654	373	17	12	119	65	46	5
Colombo District ..	132	207	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kalutara District ..	35	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kandy Municipality..	46	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Matale District ..	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—
Nuwara Eliya District	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—
Galle Municipality ..	82	36	—	—	—	—	—	—
Galle District ..	8	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Matara District ..	80	40	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hambantota District.	14	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Batticaloa District ..	—	—	—	—	3	1	—	—
Trincomalee District .	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—
Kurunegala District..	—	—	10	4	—	—	—	—
Puttalam District ..	5	6	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chilaw District ..	4	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Badulla District ..	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Kegalla District ..	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Total ..	1,060	670	39	16	123	67	46	5

This table shows that there are over 2,000 natives of Ceylon who are unable to read and write their own language, but yet can read and write English; over 1,700 of these are Low-country Sinhalese, of whom 1,500 are Christians. Most of them come from the towns, and belong to the wealthier classes. They are probably nearly all children, though there are many adults who cannot read and write their own language though literate in English; it is, however, probable that many of the latter entered themselves at the Census as literate in both languages.

The proportion of females is high and is probably increasing, and must considerably influence the home life of the people of the country.*

All these English literates, vernacular illiterates, are practically denationalized in the sense that they can neither read their own native papers nor write in their mother-tongue to their relations, friends, and servants. Though there are 2,000 natives of Ceylon who can do neither of these things, and who yet have received a "liberal education" in English, there are very many more natives who cannot make an intelligible speech to their fellow countrymen in their native language. Yet they have all been educated to meet a demand.

It is only a demand for the vernaculars for themselves, or as the medium through which English can best be learnt, that will save them from becoming dead languages in Ceylon.

The question of education has been dealt with hitherto solely from the point of view of the Census; it is of interest at this point to compare

* The Inspectress of Girls' English Schools in her report for 1908 says: "The increasing practice of educating in English only Sinhalese and Tamil girls whose mothers speak and write freely only in their own language appears to me a serious social danger."

the progress as shown by the Census figures with the progress indicated by the returns of the Department of Public Instruction. The two sets of figures do not, of course, follow the same lines, for the latter refer only to persons actually under instruction, while the Census figures refer mainly to those who have left school.

The following figures compare the number of schools and scholars in 1890, 1900, and 1910:—

Figures comparing the Number of Schools and Scholars in 1890, 1900, and 1910.

Year.	Government Schools.		Grant-in-aid Schools.		Unaided Schools.		Total.	
	Schools.	Scholars.	Schools.	Scholars.	Schools.	Scholars.	Schools.	Scholars
1890 ..	436	40,290	984	73,698	2,617	32,464	4,037	146,452
1900 ..	500	48,642	1,328	120,751	2,089	38,881	3,917	208,274
1910 ..	759	96,600	1,910	203,020	1,546	36,754	4,215	336,374

The number of schools is larger than ever before (the previous highest number being in 1891), in spite of the decrease in the number of unaided schools by their absorption or failure, &c., while the number of pupils in the schools has increased by 128,000 during the decade, or 61 per cent.

The expenditure incurred on account of education for the *eighteen months* January 1, 1910, to June 30, 1911, was Rs. 2,215,261, compared with an expenditure of Rs. 907,595 in 1901.

Mr. Arunachalam in his Census Report for 1901 compared the number of children under instruction with the number of children between 5–15 which " for convenience has been taken as the school age," at the Census of 1901, and from the comparison estimated that " about three-fourths of the children of school age, numbering about 650,000, do not attend school, either because there is no school provided for them, or because there is no means of enforcing their attendance."

As pointed out by Mr. J. Harward, then Acting Director of Public Instruction, in an addendum to the Administration Report of the Public Instruction Department for 1902, "the passage gives a most misleading picture of the general condition of this Island. . . . . : if it were true that the average period for which children attend school in Ceylon is exactly ten years, the exact figures for the Census age period 5–15 would have a value. But if it is altogether wide of the mark, every figure that is based on this assumption, however exact, is an imaginary quantity."

Mr. Harward considers that, " on the whole, four years is approximately the average length of school life in Ceylon. Those who have been much in vernacular schools and have seen what large numbers leave after passing the third, second, and even the first standards will probably agree that four years is not an under-estimate." Mr. Harward then calculates that if every child received four years of education, the number at school would be approximately four-tenths of the number between the ages of 5 and 15.

Working on this basis we arrive at the following estimate of the number of literates which might have been expected at the 1911 Census from the figures for 1901 :—

In 1901 the literates numbered 773,196. The number of deaths of these literates between 1901 and 1911, calculated on a death-rate of 28·4 per mille, being the average death-rate for the period 1898–1907 = 21,960. The number of survivors therefore = 751,236.

From these survivors deduct one-fifth as representing the number of children between 5–15 in 1901 who are included in the number of literates in 1901, as otherwise these literates between 5 and 15 in 1901 would be counted twice over (*vide infra*).

The number of survivors then equals ..	600,989
The number of children between 5–15 in 1901 ..	867,103
Four-tenths of the above, viz., those attending school, on the assumption that four years is the average number of years of school attendance..	346,841
The number of deaths amongst children between 5–15 between 1901 and 1910 calculated on the death-rate for this age period in 1910, viz., 10 per mille	3,468
Survivors	343,373

Adding together the number of survivors from the literates of 1901 and the survivors of the children between 5 and 15 in 1901 the total is 944,362.

The actual number of literates was 1,082,828, or 138,466 more than the estimated number.

If the mean number of children between 5 and 15, for the decade 1901–1910, is taken, the result will be as follows :—

Mean number of children between 5–15 ..	963,955
Four-tenths of this number	385,598
Deaths at 10 per mille	3,856
Survivors	381,742

which added to 600,989 = 982,731, or 100,097 less than the actual number of literates in 1911.

Another method of calculating the increase which might have been expected in the number of literates between 1901 and 1910 is as follows :—

In 1901 there were 867,103 children between 5 and 15, and in 1911 the number between 5 and 15 was 1,071,713. From these data it is calculated that the number of years lived by persons aged between 5–15 during the decade was 9,762,816. The death-rate need not be taken into account, as it is on the natural increase that the calculation is based. The average number of persons in this age period during the decade was therefore 976,282, and the average school life being four years, the number of literates produced during the decade would be 390,513. Adding this figure to 600,989—four-fifths of the survivors of the 1901 literates—the number of literates is calculated to be 991,502 in 1911, or 91,326 short of the Census figures.

In Indian Reports the number of children of school-going age is calculated to be 15 per cent. of the population. On this basis the number of children attending school should be 615,952—326,254 males and 289,698 females.

The number of children attending Government and grant-in-aid schools in 1910 was 299,620—213,470 boys and 86,150 girls. From

these totals it appears that 65 per cent. of the boys and 30 per cent. of the girls are attending school. These figures do not include the unregistered schools, which have an attendance of some 37,000 children; but their numbers are unreliable.

Taking the figures for the last Census on this same basis and the school attendance in 1901, 47 per cent. of the boys and 20 per cent. of the girls were then attending school.

From all these combinations and calculations it appears that the progress of literacy in Ceylon has been satisfactory, and that the number and attendance of school children have also increased.

Another sign of educational progress is the increased demand for books amongst all classes. There are circulating libraries, partly supported by grants from Government in all the towns, and the number of subscribers is generally on the increase.

The demand for English magazines and cheap editions of novels is very great. Booksellers have increased during the decade (from 257 in 1901 to 278 in 1911), but stationers, who sell the cheap editions of standard works, magazines, &c., have increased five-fold in number since 1901 (from 15 to 78). The itinerant book hawker is found in all parts of the Island.

It is strange that with this growing demand for English literature there should be very few translations of English books into Sinhalese and Tamil. Nearly all the translations are of religious works issued by the Mission press.

The "Arabian Nights," Æsop's "Fables," several plays of Shakespeare, and Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," have been translated into Sinhalese, and a translation of "Robinson Crusoe" appeared as a serial some years ago in a Sinhalese newspaper; but these appear to complete the list of English works in Sinhalese. It is probable that with the increasing demand for an English education those who could prepare translations consider that there will be no demand for them in a few years' time, when at least one member of every family will be able to read an English book aloud.

The Sinhalese books which have appeared during the decade have been chiefly re-publications of historical works, such as the "Mahawansa," the "Rajaratnakaraya," the "Maha-hatana," the "Bodhivansaya," &c. Several Sinhalese plays* and novels have issued from the native presses.

Sinhalese newspapers and magazines have increased considerably, and several now obtain a large circulation. There has been remarkable progress in the vernacular press during the last ten years, and, with very few exceptions, the standard and tone appear to be considerably higher than are found amongst the native press of India. There is an increased demand for compositors, &c., so great as to affect even the Government Printing Office, which, for the first time in its history, has been unable to obtain all the labour required. Printing presses are being opened not only in Colombo, but also in many other towns in Ceylon. The number of printers and compositors has increased from 811 in 1901 to 1,166 in 1911; bookbinders have increased from 227 to 354.

The demand for books and newspapers in Sinhalese is a valuable indication of the progress of literacy in the vernaculars; the class who read is the class who will eventually adopt English or retain Sinhalese as the language in common use.

* *Vide* p. 173 *supra*.

CHAPTER XVI.

OCCUPATIONS.

Difficulties in obtaining complete and accurate information—Vague entries—Unpaid Government Service—Land Tenures—Boutique-keepers—Monsieur Bertillon's scheme of classification—adopted for India and Ceylon—Alterations in previous scheme necessitated—Limitations on and value of comparisons—Compilation of statistics—Work of the Tabulators—Village statistics obtained for certain occupations—Use and abuse of English terms—Strange occupations—Comparison with 1901 figures—Value of a Census of occupations—Earners and dependents in 1901 and 1911—by race and sex—Women workers—Occupations followed by women—Unemployed men between 20 and 30—New occupations since the 1901 Census—Rubber—Motor industry—Occupations which are dying out—Sugar cane—Coffee—Oyster dealers—Palanquin bearers—Hats—Ivory carvers—Manufacture of arms—Choya-root diggers—Agriculture—Principal cultivations—Proportion of persons engaged in production of raw materials—by race—by provinces—by districts—Forestry—Chank divers—Elephant catchers—Plumbago pits—Gem diggers—Preparation and supply of material substances—Proportion of persons so employed—by race—by provinces—Weavers—Manufacture of coir—Carpenters—Mat weavers—Basketmakers—Blacksmiths—Potters—Rice pounders and huskers—Dhobies—Barbers—Goldsmiths—Carters—Rickshaw coolies—Railway employés—Postal Department—Trades—Betel—Flower sellers—Public Administration and Liberal Arts—Distribution by race—by provinces—Government Service—Police—Botanic Department—Irrigation—Municipal service—Religion—Buddhist priests—Nuns—Devil dancers—Law—Litigation in Jaffna—Petition drawers—Medical profession—Medical Department—Vedarálas—Teachers—Tom-tom beaters—Survey Department—Artists—Music teachers—Astronomers—Astrologers—Actors, dancers, and singers—Domestic servants—Beggars—Subsidiary occupations.

Mr. Arunachalam, in his Census Report for 1901, thus commences his Chapter on Occupations : " The tabulation and compilation of the occupations statistics was a work of almost inconceivable difficulty. It took up more time and labour and occasioned more trouble and anxiety than the work connected with any other of the Census Statistics. It was indeed, as the Census Commissioners of England and Wales have reported, 'the most laborious, the most costly, and, after all, perhaps the least satisfactory part of the Census.' "

The difficulties in dealing with this subject do not commence with the tabulation and compilation of the returns received, but are found at every step in the Census work. There are no Census interrogations which demand so much of the intelligence both of the Census enumerator and of his supervisor.

The information required cannot be obtained in a single column, and three columns of the Census schedule—two under the heading " Occupation or means of subsistence of earner, (*a*) principal, (*b*) subsidiary," and the third headed " If not earner, means of subsistence of person on whom dependent," are devoted to this item.

The following instructions which were issued to the enumerators explain the divisions and the difficulties :—

Column 10 (*a*) (*Principal Occupation*).—Enter the principal means of livelihood of all persons who actually work or carry on business, whether personally or by means of servants, or who live on private property, such as produce of lands, house rent, pension, &c. Enter the exact occupation, and avoid general and indefinite terms, such as merchant, trader, &c. It should be stated in what goods the trader deals ; *e.g.*, he should be described as Rice Merchant, Piece Goods Merchant, &c. If a person makes the articles he sells, he should be entered as " maker and seller " of them. Where a person deals in a variety of articles, he should be entered as a General Merchant, General Trader, or Shopkeeper, as the case may be. Employés in shops should be shown by their specific employment, *e.g.*, Shop Assistant, Shop Accountant. In the case of a person growing any product, he should be described as Coconut Planter, Paddy Cultivator, &c., the name of the product cultivated being given. If the land is owned by the person cultivating it, he should be further described as " and Proprietor "—*e.g.*, " Coconut Planter and Proprietor " means a man living on his own estate and engaged in looking after it.

Column 10 (*b*) (*Subsidiary Occupation*).—Enter here any occupation which an earner pursues at any time of the year, or means of livelihood upon which he depends, in addition to his principal occupation. For instance, if a person's principal occupation is that of a Government Clerk, and he also derives additional subsistence from landed property, such as a coconut estate, enter him in column 10 (*a*) as Government Clerk and in 10 (*b*) as Coconut Estate Proprietor. If an actual worker has no additional occupation or means of livelihood, enter in column 10 (*b*) the word " None." Do not enter more than one occupation in column 10 (*a*) or 10 (*b*), and leave these columns blank for dependents, such as wife and children, unless they derive their subsistence independently of the head of the family. Remember that there cannot be an entry in column 10 (*b*) without one in column 10 (*a*) also for the same person.

Column 11 (*If not Earner, Means of Subsistence of Person on whom Dependent*).—For non-earners who have no independent means of subsistence, *e.g.*, children and women and old and infirm persons who do not work either personally or by means of servants, and have no means of their own, enter in this column opposite the name of each person the principal occupation of the person who supports him. Thus, if the head of the family is a paddy cultivator and his wife and children have no independent means of subsistence, enter opposite the name of such wife or child in column 11 " Paddy Cultivator," and leave columns 10 (*a*) and 10 (*b*) blank.

Only those women and children should be shown as workers who help to augment the family income. A woman who looks after her house and cooks the food is not a worker in this sense, but a dependent. But a woman who makes baskets and earns money by her work, or who regularly assists her husband in his work and is thereby adding to the family income, is a worker, and her occupation should be shown in column 10 ; she is not a dependent. Boys at school or college should be entered as dependents. Persons temporarily out of employment should be shown as following their previous occupation.

Considerable pains were taken to drill the enumerators, and these columns were invariably those which required the most careful explanation. So well did the very large majority of supervisors and enumerators do their work that there were very few errors made in the filling up of these particulars. In fact, more mistakes and omissions were made in the household schedules of the carefully selected educated persons who filled in their own schedules than in the schedules of the town and village enumerators.

But no amount of provision or care could entirely guard against local differences in classification of principal and subsidiary occupations.

which must considerably affect the figures for purposes of comparison with those for the last Census.

For example, uniformity was not preserved amongst all supervisors as to whether unpaid Government Service should be entered as a "principal" or "subsidiary occupation"; "principal" being taken by some to mean the most important work or that upon which most time was spent; by others, and rightly, as the occupation which contributed most to the means of subsistence.

Every village of any size in Ceylon has its headman who is unpaid though entitled to certain fees, which, except in very few cases, amount to little, and are certainly not sufficient for his subsistence.

These headmen are, with very few exceptions, landowners and cultivators; all have other occupations which support them, and they are usually selected on account of their wealth and local standing.

At the Census of 1901 the entry "Headman or Government Servant" was entered in nearly all districts as the principal occupation, and paddy landowner and cultivator, &c., as the case might be, as the subsidiary occupation. This course was followed in some parts of Ceylon at this Census, though only in very few places, where the latest instructions to the contrary had not spread, or where the supervisors could not bring themselves to put Government Service in the second place. Amongst many headmen there was a very real feeling that Government Service, whether unpaid or paid, took precedence of all other occupations; in fact, in 1901 a subsidiary occupation was in many parts not stated in the case of the headmen.

"*To be a headman is good even in hell*,"* say the Sinhalese.

In the case of a large number of Government clerks and others whose main support is their landed property, and whose pay as Government servants is insufficient for their maintenance, it was probably only at this Census that the main source of support of the family was entered as the principal occupation.

The figures for comparative purposes for Government servants and landowners, &c., in 1901 and 1911 were considerably affected by the interpretation of "principal" occupation adopted in these instances.

In 1901 the number of persons employed in and dependent upon "Government Service," amongst whom native headmen were included, was 57,441; in 1911 29,263 persons appear as earners and dependents under the head of "Service of the State" and "Police Department," the latter being shown separately in 1911, and included in Government Service in 1901.†

The number of native headmen of all ranks returned as such, viz., as depending upon this occupation as a means of livelihood, was at this Census 840.

The number of headmen in Ceylon, including chief and minor headmen, according to Government returns, is 4,393, and the difference in the number given according to the Census is due to the occupations of the very large majority of unpaid headmen being entered according to their actual means of livelihood. Only 9 headmen in the Central Province out of 615 gave their principal occupation as "native headman."

It was not found possible to lay down any hard and fast rule for the better determination and classification of those dependent on the land either by ownership or cultivation.

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* නිල ලැබීම නරකාදියේ උනත් හොඳයි.

† Including Railway and Postal Service and Forest Department superior staff, which were shown separately in 1911, the number under the head of "Government Service" is 46,657.

A paddy landowner may or may not be a paddy cultivator—he is generally both.

Land may be *paravéni* or *muttettu*—either of two kinds, *ninda muttettu* or *anda muttettu*; it may be *nilapanguwa* or *asweddumа* or *pidawilla* or *purappáḍu* land. The cultivator might hold the land in *anda* or on payment of *otu*, and there were three kinds of *otu*.*

He might be a joint tenant, a shareholder, or a tenant at will, a copyhold tenant, a cultivator paid in money or in kind, entitled to a fixed share, or share calculated on the crop, or dependent on the balance left to him after he has satisfied various parties with claims or rights against the land, or his tenure might depend upon the terms of agreement by which he obtained his seed paddy. A feudal tenant in the Norman period was not subject to more forms of tenancy or service than have been and are still in existence in Ceylon.

Though ownership of land and tenancy are much simplified to-day, there are so many groups one within the other that it would have served little, if any, useful purpose to have required further particulars of land ownership and land tenure to be given. Further, it is very doubtful whether accurate particulars have been obtained. In fact, for purposes of comparison the sub-order should be taken collectively —owners and cultivators together; the figures for separate occupations are often merely misleading.

There was probably also considerable diversity in the entries for the *sillara kaḍé* (සිල්ලර කඩේ Sinhalese, சில்லறைக்கடை Tamil) or sundries boutique—the shop-of-all-trades, where curry stuffs, stores of all descriptions, clothes, tools, ironmongery, cutlery, crockery, pictures, &c., can all be purchased.

The variety of goods which can be purchased in the *bazaar* has given the word a meaning which has travelled to the West to cover innumerable forms of so-called "cheap sales."

The boutique-keeper may have been entered as a merchant, a shopkeeper, a salesman, a curry-stuff seller, a seller of iron and hardware, or under any one of the many heads which cover the sale or trade in articles that can be found in his shop.

The distinction between makers and sellers, between workers employed by others and making and selling their own goods, is frequently so fine that the ordinary village enumerator could not be expected to draw the line with any nicety.

As far as possible vague entries were referred back for further inquiry, but such entries as "load cooly," "general cooly," "job cooly," &c., could only be grouped under "general labourers," or "agricultural labourers (otherwise unspecified)," where it was clear that they were employed as field labourers.

Further reference will be made to these mixed occupations and vague entries under the various occupations affected by them. Mention is made of them here to show the difficulties in accurate tabulation, which must be taken into consideration in drawing comparisons between the figures for occupations at different Censuses.

The next step in dealing with occupations, which also presented considerable difficulties, was their classification.

It was decided to follow the example of India and adopt a new scheme of classification based on one worked out by Monsieur Bertillon. The

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* *Vide* the "Niti Nighanduwa," translation by C. J. R. Le Mesurier and T. B. Panabokke, pp. 119 and 120. Appendix No. 11 (extract from Sir John D'Oyly's "Notes of the Species of Lands").

aim of M. Bertillon's scheme was "to render possible the comparison of the occupation statistics of different countries, after a careful study of the various schemes in actual use; it was revised in consultation with a number of the leading European statisticians." The system adopted was approved by the International Statistical Institute, who recommended it for general use.

The chief objection to a change of classification is that it may interfere with a comparison of the statistics for one Census with those of the preceding one. The classification adopted at the Ceylon Census in 1901 followed that of India. As pointed out by the Census Commissioner for India in a note addressed to all Superintendents of Census Operations in India on the subject of the introduction of the new classification, "in most cases it will be quite easy to re-arrange groups of the last Census under the heads in the new scheme. There has been no change in the nomenclature adopted for the groups under which the occupations of the great majority of the population will be tabulated, and the discrepancies arising out of the re-arrangement will in any case be less serious than those due to various errors of classification which occurred at the last Census."

The following is a list of the occupations at the last Census which are split up under different heads in the new scheme :—

	1901–Earners.
Cattle breeders and sellers	1,672
Pig breeders and sellers	9
Sheep and goat breeders and sellers	156
Horse breeders and sellers	4
Comb makers and sellers	368
Cadjan makers and sellers	1,969
Glass bangle makers and sellers	5
Hat makers and sellers	76
Harness makers and sellers	17
Toy makers and sellers	21
Grindstone makers and sellers	41
Ink makers and sellers	2
Flower garland makers and sellers	137
Butchers and meat sellers	738
Farriers and veterinary surgeons	250
Reporters and shorthand writers	18
Authors, editors, journalists	111

It will be seen from the above that the occupations which are grouped or subdivided under different heads in the new scheme are not very numerously followed. The comparison of groups is accordingly very little, if at all, prejudiced.

The re-arrangements are in nearly every case due to the separation of makers and sellers.

In dealing with these occupations the figures for 1901 or 1911 can always be re-grouped.

M. Bertillon divides all occupations into four main classes and twelve sub-classes, with three series of minor subdivisions, viz., 61 orders, 206 sub-orders, and 499 groups. He points out, however, that for the purposes of international comparison all that is necessary is the classification of the occupations returned in the schedule according to these 61 main orders; provided all the occupations returned come under these orders, the minor heads can be selected according to local requirements. The scheme as revised for India contains 4 classes, 12 sub-classes, 55 orders, and 170 groups. The reduction of six in the number of orders is due to the amalgamation of two of those

given by M. Bertillon, viz., "maritime" and "fresh water transport," and the omission of five others, viz., those for "nomads," "other industries," "persons temporarily unemployed," "persons without any occupation," and "occupation unknown." These omissions have been followed in the Ceylon classification. It would not be possible to distinguish from the schedule entries between "maritime" and "fresh water transport." No special order is required for "nomads." M. Bertillon's order "other industries" was inserted to "allow of any omission which may occur," and there seems no necessity for its retention. "Persons temporarily unemployed" should have been entered in the schedules under the occupations previously or habitually followed by them, and those "without any occupation" are either dependents entered under the occupation of the persons supporting them, or else come under the head of "Persons living principally on their income—private property."

There should be no entries of persons with "occupation unknown"; there were only 38 such entries at this Census, as compared with 2,219 entries at the 1901 Census under the head "Occupation uncertain or not returned."

Besides these five orders, the heading "Quarries" is not included in the Ceylon schedule of occupations, as there is no necessity for it in Ceylon, where there are very few quarries, and those only worked by the Public Works Department. Stone workers come under the heading "Stone and marble workers and masons"—a sub-order of building industries. Limestone quarriers and miners (otherwise unspecified) are entered under Mines.

The new scheme of occupations as revised for Ceylon contains 4 classes, 12 orders, 54 sub-orders, and 143 groups.

There are 170 groups in the Indian scheme; those omitted in the Ceylon scheme are—

(1) Coal mines and petroleum wells.*
(2) Other minerals, jade, diamonds, limestone, &c.*
(3) Extraction of saltpetre, alum, and other substances soluble in water.*
(4) Cotton ginning, cleaning, and pressing.*
(5) Jute spinning, pressing, and weaving.*
(6) Wool carders and spinners, weavers of woollen blankets, carpets, &c.*
(7) Silk spinners and weavers.*
(8) Hair, camel and horsehair, bristles work, brush makers.*
(9) Persons occupied with feathers.*
(10) Dyeing, bleaching, printing, preparation, and sponging of textiles.*
(11) Leather dyers.*
(12) Makers of leather articles, *e.g.*, trunks, water bags, &c.*
(13) Forging and rolling of iron and other metals.*
(14) Plough and agricultural implement workers.†
(15) Workers in mints, die sinkers, &c.*
(16) Makers of porcelain and crockery.*
(17) Others, mozaic, talc, mica, alabaster, &c.*
(18) Workers, manufacture of dyes, paint, and ink.*
(19) Manufacture of paper, cardboard, and papier-maché.*
(20) Other industries pertaining to dress.*
(21) Makers of bangles (materials unspecified), rosaries, beads, and other necklaces, spangles, &c.*
(22) Persons employed on the maintenance of streams, rivers, and canals, including construction.‡

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* Not found in Ceylon as a separate industry or trade.
† Combined with blacksmiths.
‡ Included under Government Service and General Labourers—*vide* also heading Transport by Road.

(23) Labourers employed in railway construction.*
(24) Village watchmen.†
(25) Village officers and servants.†
(26) Cashiers, accountants, bookkeepers, and other employés in unspecified offices, warehouses, and shops.‡
(27) Mechanics (otherwise unspecified).§

The most important differences between the classification drawn up by M. Bertillon and that adopted for the Ceylon occupation figures, following India, are—

(*a*) Non-cultivating agricultural landowners are included in Order 1—Pasture and Agriculture. M. Bertillon puts them under "Persons living principally on their income—proprietors, fund holders, and pensioners." As has been already pointed out, it is not possible in Ceylon strictly to distinguish between landowners who cultivate their own lands and those who sub-let to others, while it is of importance to be able to say what proportion of the population depend upon agriculture as a means of subsistence.

(*b*) Carpenters are included under the sub-order Wood—with sawyers, coopers, and wood carvers. M. Bertillon puts them under Building Industries. It is not possible to draw this distinction in the East.

(*c*) Cattle sellers—following the example of India—have been classed under Trade in means of Transport, which the Census Commissioner for India considers "obviously a more appropriate head" than that adopted by M. Bertillon—"Other trade in food stuffs"; but in Ceylon probably as many cattle are sold for the market as for the cart and the plough. The race and religion of the seller is usually the best indication of the nature of his trade: of the 1,195 persons who earn their living by the sale of cattle, 627 are Muhammadans, 475 are Low-country Sinhalese, and many of these are Buddhists.||

The above is a curious instance of Ceylon being more in touch with Western ideas than is India.

(*d*) M. Bertillon places Magistrates and Judges under "Law"; in Ceylon and India they are placed under Public Administration; the Government servant plays many parts, and it is rarely the case that he is a magistrate only for any length of time.

Care has been taken to restrict the number of separate heads of occupation as far as possible, while guarding against the omission of curious and interesting survivals in occupations to-day only practised by the few.

It must be borne in mind that the larger the division taken for comparative purposes the more accurate is the comparison likely to be. It has been generally admitted by the Census Commissioners of all countries that "a Census does not supply data which are suitable for minute classification or admit of a profitable examination in detail. The most that it is reasonable to expect from data so collected is that they shall give the means of drawing such a picture of the occupational distribution of the people as shall be fairly true in its main lines, though little value can be attached to the detailed features. It is not wise to

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* Included under Railway Employés.

† Included under Government Service. Many of these correspond to Village Headmen in Ceylon.

‡ Appear under Banks, Establishments of Credit, and Insurance.

§ Included under group 52: "General Terms which do not indicate a definite Occupation."

|| *Vide* p. 167, *supra*.

demand from a material a result for the production of which it is unsuited."*

Wherever it is proposed to make comparisons in regard to an occupation between two Censuses, care should be taken to combine the different headings under which the occupation may have been included at both Censuses before drawing any conclusions.

The Census Superintendent in 1901 drew no comparisons between the figures for 1901 and 1891 "owing to the differences in the classification of 1891 and 1901, to anomalies such as the inclusion in 1891 of fishermen in the agricultural class, and to the absence (in 1891) of any methodical or even alphabetical arrangement of the various kinds of occupations in each order or sub-order." Such comparisons are, however, of very great value, as by them alone can the information obtained under this head be utilized to show the progress of the country, its agricultural and industrial development, its commercial prosperity, its advance in modern arts and sciences, and the market of supply and demand, which is the best indication of the history of the people during the decade.

A comparison of the figures for 1901 and 1911 bears testimony to the general care and accuracy with which both were prepared; the differences are natural and can be easily explained, and even in the groups there are no remarkable variations, which could only be accounted for by errors of classification or compilation.

The next step after obtaining the particulars in the schedules was their compilation according to the system of classification adopted. This work required a very considerable amount of care and attention on the part of the tabulators. The clerks engaged on this work were very carefully trained before they started the work; lists of occupations in alphabetical order with their class and sub-order were given to them, and they were required to learn these lists by heart. A leaflet was prepared giving rules for the tabulators and checkers, and an examination paper was set on these rules and on the list of occupations.

In the Posters' Manual the following special instructions appear—in addition to the simple explanations of the terms of the schedule, &c.—*re* occupations :—

Great care must be taken in the translation of the word used to denote the occupation. If the poster has any doubt, he should at once consult his supervisor.

E.g., different words are used for a Buddhist priest, viz., **පිණ්ඩපාත, මහනදම්, මහනකම්, මහන උන්නාන්සේ, පූජකයා, ගනින්නාන්සේ, සංඝයාවහන්සේ**; for a fisherman, **මස්මරන්නා, මසුන්මරන්නා, මසුන්අල්ලන්නා, මාළුඅල්ලන්නා**: for a butcher, **හරක් මරන්නා, සතුන් මරන්නා, කෑමට සතුන් මරන්නා**. Words which may have a double meaning are—[here a list of Sinhalese and Tamil words, used for various occupations and capable of more than one meaning, was given].

The correct meaning to be inserted can in such cases only be ascertained from the context. Wherever a Sinhalese or Tamil word is given which it may not be easy to translate, or for which there is no suitable English equivalent, insert the Sinhalese or Tamil word in the slip. *Remember that it is the exact nature of the occupation that it is desired to ascertain.*

In cases of such entries as cultivator, merchant, clerk, &c., where it is clear from the context or from the poster's own local knowledge that paddy cultivator, general merchant, Government clerk, &c., should have been inserted, these terms should be entered in the slip. Where the term used is indefinite and the context throws no light on what is meant, reference should be made to the supervisor.

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* Report on the Census of England and Wales in 1891, p. 35.

Under the head of abbreviations it is explained that—

(1) When the word *Cooly* only is given, it can be taken to mean a General, Common, Job, or Load Cooly, unless from the context it is clear that it refers to an Estato, Road, or other class of Cooly. In the caso of Estate Coolies in *Estate Books*, the letter C will be sufficient in the Occupation Column, but care must be taken to see that in the case of Coolies doing other work on the Estate, the full description is given, *e.g.*, a House Cooly on the Estate should be entered D. S. (= Domestic Servant) House Cy., a Rickshaw Cooly, Rick. Cy., and so on.

(2) Where the word *Cultivator* is given alone, the poster should decide from other entries in the book, or inquiry from the supervisor, or by his own knowledge of the district from which the schedules come, what kind of a Cultivator is meant—a Paddy Cultivator, a Tobacco Cultivator, a Chena Cultivator, a Vegetable Cultivator, as the case may be. It will usually be found that by Cultivator is meant Paddy Cultivator, but this must not be taken for granted.

(3) In the case of Domestic Servant, write D. S. and give the class of servant, *e.g.*, D. S. Ayah, D. S. Appu, D. S. House Cy., as the case may be.

(4) If Government Schoolmaster, Tutor, or Teacher—G. School; if Private Schoolmaster, Tutor, or Teacher—P. School.

A list of over 100 occupations with their Sinhalese and Tamil equivalents, where the occupations or terms used for them were uncommon, was given to all the tabulators, and in the examination paper set to all posting clerks twenty-seven Sinhalese and twenty-seven Tamil terms, which were not in common use or which might be interpreted in two ways, were given the tabulators to post correctly.

The tabulators were required to sort the slips according to their groups, and then enter them by orders and sub-orders. Printed forms were issued to each clerk showing the arrangement of the groups, &c.

There were about five hundred occupations returned at the Ceylon Census, which had to be correctly arranged. Not only were the tabulators required to tabulate each occupation correctly, but they had also to see that the entries were made in the correct column by sex for earner or dependent; they were also required to note the subsidiary occupations if they were combined with certain other occupations. Dependents between 20 and 30 had to be separated from other dependents after these had been entered, and then separately classified according to the occupation of those upon whom they were dependent.

In the case of certain occupations the slips had to be sorted out again and entries made of the villages from which the workers came, as this information is given in the particulars of occupations by district. The occupations selected for these special inquiries were mat weavers, lace makers, goldsmiths, dhobies, comb makers, chank fishers, potters, dye-root diggers, barbers, elephant keepers, ivory carvers, Buddhist priests, tom-tom beaters, devil dancers, brassfounders, lacquer-workers.

This information, which is embodied in the tables in the Occupation Statistics volume, should be of considerable interest and value to the Revenue Officers, and to all who are interested in the preservation of native arts and crafts, which are fast dying out in many parts of the Island.

The work required of the tabulators demanded, therefore, particular care and precision; and in spite of the instructions given them, it was only to be expected that a body of clerks, most of whom were very young and drawing salaries of Rs. 20 per mensem, would make mistakes. The supervision was excellent, and the results bear testimony to it. Very few errors were found in the Occupation Tables, and the work seems to have been well done.

A "*sack seller*" is a very different person from Dame Quickly, and deals in gunny bags. A "*plates boutique*" seems to be an inadequate description of a china shop.

The occupation of "*climbing trees*" would appear to denote a life of comparative leisure to one who had not seen the toddy drawer or coconut plucker at work.

A "*weight lifter*" is not a circus or music hall performer, but a cooly whose daily task is the moving of weights. A "*beetle seller*" was only a mistake in spelling for an occupation followed by 4,500 persons who live by vending a vegetable and not an insect.

A more dangerous occupation appeared to be that of a "*devil castor*," who would seem to combine most of the essentials for "devilling," but was only concerned with casting out devils, and apparently earned a livelihood by his success in this occupation.

A very different type of "religionist" was a "*Yogi*," who figured as the only one in Ceylon up to the compilation of the district returns, when on examination it aroused some suspicion that he should be found in Ceylon's sanitarium and holiday resort—the town of Nuwara Eliya. Further investigation revealed his race as Burgher, and his place of residence a stable yard. An examination of the schedule explained why a "jogi" (or jockey)—as the enumerator had recorded his occupation—had been taken to be a Yogi, and why a Burgher stable lad had been credited with spending his days in philosophic meditation.

These instances show that the classification of occupations required an amount of careful supervision and intelligence on the part of the tabulating clerks that was called for to the same extent by no other tables.

There were other difficulties, too, which arose on account of similarity in words used for different occupations, *e.g.*, *mas-maranná* (මස් මරන්නා) was used in some parts for a fisherman and *mas-wikunanná* (මස් විකුනන්නා) for a butcher, *pariyári* (பரியாரி) was used in some districts for a barber and *parikári* (பரிகாரி) for a *vedarála*.

Vernacular terms are often very vague; one term might cover more than one occupation, as, for example, in Tamil the same word might be used for a boat owner and one of the crew, for a cart owner and a cart driver, and there are many Sinhalese and Tamil words which only the context would clearly explain.

The tabulation of occupations was the last work taken up, and only picked clerks were retained for this work, upon which considerable time was spent and extra supervisors were put in charge of it. The results, as has been stated above, were very satisfactory. Comparing the figures with those for 1901 for those headings which had to be made wider or less definite on account of the number who had to be entered under a general instead of a particular heading, the particulars given not allowing of any more exact classification, the percentages at this Census are in most cases very much lower than in 1901.

Under the heading "Occupation unknown," ·62 per mille (or 2,219 persons) were entered in 1901 and ·01 per mille (or 38 persons) in 1911.

"Land owners otherwise unspecified," earners and dependents number 24,600, as compared with 106,000 in 1901.

"Cultivators otherwise unspecified," earners and dependents 71,000, as against 217,000 in 1901. "Agricultural labourers otherwise unspecified," earners and dependents 52,500, as against 205,500 in 1901.

There are, however, more "Planters (otherwise unspecified)" in 1911 (2,600) than in 1901 (700); many of these are no doubt planters

of more than one product, or of products which were not specially mentioned, *e.g.*, vanilla, camphor, &c. Under the head "Insufficiently described occupations," there are increases in the 1911 figures, especially under one head.

There were 1,500 persons entered under the head "Contractor (otherwise unspecified)," as against 1,000 in 1901, partly due no doubt to the increasing number of large contractors who take up several different contracts, and whose coolies are at one time employed on bridge and road work and another time on tank restoration or forest clearing.

The excess of general contractors in 1911 probably represents the natural increase in contractors, who could not, owing to imperfect description, be classified under the other heads for contractors, viz., coal contractors, building contractors, transport contractors, and contractors for labour.

Similarly, there was a larger number of renters (unspecified)—96 in 1911—than in 1901, when there were 35, due no doubt to the increase in renters and their enterprises.

It is, however, under the head "Labourers and workmen (otherwise unspecified)—General labourers" that there is a marked difference between the 1901 and 1911 figures. In 1901 there were 38,401 males and 10,768 female earners under this head; in 1911 82,065 males and 23,988 females. There were only 114,823 dependents on these 106,053 earners—evidence that there were probably few family men so described, the very large number being "load," "job," and "general" coolies employed in big works, such as the Drainage and Harbour Works, and as coal coolies in Colombo, where 18,913 of them were thus described, and under contractors in other parts of the Island.

"Coal labourers" in 1901 came under the heading "Preparation and Supply of Material Substances—Fuel and Forage"; in 1911 there was no special head for coal labourers.

The classification of occupations and the work in connection with it have been dealt with at considerable length, as it should be realized how these figures are collected, arranged, compiled, grouped, &c., before conclusions are drawn from different sets of figures at different Censuses.

The Census of Occupations is certainly one of the most interesting features of the Census; it "points the moral and adorns the tale" of the decade, but it cannot be accepted as against special economic or statistical returns compiled to give the figures for a separate profession or in a special trade.

Making these allowances, however, the returns well deserve the trouble spent upon them, for they are the clearest indication of the supply of employment, the demand for it, the advance or decline in agriculture, trade, commerce, the learned professions, &c.

At the same time the Census figures show the influence of race and religion on occupation, the increased employment of women, the creation of new occupations, the effects of the introduction of capital into the country. The improved standard of comfort is manifested in the increase in the number of employés in certain trades, &c., in the production of luxuries, and, in some cases, in the rise in the proportion of dependents to workers.

To draw conclusions in regard to any of the above it is necessary to analyse the figures for occupations at this Census and to compare them with those at the last.

At the 1901 Census, of 3,565,954 persons enumerated 46 per cent. were earners or breadwinners and 54 per cent. dependents. 70 per

cent. of the breadwinners were males and 30 per cent. females; of the dependents, 39 per cent. were males and 61 per cent. females. Five men in every 8 in 1901 were earners, and 2 women in every 7 women were returned as following an occupation. 60 per cent. of the men and 29 per cent. of the women earned their own living.

In 1911 1,766,053 out of 4,106,350 persons (exclusive of the Military and Shipping), or 43 per cent. of the population, followed an occupation for their living, while 57 per cent. depended upon others for their livelihood. 73 per cent. of the breadwinners were males and 27 per cent. females; of the dependents, 38 per cent. were males and 62 per cent. were females. 59 per cent. of the males and 25 per cent. of the females were employed; 10 men in every 17 followed an occupation or were independent of the assistance of others, 1 woman in every 4 depended upon her own exertions for a livelihood.

Compared with 1901 we find that the proportion of the employed or of those not dependent upon others has decreased. The proportion as regards the males has remained practically stationary, but there is a considerable decrease (4½ per cent.) in the proportion of employed women.

In fact, there were more women employed in 1901 (490,814) than in 1911 (478,055)—nearly 13,000 more.

The decrease in the number of women workers is remarkable in a decade in which women have taken up occupations which were previously only followed by men, and when the women are contributing more and more to the family expenses.

The following Table A explains this decrease in women workers:—

Table A.—Proportion per Cent. of Earners and Dependents by Race and Sex, 1901 and 1911.

Race.	1901. Earners.		1911. Earners.		1901. Dependents.		1911. Dependents.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
All Races	**60·4**	**29·4**	**59·2**	**24·8**	**39·6**	**70·6**	**40·8**	**75·2**
Low-country Sinhalese	55·0	24·5	54·1	21·2	45·0	75·5	45·9	78·8
Kandyan Sinhalese . .	55·4	23·9	52·5	13·9	44·6	76·1	47·5	86·1
Tamils	72·7	46·3	73·0	44·1	27·3	53·7	27·0	55·9
Ceylon Tamils . .	. .	. .	58·0	14·9	. .	. .	42·0	85·1
Indian Tamils . .	. .	. .	86·4	77·0	. .	. .	13·6	23·0
Moors	59·1	17·2	59·5	15·4	40·9	82·8	40·5	84·6
Ceylon Moors . .	. .	. .	54·2	14·5	. .	. .	45·8	85·5
Indian Moors . .	. .	. .	84·1	31·6	. .	. .	15·9	68·4
Europeans	79·3	18·3	83·0	24·2	20·7	81·7	17·0	75·8
Burghers and Eurasians	51·5	8·6	53·0	10·5	48·5	91·4	47·0	89·5
Malays	56·0	9·7	55·9	4·9	44·0	90·3	44·1	95·1

With the exception of the Sinhalese and Malays (only 1 per 1,000), the other races show an increase in the percentage of *male* workers, the largest increase being amongst the Europeans, slightly over 3½ per cent., due to the increase in the number of Europeans employed on the estates and in Colombo.

The Europeans show a very high proportion of employed, 83 per cent.; 12 per cent. of the male Europeans in Ceylon are under 15. But Indian Tamils and Indian Moors show a still higher percentage of male workers, nearly 86½ and 84 per cent. respectively. All the Indian Tamils on estates from about six upwards are workers. The very large majority of the Indian Moors have only come to Ceylon to trade.

The Low-country and the Kandyan Sinhalese show decreases of 0·9 and 2·9 per cent. respectively in the proportion of male earners during the last decade. The decline is entirely due to lower proportions found in 1911 among those subsisting on ordinary cultivation. Among the Low-country and the Kandyan Sinhalese males dependent upon paddy cultivation, 52·4 and 53·7 per cent. respectively were earners in 1901, while in 1911 the proportions are 51·5 per cent. for Low-country Sinhalese and 50·2 per cent. for Kandyan Sinhalese, differences in proportion which cover the apparent decrease in workers.

The explanation is that unmarried sons living with and working under their parents were entered at this Census as dependent upon their parents, while at the last Census they were probably entered as earners (*vide* p. 461, *infra*).

The large decrease (10 per cent.) in the proportion of female earners among the Kandyans can be similarly explained. 73,096 Kandyan women were returned as earning their livelihood by ordinary cultivation in 1901, or 74 per cent. of the total number of Kandyan women workers. In 1911 there were only 37,205 Kandyan women cultivators, or 57 per cent. of the total number of earners.

Wealth in the East is frequently indicated by the number of dependents it gathers round it. The poor relation in the East is far more present to his wealthy relative than he is in the West—be it said to the credit of the East that his claim to a share is readily admitted.

"*The advantage of wealth is the maintenance of one's relatives*,"* is a Tamil saying.

There is undoubtedly a tendency to enter all women as supported by their husbands. Educated opinion has learnt that it denotes a higher standard of comfort for women folk to be unemployed. It has come to be regarded in many parts as social degradation for the women to work. The first sign of this in the villages is the decrease in the number of women entered as working in the fields.

It will be shown below that in certain professions the number of women workers is increasing. These professions all require a standard of education which the work of a cultivator does not need; the results will be seen in future generations.

Table B on page 459 shows the principal occupations followed by women, and the proportion per mille of women of each race employed in these occupations.

The largest percentage of women workers is found among the Indian Tamils, 77 per cent., due of course to the large field afforded for women's work by the planting industries. The next largest percentage of workers is found amongst the Indian Moor women, 31½ per cent., due partly to the same cause.

Europeans come third. There is an increase of 6 per cent. in the number of European women workers, 60 per cent. of whom are found in the professions, principally as nurses and school teachers.

The lowest proportion of female workers is found amongst the Malay women, only 5 per cent. of whom are employed. These women are all Muhammadans, and mostly live unhealthy secluded lives in the towns. Reference has already been made to the high rate of mortality amongst young Malay women.†

The Burghers and Eurasians show a low proportion of employed, only 1 in 10 Burgher and Eurasian women is a worker. It is a higher percentage than in 1901, but it is very low for an educated class.

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* செல்வர்க்கழகு செழுங்கிளை தாங்குதல்.

† *Vide* p. 316, *supra*.

The increase in the openings for women in the Educational, Medical, and Postal Departments, and as typists, &c., should afford employment to many Burgher women.

Table B.—Principal Occupations followed by Women of all Races in Ceylon, showing Proportion per mille of Female Earners for those Occupations.

Occupation.	Low-country Sinhalese.	Kandyan Sinhalese.	Ceylon Tamils.	Indian Tamils.	Ceylon Moors.	Indian Moors.	Europeans.	Burghers.	Malays.
Paddy land owners ..	71	353	41	..	115	..	10	..	43
Paddy land cultivators ..	47	207	15	..	55	..	..	..	..
Coconut plantation owners ..	130	16	16	..	35	..	14	67	26
Rubber plantation labourers	12	15	..	67	..	37	..	..	..
Tea plantation labourers ..	30	96	92	840	29	539	..	..	13
Rice pounders ..	..	..	50	..	166	..	..	..	23
Hopper makers ..	16	17	60	..	39	35	..	..	125
Mat weavers ..	58	..	23	..	103	..	..	..	..
Tailors, milliners, dress-makers	17	..	..	..	..	..	27	243	26
Fish sellers ..	..	..	42	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rice, paddy, grain sellers ..	..	..	120	..	11	..	..	..	..
Bread, rice cake sellers ..	20	..	..	..	35	65	..	..	344
Missionaries ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	76	..	..
Monks, nuns, &c. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	114	..	..
Nurses	..	..	..	..	..	..	167	80	..
School mistresses ..	9	..	9	..	..	..	128	146	..
Private property ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	173	17	..
House rent, shares, &c. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	51	56
Domestic servants ..	99	69	61	..	48	29	15	77	98
General labourers ..	61	85	89	18	56	149	..	..	49

A period of prosperity and an all-round increase in the standard of comfort need not necessarily synchronize with an increase in the number of the employed. The "leisured classes" are swollen by the sons of the rich; this has been noticeably the case in many parts of Ceylon, where the father has prospered, and continues to work for the sons, who continue to spend. It is not uncommon in the Western and Southern Provinces to find the villager and his wife who have prospered preserving the manners and customs of their race, while their sons, who have been sent to Colombo for their education, wear European dress, drive about in "horse carriages," and eat and drink "European food and drinks at the parents' expense."* Where increased prosperity has enabled parents to give their children a better education which secures them employment in the learned professions or makes them more intelligent land-owners, wealth is undoubtedly stimulating progress. It is only where dependents have increased at the expense of earners that improved material prosperity is likely to be attended with ill consequences to the race.

At this Census the figures for *male dependents between 20 and 30* have been compiled.

* *Vide* Chapter VI., Changes in Manners and Customs.

The total number of male dependents between these ages amongst the native races is 51,804, or 2 per cent. of the total male population of Ceylon.

The percentage of male dependents at all ages to the total number of males amongst the native races is 46 per cent.; of these, 6 per cent. are between 20 and 30.

Of the total number of males between 20 and 30 in Ceylon, 13 per cent. are entered as dependent upon others for their livelihood.

The percentage of unemployed youths is, on the whole, low, as will be explained below.

The following Table C shows those occupations in which the largest number of male dependents between 20 and 30 are found for each native race :—

Table C.—Occupations in which the largest Number of Male Dependents between 20 and 30 are found in each Native Race.

Occupation.	Number of Dependents.					
	Total.	Low-country Sinhalese.	Kandyan Sinhalese.	Ceylon Tamils.	Ceylon Moors.	Malays.
Paddy land owners ..	16,800	1,915	14,044	551	289	1
Paddy land cultivators ..	20,161	3,868	15,635	392	263	3
Cultivators (otherwise unspecified).. ..	821	196	601	22	2	—
Coconut plantations : owners, managers, and superior staff	3,824	3,507	103	72	141	1
Coconut plantations: labourers and other subordinates ..	746	451	38	210	47	—
Fishermen	584	407	—	161	16	—
Total ..	42,936	10,344	30,421	1,408	758	5
Carpenters	490	440	13	29	8	—
Total ..	490	440	13	29	8	—
Merchants	416	246	9	47	113	1
Shopkeepers and other tradesmen	403	250	14	29	106	4
Total ..	819	496	23	76	219	5
General labourers ..	808	614	100	70	24	—
Total ..	808	614	100	70	24	—
Total for *all* occupations in which there are male dependents between 20 and 30	51,804	15,740	31,337	3,099	1,563	65

By far the largest number of male dependents between 20 and 30 are found amongst the Kandyan Sinhalese, and in the occupations "Paddy land owners," on whom 14,000 male dependents between these

ages depend, and "Paddy land cultivators," on whom over 15,500 depend. The Kandyan paddy land owner or cultivator is not usually as comfortably off as the Low-country man, nor is he in a position to do more, as a rule, than support his wife and small children and, perhaps, his aged parents. As we found in the case of the Kandyan women, those who were formerly entered as workers are now entered as dependents, as the head of the family has probably alone been entered as an earner, while all those in the house, even though they assist in the field work, have been entered as dependent upon him. Similarly, no doubt, in the case of the grown-up sons and younger brothers, who live with their parents or brothers and work with them in the fields and share in the crop; these have probably been entered by the Kandyan enumerator as dependent, while in point of fact they contribute to the family expenses and earn their subsistence.

Nearly 30,000 Kandyans may then be excluded from the non-earners; while a large proportion—though not so large as amongst the Kandyans—of the Low-country Sinhalese dependent on paddy land owners and cultivators (of whom there are nearly 6,000) are probably also working for their daily bread.

The large number of young male dependents amongst the Low-country Sinhalese dependent upon coconut planters, &c. (3,500), cannot be so easily accounted for, and it is probably amongst this class that the young "leisured rich" are mostly to be found.

In certain occupations, such as fishing, carpentry, smith and mason work, and domestic service, these dependents can scarcely be assistants, as they may be in the case of traders and general labourers. Allowance must, however, be made for those suffering from an infirmity; there were 1,192 males between 20 and 30 who were blind, deaf and dumb, and insane. Also for those who are still studying—medical and legal students, &c.—and for those who are learning a trade or profession and receiving no pay.

Though these figures, as has been shown, must not be taken to represent the number of unemployed who cannot work, will not work, or need not work, they are of interest, as showing, when all allowances are made, the number of young men in this country who were entered as dependent upon others for their livelihood. Where these men were actually fellow-workers with, or assistants to, others, they must have been living in another's house. The figures do represent those who have no separate business, and probably no separate residence of their own. The large proportion of these "dependents," especially in agricultural occupations, must be unmarried men, who are living in their parents' or married brothers' houses. Where a cultivator worked in his brother's field or for his father and had a house and family of his own, he would probably not have been entered by the enumerator as dependent, but, as the principal member of the family, would have been given the occupation by means of which he supported his family.

It may, therefore, be said that though many of these 51,804 men between 20 and 30 may not be unemployed in the sense that they do no work at all, the very large majority of them are unable to support themselves and an establishment of their own without the assistance of others.

Though the number of dependents may not have decreased, there has been no lack of new openings for those in search of employment.

The following Table D gives the more important industries, &c., which were either not in existence in 1901, or only in their infancy.

Table D.—New Occupations or Occupations which have greatly developed since 1901.

Occupation.	Earners.	Dependents.	Total.
Rubber plantations: owners, managers, and superior staff	850	974	1,824
Rubber plantations: labourers and other subordinates	37,574	11,295	48,869
Fireworks makers and sellers ..	39	68	107*a*
Aerated water factory owners, manufacturers, and sellers	264	321	585*b*
Chauffeurs	322	324	646
Motor car repairers	36	34	70
Bicycle repairers	87	157	244*c*
Electric light service	170	132	302*d*
Gilders and platers	89	34	123*e*
Drainage works service	1,546	694	2,240
Waterworks service	459	169	628*f*
Broom makers	77	86	163*g*

a 1 seller; no makers in 1901.
b 25 earners in 1901.
c There was only 1 in 1901.
d Only 1 earner was entered under this head in 1901.
e There were only 5 in 1901.
f There were 74 earners under this head in 1901.
g Only 13 earners in 1901.

The *Rubber industry* is, of course, the most striking feature in this table. Though the figures for those who depend upon rubber cultivation for their livelihood include a large population of coolies and others who have been transferred from tea estates (64 per cent. are Indian Tamils), it has also afforded subsistence to a very large number of Sinhalese villagers (14,425—7,665 males and 6,760 females), who have entered work in connection with rubber plantations as their means of livelihood.* Large numbers, especially in the Ratnapura and Kegalla Districts, who were entered as paddy cultivators or land owners at the last Census, have at this Census entered rubber estate work as their means of livelihood; they have sold their lands and now rely on a daily wage for the maintenance of themselves and their families.†

There are, of course, many others who only add to their means of subsistence by working on rubber estates; all these would have entered another occupation as their *principal* occupation, and so are not included in these figures, which do not therefore show the full number of Sinhalese benefited by this new and important agricultural industry.

The figures for electric light, drainage works, waterworks service, and aerated water manufactories, &c., do not cover the full number of persons employed in these works. A large number of those entered as "general labourers" and "mechanics" were no doubt employed as day workers in these employments.

The number of chauffeurs does not represent the total number of persons to whom the motor industry has given occupation. There are

* *Vide* pp. 62, 83, 95, 111, 115, 118, 122, *supra.*
† *Vide* pp. 118 and 123, *supra.*

now well over 1,000 motors in Ceylon.* Many chauffeurs were no doubt entered as mechanics or as domestic servants only.

The whole engineering business has received a great stimulus from the motor industry, which has given employment to large numbers in engineering works as workers in iron, blacksmiths, mechanics, &c.

There have also been many new openings in Government service during the decade, which will be referred to below.

The Occupation Statistics do not show that there has been any marked decrease in the number employed in any occupation during the decade; of course, some fields of agricultural enterprise, some industries, some trades, some professions have been less popular than others; the laws of supply and demand have naturally been at work.

The only occupations which have dropped out are—in agriculture, *Sugar cane plantations*, which gave employment or an income to 358 persons in 1901, and which do not appear at all in 1911. It was practically a native industry in the Southern Province, and seems to have given way to rubber and tea. There were no persons engaged in the manufacture of sugar in 1911; there were 39 in 1901. In 1901 454 persons were employed as labourers in *coffee plantations;* in 1911 there were 4. In 1875 there were over 300,000 immigrant coolies in Ceylon, nearly all of whom were employed on coffee estates, which also gave employment to a large number of natives.

Amongst the trades there was no one in 1911 who depended entirely upon *dealing in oysters* for a livelihood; in 1901 there were 378 persons engaged in this business. An improved knowledge of the three Rs has probably taught them not to rely upon the seven for their living, and oyster trading has become subsidiary to fishing or other occupations.

103 persons were employed as *charcoal burners* in 1901; 18 were entered at this Census as engaged in this occupation. There were no *palanquin bearers* in 1911; their number in 1901 was 12; and in 1891 only 14 persons depended on this occupation. This occupation is unlikely ever to appear again in the Census tables, and those who were once obliged by caste to act as palanquin bearers are now found "emancipated" and following many occupations.

There is apparently little demand for the Ceylon-made hat; the number of *hat makers and sellers* has decreased from 76 in 1901 to 21 in 1911.

At one time pith hats were made in the jail at Hambantota, in which district the pith plant *Æschynomene aspera*, called in Sinhalese "*diyasiyambalá*" (දියසියඹලා), is found growing in tank beds. The only other hats made in Ceylon are those produced from sedges and the leaf of the Ceylon date (*Indi*) by the basket makers of Kalutara, and the palmyra leaf hats of the North. The number of hats imported is very large.†

There are certain occupations once largely followed, for which, like that of the palanquin bearer, there is little demand to-day. Such occupations are bound to die out unless they are protected by arts and crafts associations, which can help them to secure a market for goods, which to-day are objects of vertu or curiosities, for which there is a sale only in the towns. It is in many ways to be regretted that only 1 man in Ceylon was entered as depending on *carving in ivory* for a livelihood, while there were only 2 who lived by *wood carving*. In 1901 the figures were 3 and 13 respectively. From the earliest days the

* *Vide* p. 5, *supra*.

† *Vide* p. 169, *supra*.

Sinhalese have been famous as carvers in ivory. To quote one author only: "Notwithstanding all this vigilance, many elephants are killed for the profit to be got from the ivory, out of which the *Zingalas* make very curious and clever things; for their genius, industry, and application at this sort of work have made them singularly clever and marvellous workmen."*

Another industry for which the Sinhalese were long famous was the *manufacture of arms.*

"These Cingalla are very apt at manufactures and have a very cunning and delicate hand for gold and silver, iron, steel, ivory, and other materials which they work with excellent neatness. They make all sorts of arms, such as arquebuses, swords, pikes, and bucklers, which are the best and most valued in the Indies .... I never thought it possible they could show such excellence in fashioning arquebuses and other arms; more beautiful, indeed, are they in workmanship and ornament than those made here" [Goa].†

Knox also refers to the "good guns" made by the Sinhalese.‡

There were 3 gun makers and menders in 1911, one of whom was an Indian Moor, the other two Malays. In 1901 there were 7 persons who gave this occupation. The art as far as the Sinhalese are concerned is quite extinct.

There were only 6 *fan makers* in 1911, compared with 95 in 1901; of the latter, 92 were Tamils, nearly all Jaffnese. This work is only followed now as a subsidiary occupation. The demand is merely a local one. The Jaffna fans are made of palmyra leaf.

Glass bangle makers only numbered 2 at this Census and 5 at the last.

Palm leaf binding is another occupation, for which there can be very little demand nowadays; there was only one palm leaf binder in Ceylon, a Burgher—there were 3 at the last Census.

In 1891 569 persons depended upon *digging and selling roots for dyeing;* in 1901 there were 80 diggers and 14 sellers; in 1911 there were only 7 dye-root diggers; and probably at the next Census there will be none.

Digging for the choya root (*Oldenlandia umballata*) was at one time so important an industry that a special department was organized in the time of the Dutch to supervise this work, which was regarded as likely to bring in a considerable revenue. A special caste of men were employed as diggers, and the Mannar District was the principal centre of the industry.

In 1812 the *kadayar* or choya-root diggers numbered 385. It was then estimated that nearly 250,000 lb. of green root could be collected in a favourable year, which would be worth over 16,000 rix-dollars (£1,200). The principal market for the root was Madras. At first the collections were made by Government, the rent was then sold: in 1822 it realized 5,000 rix-dollars, and fell in 1830 to 60 rix-dollars. In 1831 the monopoly was abandoned. The industry was killed by the use of cheap manufactured dyes.

There were only 3 women in Ceylon who gave their occupations as *nautch girls*—there were 9 in 1901—they are Ceylon Tamils.

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* "The Rebellion of Ceylon and the Progress of its Conquest under the Government of Constantino de Sa y Norona," translated from the Spanish by Lieutenant-Colonel H. H. St. George, published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XI., p. 479.

† "Voyage of François Pyrard," Vol. II., Part I., p. 142.

‡ Knox's "Historical Relation," p. 153.

Taking now the occupations as they are arranged in the classification adopted at this Census—

The first main division A—*Production of Raw Materials*—is divided into (1) Exploitation of the Surface of the Earth, which is again subdivided into (*a*) Pasture and Agriculture, (*b*) Fishing and Hunting; and (2) Extraction of Minerals, which is subdivided into (*a*) Mines, (*b*) Salt. This class should rightly come first, for it is the most important of all in Ceylon, which is pre-eminently an agricultural country.

2,764,236 persons, or 67 per cent. of the total population, depend upon the production of raw materials for their living; and of these, 64 per cent. depend upon pasture and agriculture only. The proportions for males and females are almost exactly the same—67½ and 67 per cent. respectively.

It is unnecessary to expatiate on the well-worn theme of the importance of agriculture in Ceylon.

The following Table E shows the percentage of persons for six races in Ceylon, (*a*) employed in, (*b*) dependent upon, the principal cultivations:—

Table E, showing the Percentage of Persons for Six Races in Ceylon (*a*) employed in, (*b*) dependent upon, the principal Cultivations.

	Low-country Sinhalese.		Kandyan Sinhalese.		Ceylon Tamils.	
	Earners.	Earners and Dependents.	Earners.	Earners and Dependents.	Earners.	Earners and Dependents.
Paddy land owners and cultivators ..	248·9	300·7	705·1	774·6	158·6	202·9
Cacao cultivation ..	·7	·7	4·3	3·7	1·0	1·0
Coconut cultivation ..	119·0	137·8	12·7	13·3	58·5	46·4
Rubber cultivation ..	9·0	5·7	7·5	4·7	4·5	3·1
Tea cultivation ..	20·0	13·8	41·9	28·3	39·4	30·3
Other cultivations ..	73·4	85·2	60·5	64·5	192·6	220·8
Total ..	471·0	543·9	832·0	889·1	454·6	504·5

	Indian Tamils.		Ceylon Moors.		Europeans.	
	Earners.	Earners and Dependents.	Earners.	Earners and Dependents.	Earners.	Earners and Dependents.
Paddy land owners and cultivators ..	1·5	2·3	197·4	241·7	2·2	1·8
Cacao cultivation ..	14·0	15·0	5·1	5·7	8·1	6·1
Coconut cultivation ..	12·9	13·4	45·9	55·0	9·8	10·8
Rubber cultivation ..	63·5	61·5	2·7	1·8	30·9	24·1
Tea cultivation ..	744·9	731·4	16·6	11·6	266·7	248·7
Other cultivations ..	17·4	5·8	80·7	77·1	51·9	47·5
Total ..	854·2	829·4	348·4	392·9	369·6	339·0

It will be seen from these figures that 54 per cent. of the Low-country Sinhalese, 89 per cent. of the Kandyan Sinhalese, 50 per cent. of the Ceylon Tamils, 83 per cent. of the Indian Tamils, 39 per cent. of the Ceylon Moors, and 34 per cent. of the Europeans depend upon agricultural cultivations for their living. The Europeans are estate owners and superintendents; the Sinhalese and Ceylon Moors for the most part are small farmers cultivating their own lands; so are the Ceylon Tamils, though a large proportion of the latter are engaged in clerical work on the estates. The Indian Tamils, with very few exceptions, have no holdings of their own, and are recruited labour forces.

The following figures show the proportion per 1,000 persons of each race engaged in or dependent upon persons engaged in the production of raw materials :—

Kandyan Sinhalese	895
Indian Tamils	844
Ceylon Tamils	582
Low-country Sinhalese	578
Ceylon Moors	423
Europeans	344
Malays	199
Indian Moors	156
Burghers and Eurasians	117

From this table it appears that only 105 Kandyan Sinhalese and 156 Indian Tamils in every thousand respectively are not dependent upon the production of raw materials; the Indian Moors and the Burghers and Eurasians, on the other hand, show proportions of little more than 1 in 10 employed under this head. The Low-country Sinhalese, the Kandyan Sinhalese, the Ceylon Tamils, the Indian Tamils, and Europeans are all found in this class of occupation in a larger proportion than in any other class.

The following table shows the proportion of persons depending on the production of raw materials to a thousand persons in each Province :—

North-Central Province	861
Province of Sabaragamuwa	855
Province of Uva	854
North-Western Province	815
Central Province	812
Northern Province	601
Southern Province	594
Eastern Province	564
Western Province	503

These figures show that every Province in Ceylon is pre-eminently an agricultural one. Over four-fifths of the population in five of the Provinces depend upon the production of raw materials, the North-Central Province showing the highest proportion (861). The proportions in the Provinces on the sea coast are naturally smaller than those in the inland Provinces; but in no case is the proportion less than half. The lowest proportion (503) is found in the Western Province, which is affected not only by its situation, but also by the figures for the town of Colombo. Excluding the latter, the proportion of persons dependent upon agriculture in the Western Province is 607 per mille.

The next lowest proportion is found in the Eastern Province. This Province, though an agricultural Province, depends almost entirely upon paddy cultivation. Coconut cultivation is confined to certain areas, and only gives employment to less than 3,000 persons.

All the figures given above are further evidence of the conservative agricultural character of the Kandyan Sinhalese. They show the largest proportion depending upon agriculture, and indeed very few Kandyans earn their living in any other branch of work. The Kandayn Sinhalese Provinces also take the lead amongst the agricultural Provinces in the Island.

Taking the figures for the Districts, the highest proportion of persons subsisting by pasture and agriculture is found in the Nuwara Eliya District, where nearly 880 per 1,000 of the population depend on "Pasture and Agriculture," nearly all on the planting industries. Kurunegala and Kegalla come second, with proportions of approximately 867 per mille. The only Districts where less than half the inhabitants are dependent on pasture and agriculture are Trincomalee (483 per mille) and Mannar (419), due in the case of the former District to the number of persons engaged as general labourers, and in the case of Mannar to the number of persons engaged in fishing.

Taking now the occupations which come under the head "Production of Raw Materials" in the order in which they come in the Occupation Tables,* it is only proposed to deal with those in which any changes of interest have taken place during the decade, or which seem to call for special attention, and which have not already been referred to.

Considerable efforts were made during the decade by Government and the Ceylon Agricultural Society to encourage the plantation of *cotton*. Though the experiments made at Maha-Illuppallama and by Dr. H. M. Fernando in the North-Western Province were attended with some success, the cultivation has made little or no progress. The number of persons employed on cotton plantations in Ceylon is now less than the number ten years ago (373 in 1901; 94 in 1911).

The number of labourers on *tea* estates has increased by 18 per cent.; the increase would probably have been still greater had it not been for the transfer of labour forces in some parts from tea to rubber estates, and the adoption of improved methods of cultivation resulting in saving of labour.

There has been a considerable increase among the persons employed in the cultivation of *tobacco*. In 1901 74,905 persons depended on this occupation for their livelihood, in 1911 82,293, an increase of 10 per cent.

The number of earners in *vegetable and fruit growing* has increased 2½ times during the decade; largely owing to the early efforts of the Ceylon Agricultural Society, especially in the Southern Province there is a growing interest in vegetable cultivation. The "goiya" is beginning to find that he can add to his resources by planting up vegetables in his garden; there is a ready sale for them in the village markets.

185 persons were entered as earners in the Forest Department (Superior Staff). According to a departmental return the Forest Department were employing in August, 1911, 2,652 persons. In the same month in 1901 less than a fourth of this number were employed under this Department. Over a thousand persons earn their living by *wood cutting*.

When the English first landed in Ceylon they were not aware that wood could be obtained in any quantity, if at all.

"Our first rendezvous was Negumbo, about thirty miles north of Colombo, then in the enemy's possession. Our flotilla being drawn up in order, a landing was effected, and we found the works abandoned

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* Published as a separate volume, entitled "Occupation Statistics."

without resistance. Here, then, we landed our stores, camp equipage, &c., as also the fascines and gabions we had made, under the erroneous impression that we were not likely to find materials in Ceylon, the best wooded country in the world; and I may as well anticipate the catastrophe, by remarking, that they were afterwards all served out to the Bombay Grenadier battalion, at Colombo, for firewood! the useless cost and labour being carried to the account of experience and geographical knowledge."*

A new heading appears in the Occupation Table under *Poultry rearers;* 19 persons earn their living by this occupation. Considerable efforts have been made during the last few years by the Poultry Club to improve the breed of village poultry. The "kóli" or so-called chicken is the only food procurable, in addition to rice and curry, in very many parts of the Island.

The sub-order "Fishing and Hunting" is of importance, as it includes the well-to-do class of *fishermen*, who form a considerable percentage of the population on the western and northern coasts of the Island. The proportion of employed in this sub-order has increased by nearly 2 per mille. In the Chilaw District one person in every ten subsists by fishing or hunting.

193 persons gave their occupation as *Chank divers*. By Ordinance No. 18 of 1890 the fishing of chanks between Mannar and Chilaw is prohibited, chiefly on account of the preservation of the pearl banks. Up to 1836 the right to collect chanks at Calpentyn and Mullaittivu was rented by Government. The renter was not allowed to employ more than 600 divers, or to collect chanks below a certain size. The majority of the chank fishers are Tamils and Moors working in the Jaffna and Mannar Districts, and most of the chanks are now collected by spearing them in the mud and not by diving.

The Madras Government derive considerable revenue from a duty on chanks, which are used for cheap jewellery and for conch shells used in temples and as charms. They are frequently buried beneath the threshold, and hung on cattle as a protection against the evil eye.

Twelve persons gave their occupation as *Elephant catchers*. The method of catching elephants in Ceylon has always been detailed at great length by her historians. The wealth and fame of the Island has been connected from age to age with legends of precious stones, of mines of rubies, and of wondrous elephants. Since so many historians deal so fully with the subject, it is not proposed here to give any account of the methods adopted for catching elephants in Ceylon.

The Dutch issued minute instructions to control and regulate the capture and trade in elephants.

"A Pertinent Account And Detailed Description Of The Character. Nature, Coitus, and Production Of Elephants In The Great Island Of Ceylon, with a Further Sketch of How Those Beasts Are Tracked, Chased, and Captured In the Wild Forests; And Also How They Are Stalled And Tamed And Sold on Account Of the Hon. Dutch East India Co., compiled and published according to the knowledge which can be derived in respect thereof, not only from one's daily experience but from other clear proof presented to us, and from our own observations by Cornelis Taay van Wezel, Acting 'Gezaghebber' of the 'Commandement' of Galle, also 'Land-drost' and 'Hoofd' over the

* Welsh's "Military Reminiscences," Vol. I., pp. 26–40, quoted in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. X., p. 412.

lands of Matara, Ao 1713"*—gives us a full account of the various castes and occupations connected with the chase of the elephant in the time of the Dutch.

While there are many detailed accounts of the kraaling of elephants in Ceylon, yet little has been said of the Panikkaṉs or elephant hunters of the Mannar District.

In 1816 the Collector of Mannar reported that the business of catching elephants was "exclusively performed by a distinct class of inhabitants who were brought up to it from their infancy, make it their regular profession, and have hardly any other means of subsistence." There were then 183 hunters in the district under three Paṭṭankaṭṭis. In the same year a headman with the title of Mudaliyar was appointed over them, and was shortly afterwards dismissed.

Elephant catching is now no doubt regarded by the descendants of these men as a subsidiary occupation, for none of them were entered at this Census as depending on elephant catching for their livelihood. The Census, too, was taken in March, when they would be employed on cultivation work in their fields.

The Assistant Government Agent, Mannar, informs me that there are now (August, 1912) 30 Panikkans, 40 Annávis, and 180 other persons who assist the Panikkans and call themselves elephant catchers in the Musali and Nanaddan divisions of Mannar. All these men are Ceylon Moormen.

Sir William Twynam, in a report made to Government on elephant catching in 1871, says: "At the close of the harvest these Moormen of the Musali pattu form themselves into gangs of 10 or 12 persons under a chief called the Annávi (the others being called Panikkans), and proceed into the jungle in search of elephants. Up to about 1856 these men were the only real elephant catchers or trappers, the Rodiyas of the Kandyan districts being only employed to noose elephants caught in kraals. Their mode of procedure, as it has been explained to me, and which renders it necessary for them to carry on their operations in rather open forests, is to single out an elephant from amongst a herd, and if possible to at once throw a noose over one of the hind legs. If they cannot succeed in doing this, they irritate it into charging one of their number, who immediately runs off pursued by the elephant, which is followed by others of the gang with nooses made of hide ropes, which they endeavour to throw over the hind legs, the men in front being constantly relieved by others."

The Annávis are also skilled in the lore of the chase, able to select lucky days, and to avert evil omens. The essentials for sacrifice to a malevolent deity, which should always include a white cock and a few handfuls of rice, are invariably taken by the hunters with them.

85 elephants were caught in the Mannar District during the eleven years 1901 to 1911.

An interesting account of the Panikkans of Mannar by Mr. G. M. Fowler of the Ceylon Civil Service is to be found in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. VIII., pp. 13–17.

The *Extraction of minerals* is a sub-order of the class "Production of Raw Materials." The percentage of persons employed in connection with mines in Ceylon has decreased from nearly 9 to 6½ per mille, owing to a falling off in the number of plumbago mine workers. This industry

* Translated from the Dutch by F. H. de Vos, Barrister-at-law: Royal Asiatic Society Journal, Vols. XIV. and XV., pp. 191, 192.

has undergone many fluctuations, and the number of persons employed in mines on any one night is little indication of the present position of the industry. According to special returns sent in at the time of the Census, there were 128 mines working in the principal plumbago districts in March, 1911. The number of persons said to be employed in them was over 9,000. The actual number enumerated was 15,000, the difference being due to the inclusion of women employed in plumbago-curing yards.

496 persons gave their occupations as *gem diggers.* Tennent* records that "great numbers of persons of the worst-regulated habits are constantly engaged in this exciting and precarious trade; and serious demoralization is engendered amongst the villagers by the idle and dissolute adventurers who resort to Saffragam. Systematic industry suffers, and the cultivation of the land is frequently neglected whilst its owners are absorbed in these speculative and tantalizing occupations.

"The products of their searches are disposed of to the Moors, who resort to Saffragam from the low-country, carrying up cloth and salt, to be exchanged for gems and coffee. At the annual Buddhist festival of the perahera, a jewel fair is held at Ratnapoora, to which the purchasers resort from all parts of Ceylon. Of late years, however, the condition of the people in Saffragam has so much improved that it has become difficult to obtain the finest jewels, the wealthier natives preferring to retain them as investments; they part with them reluctantly, and only for gold, which they find equally convenient for concealment."†

To-day every gem digger has to obtain a license, for which he pays one rupee. The industry is practically in the hands of large companies or well-known traders.

The last sub-order is *Salt.* Only 314 people stated their livelihood as *salt makers.* Had the Census been taken at the time salt collections were being made in the south-west monsoon at Hambantota or Puttalam, many thousands would no doubt have returned this as their occupation.

The second class of occupations is the "*Preparation and Supply of Material Substances,*" which supports 886,702 persons, or a little over one-fifth of the entire population. This class is divided into three orders, namely, "Industrial Occupations" affording livelihood to about 11 per cent. of the population, "Transport" supporting 3 per cent., and "Trade" 8 per cent. These orders are divided into 14, 4, and 18 sub-orders respectively.

Of the "Industrial Occupations," industries connected with wood support the largest number of persons—122,692, or more than one-fourth of the number of persons subsisting by the entire order, or 3 per cent. of the population. The other sub-orders by which more than 1 per cent. of the population derive their livelihood are "Industries of Dress and Toilet" (1·8 per cent.), "Textiles" (1·5 per cent.), "Food Industries" (1·3 per cent.), and "Building Industries" (1 per cent.).

Of the 121,123 persons subsisting by "Transport," 85,407, or 21 per mille of the population, or about two-thirds of the number subsisting by this order, depend upon the occupations which come under the head "Transport by Road," 18,783 or 5 per mille of the entire population are dependent upon occupations connected with "Transport by Water,"

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* Emerson Tennent's "History of Ceylon," Vol. I., pp. 38, 39.

† "So eager is the appetite for hoarding in these hills, that eleven rupees (equal to twenty-two shillings) have frequently been given for a sovereign." (Note by Sir Emerson Tennent.)

and the rest are supported by service in the Railway and the Postal and Telegraph Departments.

Trade in food stuffs supports 144,716 persons, or a little less than two-fifths of the number subsisting by Trade. The sub-order, which comes next, affords a livelihood to over 125,000 persons—"Trade of Other Sorts"—a comprehensive designation, which embraces all the general merchants and shopkeepers, with their clerks and salesmen, and pedlars, hawkers, basket women, pingo carriers, tavalam men, &c.

The following statement shows the proportion per 1,000 persons of each race dependent for their livelihood upon earnings in the "Preparation and Supply of Material Substances":—

Indian Moors ..	585	Low-country Sinhalese ..	297
Burghers and Eurasians ..	539	Ceylon Tamils ..	278
Ceylon Moors ..	434	Indian Tamils ..	79
Malays	360	Kandyan Sinhalese ..	43
Europeans	303		

The above figures show that more than half the Indian Moors, Burghers, and Eurasians subsist by this class of occupation. The Indian Moors are traders, of whom there are 11,406 out of the 14,182 earners found in this class. Over two-fifths of the Burghers and Eurasians in this class are employed in "Industrial Occupations," principally in "Dress Industries," *e.g.*, as tailors, milliners, &c., and a similar proportion are engaged principally as mercantile clerks and salesmen.

The high proportion of Malays is due to the increasing number engaged in trade.

It is a remarkable testimony to the conservatism of the Kandyan that only 43 Kandyans in every 1,000 are found under this head, a lower proportion than is found even amongst the Indian Tamils. The Kandyan Sinhalese relies almost entirely on the Moorman or Low-country man to supply him with anything which he cannot obtain from his own field.

The following table shows the proportion of persons depending on the "Preparation and Supply of Material Substances" to a thousand persons in each Province of the Island:—

Western Province ..	329	Central Province ..	105
Southern Province ..	302	Province of Sabaragamuwa	90
Eastern Province ..	292	North-Central Province ..	89
Northern Province ..	274	Province of Uva ..	78
North-Western Province ..	106		

As is to be expected, the Western Province takes the lead in commercial and industrial importance, and shows a proportion of 1 in 3 persons engaged in occupations falling under this head. The Southern Province comes second. It is a matter of surprise to find the Eastern Province taking the third place. This is due to the large number of Muhammadan traders in the Batticaloa District and in the town of Trincomalee.

The Central Province comes only sixth, with a proportion of only 1 in 10 persons engaged in trade or commercial pursuits. Uva, with its mountain fastnesses and hilly roads, does not at present lend itself to much enterprise in trade or transport.

It is noteworthy that the last four places amongst the Provinces in order of commercial importance are taken by the four Provinces which do not touch the sea; while of the races which take the first five places

in commercial enterprise, four are non-indigenous inhabitants, who have landed on the shores of Ceylon from other countries, or who are descendants of settlers.

Taking the sub-orders under the head of "Industrial Occupations," "Textiles" comes first. They afford an occupation to 31 persons in every 2,000.

The *weavers* of to-day are a very different body of men from the important castes who were specially imported into Ceylon for the weaving of cloths, and who at one time formed separate communities on the west coast of Ceylon.

The hand weaver has had to give way here, as everywhere else, to machinery. During the decade there has been a slight revival of the weaving industry in the town of Jaffna and its suburbs. The Jaffna Industrial Company has employed weavers from India to manufacture finer varieties of cloth and teach the art to the Jaffna weavers. In the time of the Dutch a Thombu was kept of the weavers in the Jaffna District, and it was decided that all weavers should be required to live either at Nallur or Chunnakam.*

Puttalam was also at one time an important settlement of weavers, and there was extensive trade there in cloths with tavalam merchants of the Kandyan territory.

At this Census the majority of the weavers were Ceylon Moors—men and women—from Batticaloa District.

The largest number of persons employed under this sub-order are *Coir manufacturers*. Over 26,000 women, nearly all Low-country Sinhalese in the Southern Province, were engaged in this occupation.

"The whole way round the coast from Bentota to Ahangama the poorer population is more or less engaged in the preparation of coir for the market. The margins of lagoons and rivers and artificial coir pits are used for soaking the coconut husks, and the atmosphere for miles is permeated by the very offensive effluvia arising therefrom.

"All day long may be heard the 'hammer, hammer, hammer' of the women employed in beating the husks, and all along the roads may be seen men, women, and children cleaning or twisting the coir into yarn. At some places the yarn is twisted into stout cordage for shipping purposes, at others the yarn is woven into matting; but the greater part of the yarn is exported in great bales." †

The employments under the head "Textiles" give occupation to 76 per mille of the total female workers in Ceylon and to 191 per mille of the Low-country Sinhalese women workers—140 per mille of the Low-country Sinhalese women who are employed are engaged in the manufacture of coir and 29 per mille are engaged in lace-making.

The next important sub-order is "Wood," under which are included carpenters, sawyers, mat weavers, &c. Nearly 30 per mille of the population of Ceylon are dependent on industries included in this sub-order.

Carpenters have increased by 5,000 during the decade. Their wages have also increased throughout the Island. A carpenter can now earn on the average Re. 1·25 per diem in any part of Ceylon; the lowest rate quoted in district returns is 62 cents in Matara, the highest, Rs. 2·50 per diem, in Puttalam. The Public Works rates for carpenters are Re. 1·50 per diem; the local departmental rates varying from 87 cents

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* "Memoir of Ryclof van Goens, Junior" (translation by Sophia Pieters), pp. 22, 23.

† Administration Report of the Government Agent, Southern Province, for 1905, page D 13, and *vide* p. 83, *supra*.

in Jaffna to Re. 1·62 in Negombo and Badulla. The largest number of carpenters are Low-country Sinhalese, 47 per mille of the employed amongst whom are found in this occupation.

The Government Agent of the Western Province in his Administration Report for 1907 stated that there were 898 carpenters' shops in the Colombo District and 375 in the Kalutara District.

Basket-making and mat-weaving afford occupation to 14,500 women. One in every ten Ceylon Moor women who are employed is a *mat weaver*. The largest number of mat weavers, however, are Low-country Sinhalese from the Colombo District. The mat weavers of Dumbara in the Kandy District are well known for the artistic designs of their mats.

The largest number of women *basket makers* are Jaffna Tamils, who use leaves of the palmyra dyed in bright colours. Kalutara is also well known for its baskets made of Ceylon date (Sin. *Indi* = ඉඳි) leaves. There were 79 female basket makers in this District.

The next sub-order is "Metals," which gives employment to nearly 7 per mille of the population, mostly as blacksmiths and workers in iron. The daily wage of the *blacksmith* on an average throughout Ceylon is Re. 1·50 per diem; the lowest rate quoted is 50 cents in Kandy town, and the highest Rs. 2·50 in the Colombo and Puttalam Districts. The Public Works Department rate is Re. 1·50 per diem. There were over 7,400 blacksmiths at the Census, mostly Low-country Sinhalese. The occupation is now comparatively a lucrative one. In Tamil literature and proverbs the blacksmith is not represented as the strong man, as in Western prose and poetry.

"*Even the blacksmith* (*a smiter*) *boasts of his achievements.*"*

"*If the smith perceives the iron is hot, he will raise himself to the stroke.*"†

The blacksmith in the East squats on his forge and rises only when he uses his two-headed hammer.

The next sub-order is "Ceramics." The principal occupations under this head are *potters* and brick and tile makers. Pottery gives occupation to males and females in almost equal proportion (53 per cent. males, 47 per cent. females).

Women are mostly engaged in making pottery in the Colombo, Kalutara, and Batticaloa Districts.

The potter is enumerated in the list of servants and tradesmen attached to the temple on the rock of Mihintale (262 A.D.). ‡ Pottery is frequently mentioned in the "Mahawansa."

The potters were at one time a distinct caste, and Knox tells us:—

"Potters yet more inferior (than barbers) may not wear any Doublets, nor their Cloth much below the knee, nor sit on stools, neither will any eat with them. But they have this privilege, because they make the Pots, that when they are a thirst being at a Hondrew's House, they may take his Pot, which hath a Pipe to it, and pour the water into their mouths themselves: which none other of these inferior degrees may be admitted to do: but they must hold their hands to their mouths and gape, and the Hondrews themselves will pour the water in. The Potters were at first denied this Honour, upon which they joyntly agreed to make Pots with Pipes only for themselves, and would sell

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* தன்னைப்புகழாத கம்மாளனில்லை.

† இழகின இரும்பைக்கண்டாற் கொல்லன் குண்டியை மிதத்தி மிதத்தியடிப்பான். The point of the proverb is, the more one yields the harder one is beaten. නැලෙන කෙනාට දුබ්බාම ආචාරීසා පැනපැන ගහනවාලු.

‡ A sandal maker, blacksmiths, carpenters, stone-cutters, and "makers of strainers" are also mentioned.

none to the Hondrews that wanted ; whereat being constrained, they condescended to grant them the Honour above other inferior People, that they should have the favour to drink out of these Pots with spouts at their Houses." *

There is a Tamil proverb, "*If you speak familiarly with a potter, he will not respect you, nor supply you with chatties.*"†

The next important heading is "Food Industries," which give employment to 13 per mille of the population of Ceylon. The principal occupations under this head are hopper makers, rice pounders, toddy drawers, tobacco and cigar makers, bakers, and butchers.

98 per cent. of the *rice pounders and huskers* are women; 166 per mille of the Ceylon Moor women earning their living are engaged in this occupation, and 50 per mille of the Ceylon Tamil women. A woman who pounds and husks paddy in the villages is usually paid at 36 cents per bushel of rice.

Hopper making is another occupation which affords work for women. 95 per cent. of the persons engaged in this occupation are females. Women of all native races are engaged in this trade.

Rather more than two-thirds of the *butchers* and meat sellers are Muhammadans, and most of those who are not probably slaughter only sheep and goats.

Toddy drawing gives occupation to over 5,500 men, mostly Low-country Sinhalese and Tamils, who have pursued this caste occupation for generations.

The next sub-order is "Industries of Dress and the Toilet," including dhobies, tailors, and barbers. The *dhobies*, like the barbers, are a large caste. The figures given for dhobies and barbers do not indicate the numbers of the castes, as men of these two castes may be found to-day in other occupations. There were nearly 12,000 washermen and 8,500 washerwomen at the Census, with 25,434 persons dependent on them. The proportions of male and female workers in this occupation are 58·4 per cent. and 41·6 per cent. respectively.

The dhoby occupies a very important position in the life of the people of the country, as is seen from the accounts of puberty, wedding, and funeral ceremonies. There are many Sinhalese and Tamil sayings in connection with the dhoby, in several of which he is associated with the barber.

"*The arrogance of a barber and the affectation of a dhoby,*"‡ is a proverb used when inferiors give themselves airs.

"*Employ a new dhoby but an old barber,*"§ is a piece of Oriental advice.

The dhoby is also compared with persons of other professions.

"*The tricks of a goldsmith and a weaver are not equal to those of a dhoby.*"‖

"*The washerman knows the poor of the village, the goldsmith knows whose ornaments are made of fine gold.*"¶

The dhoby of the East, like the washerwoman of the West, is famous for procrastination. It is still the custom in one district of the Island at a certain period of the year for cases to be brought in the Court of

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* Knox's "Historical Relation," p. 109.

† குட்டுமானந்தப்பிக் குசவனோடே பேசினால், சட்டையும்பண்ணான், சட்டியுங் கொடான்.

‡ அம்பட்டக் கிருதம் வண்ணாரொயிலும்.

§ புதிய வண்ணானும் பழைய அம்பட்டனுந் தேடவேண்டும்.

‖ தட்டாரச் சித்து நரிச்சித்து வண்ணாரச் சித்துக்கு வாராது.

¶ ஊரில் எளியாரை வண்ணான் அறிவான் சாதிப்பொன் பூண்டாரைத் தட்டான் அறிவான்.

Requests against dhobies for clothes *lent* them. The clothes are eventually returned, the costs are paid, and the case is withdrawn.

Nearly every village in Ceylon has its dhoby and its barber. The persons who are employed in these trades do not necessarily give them as their occupation; they are probably land owners and cultivators as well. The village may be composed solely of dhobies or barbers by caste following numerous occupations. There were only 21 persons entered as dhobies amongst the Ceylon Moors, and only 2 as barbers amongst the Kandyan Sinhalese.

The *barbers* are to-day exactly as they were described by Baldæus nearly 250 years ago. "The barbers carry always a small looking glass about them; their Razors are thicker on the back than ours; they not only shave your Beard and Head but also pare your Hand and Toe nails and cleanse your ears."* More than two-thirds of the barbers are Tamils. The barber plays the same part of gossip and go-between in Eastern as in Western literature.

The Tamil term for barber, "parikári," denotes his early employment as a surgeon. Sometimes he is still called among the Sinhalese "méstri." This term is said to refer to the time when he performed dual duties. He is to-day amongst the Hindus the master of ceremonies at funerals.

The sub-order "Industries of Dress and the Toilet" supports 75,000 people, or over 18 per mille of the population.

The next important sub-order is "Building Industries," which supports 10 per mille of the population. *Masons*, of whom there are over 11,000 in Ceylon, are the principal workers in this class. A mason can earn on an average in Ceylon Re. 1·25 per diem; the local rates vary from 62 cents in Matara to Rs. 2·50 in Kurunegala and Puttalam. In the Public Works Department they are paid on an average Re. 1·25 per diem.

The heading "Industries of Luxury and those pertaining to Literature and the Arts and Sciences" is a somewhat clumsy one; it includes such diverse occupations as those of editors, printers, taxidermists, goldsmiths, jockeys, piano tuners, and toy makers. The heading does, however, embrace all these, and it would be difficult to group them under any other separate head.

7½ per mille of the population are found in this class, the largest number being *goldsmiths*, of whom there are over 8,000, half of whom are Low-country Sinhalese and over a fourth Ceylon Tamils.

The goldsmith has a bad reputation in Eastern literature:—

"*A goldsmith will pilfer the gold dust even of his mother.*"†

"*He who associates with a goldsmith is a ruined man.*"‡

The guile of the goldsmith affords an endless crop of Eastern stories. The most expert goldsmiths in Ceylon are found in Galle, Matara, and Jaffna.

The *printers and compositors* have considerably increased during the decade, as have bookbinders. On August 31, 1901, 248 persons were employed in the Government Printing Office; on the same date in 1911 there were 357 persons at work.

The next order is "Transport." We should naturally expect an increase since the last Census in the number of persons employed under this head, and we find an increase of over 3 persons in every 1,000. 59 persons in every 2,000 in Ceylon are employed in, or dependent upon

* Baldæus' "Ceylon," p. 818.
† தாய்ப்பொன்னிலும் மாப்பொன்னெடுக்கிற தட்டான்.
‡ தட்டானைத்தொட்டானும் கெட்டான்.

persons employed in, works of transport. Transport is divided into four sub-orders: (*a*) "Transport by Water," (*b*) "Transport by Road," (*c*) "Transport by Rail," and (*d*) "Post Office, Telegraph, and Telephone Services."

The largest number of workers under (*a*) are *boatmen*, of whom over 5,000 were enumerated at this Census, half of whom are Low-country Sinhalese. A very large proportion of the coolies employed in the Harbour Works are no doubt not entered as such, but come under the head of General Labourers. From a return furnished by the Resident Engineer of the Harbour Works rather over 1,500 persons were employed in the Harbour Works at the end of August, 1911; only some 500 of these were entered as "Harbour Works Service" on the Census night, possibly the number then at the Works.

Under (*b*) "Transport by Road," cart drivers of whom there were some 15,500, road coolies numbering nearly 12,500, and rickshaw coolies over 4,000, form the largest proportion. There is an increase of over 20,000 persons under this head since the last Census. Two-thirds of the *cart drivers* are Low-country Sinhalese; most of these are probably owners as well as drivers, or if they do not own the cart, hire it for the day's work.

On August 31, 1911, according to a return furnished by the Director of Public Works, 22,366 persons were employed in his Department either as permanent or temporary employés. Of these, 1,079 came under the head Supervisors, including the permanent staff; 257 were employed in clerical work; and the remainder, 21,030, were employed in manual labour, skilled and unskilled. Over 4,000 persons were employed in the Western and Central Provinces, in the former the number was 4,940; between 2,000 and 3,000 persons were employed in the North-Western, Uva, and Sabaragamuwa Provinces by the Public Works Department.

Of the 4,000 *rickshaw coolies*, 2,500 were Indian Tamils, nearly 1,000 Ceylon Tamils, nearly 500 Low-country Sinhalese. At the last Census there were only 1,488 rickshaw coolies, and they have increased by 184 per cent.

88 per cent. of the rickshaw coolies are employed in the town of Colombo. A "private" rickshaw cooly is usually paid in the town of Colombo from Rs. 15 to Rs. 17·50. In outstations the pay is higher.

There were only 120 *tavalam* men, as compared with 384 at the last Census. These men travel from place to place carrying their goods on pack animals. Improved means of transport will no doubt drive them off the road altogether.

"Transport by Rail" covers *Railway employés*, of whom 6,744 entered themselves as such at the last Census. According to a return furnished by the General Manager, the number of employés on the Railway on open lines was in August, 1911, 9,519; of these, 4,318 were employed in the Way and Works Department, 2,811 in the Locomotive, and 2,142 in the Traffic Departments. In August, 1901, the number of employés was 5,792. There has been an increase therefore in the Railway staff of 64 per cent. during the decade.

The Chief Construction Engineer, Railway Construction, reported that 3,290 men were employed in different works under his charge on August 31, 1911. On the same date there were approximately 2,600 persons employed in the Mannar Railway Extension Works.

1,350 persons were entered as dependent on *Post Office, Telegraph, and Telephone Services*. The number of permanent employés in the Post and Telegraph Department in 1911 was 2,099, of whom 678 were

employed in Colombo and 1,421 in the outstations. The number of permanent employés in 1901 was 1,367 ; the strength of the Department has thus increased by 54 per cent. during the decade. There were also 620 temporary employés working in July, 1911. The number of such employés varies considerably ; heavy construction work would require a much larger staff.

Bertolacci writing in 1816 says :—

" The establishment of the Post Office is of little importance as an object of revenue. The sum collected yearly doing little more than covering the expenses of it ; which it is only enabled to do by the natives being made to carry the packets without being paid. Certain casts received accommodessan lands from the Dutch, or were exempted from certain taxes, upon the condition of being subject to the personal one of doing the duty of carriers. At one time a regular establishment of Post Office carriers was formed, and kept on foot for several years. The service was much better performed, particularly in point of despatch ; but the establishment was afterwards found too expensive, and the old system reverted to." *

In 1911–1912 (eighteen months) the revenue obtained from the Post Office was nearly two million rupees. The number of postal and receiving offices in Ceylon is 472. The number of persons employed in the Department as postal messengers, &c., is 530, besides 273 mail runners.

The next order, " Trade," affords a livelihood to over 323,000 persons or 79 persons in every 1,000. The most important divisions of trade are " Trade in Food Stuffs," " Trade of Other Sorts," and " Textiles." The largest number of traders are found under the head *Merchants*, of whom there are over 22,500 in Ceylon ; *Shopkeepers*, of whom there are 19,000 ; *Mercantile clerks*, of whom there are 7,000 ; all these three appear under the heading " Trade of Other Sorts." A large number of retail and petty traders are no doubt included under this head.

Coming to more specific occupations, we find that over 12,000 persons have described themselves as *rice, paddy, and grain sellers*, and 9,700 persons as *bread and rice cake sellers*. In both these occupations women play almost as large a part as men, the proportions being 54 males to 46 females in every hundred rice, paddy, and grain sellers, and 53 female bread and rice cake sellers to 47 men in every hundred employed in this occupation.

Other trades which come under this head are *drapers and cloth dealers*, of whom there are 4,800 males, nearly half of whom are Moors, and less than a hundred women.

There are 1,742 *arrack sellers and tavern keepers*, as compared with 1,561 at the last Census. Bar keepers have also increased from 219 to 307, and liquor shop keepers from 234 to 289.

" *It is better to gain a quarter of a fanam by selling camphor than a kalam by selling toddy*,"† say the Tamils.

" *There came sixty men to lift up the mal-baliya of a tavern keeper*,"‡ is a Sinhalese saying, the point of which is that the tavern keeper has most friends in the village.

The sale of *jaggery* gives employment to over 800 women, mostly Low-country Sinhalese in the Colombo District, and nearly 500 men.

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* Bertolacci's " Ceylon," p. 384.

† கள்ளு விற்றுக் கலப்பணஞ் சம்பாதிப்பதைவிடக் கற்பூரம் விற்றுக் காற்பணஞ் சம்பாதிப்பது மேல்.

‡ තැබෑරුම් කාරයාගේ මල්බලිය උස්සන්ට මිනිස්සු 60ක් ආවාලු.

The *vegetable sellers* have more than doubled in number since the last Census. 5,500 people so described themselves at this Census. Women and men are almost equally divided in this occupation, as they are amongst *betel and arecanut sellers*, of whom there are over 4,600.

"Betel is pungent, bitter, spicy, sweet, alkaline, astringent, or carminative, a destroyer of phlegm, and a vermifuge, a sweetener of the breath, an ornament of the mouth, a remover of impurities, and a kindler of the flame of love. Oh, friend! these thirteen properties of betel are hard to be met with even in heaven," says the "Hitópadésa," by Vishnusarma.*

In Kandyan districts, and in some parts of the Low-country amongst the Sinhalese, in "Déwa" and Devil ceremonies and rites the very first oblation to the Dévas or demons are betel leaves, and that part of the ceremony where they are offered is called "bulat yahanawá," or "Bulat-yahan-denawá."

In social gatherings the first thing offered to the guest is the "bulat-wiṭa," chew of betel. Invitations to a wedding or other social function or festival, written or oral, must be accompanied with a betel leaf placed on a white cotton cloth. This is called "suda-piṭa-bulat-dílá-kiyanawá." When a chief issues a summons to his people to attend a working party, or assist at some festival or ceremony, he sends to each person summoned a betel leaf by a vidane, who hands over the leaf and delivers the message. When a villager solicits the aid of another in any work, a leaf of betel is handed to the person to whom the request is made. The acceptance of the leaf imposes an obligation to fulfil the required duty. When a sheaf of betel is handed with the tail end of the leaves turned towards the receiver, it is to be expected that the information about to be given is one relating to death or some other dire calamity.

When betel leaves are given placed on a piece of white cotton cloth, which is called "suda-piṭa-bulat-díma," it is imperative that the people who respond to the invitation and attend should be fed with "kẹwun-kiri-bat" and rice with seven or five curries, including venison and green peas (Sin. මුංඇට). No villager will ever fail to attend after having accepted betel offered as above described.

There are over 5,000 *tobacco, cigar, and snuff sellers*, most of whom are Ceylon Tamils. These persons now sell cigarettes in addition to Jaffna cigars and snuff, which formed their chief stock in trade.

Grass selling is an occupation followed by 3 women to 1 man, and gives occupation to nearly a thousand women, half of whom are Tamils. In Colombo they usually earn 35 cents a day.

32 persons earn their living by hiring out dresses for weddings, &c.

Glass and chinaware dealers have doubled in numbers. Both glass and china are increasingly largely used in native houses.

181 persons gave their occupation as *kerosine oil sellers*. It is probably only during this decade that any native has been able to earn a living by selling kerosine oil *only*.†

Gem dealers and jewellers have largely increased in number. There are now 979 gem dealers, of whom 866 are Moors, compared with 139 at the last Census. There are 849 jewellers, of whom 411 are Moors, as compared with 410 at the last Census.

The increasing number of passengers in Colombo affords employment to a large number of small jewellers and gem dealers, most of whom are Moormen and Sinhalese from the Southern Province.

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* Translation by James de Alwis.

† *Vide* p. 161, *supra*.

31 persons earn their living by *selling flowers*, and 149 by *selling flower garlands.* The Buddhist and Hindu religions create a great demand for flowers on all religious occasions. Sir Emerson Tennent* writes: " Flowers and garlands are introduced in its (the Buddhist) religious rites to the utmost excess. The atmosphere of the wiharas and temples is rendered oppressive with the perfume of champac and jessamine, and the shrine of the deity, the pedestals of his image, and the steps leading to the temple are strewn thickly with blossoms of the nágaha and the lotus. At an earlier period the profusion in which these beautiful emblems were employed in sacred decorations appears almost incredible; the Mahawanso relates that the Ruanwelle dagoba, which was 270 feet in height, was on one occasion 'festooned with garlands from pedestal to pinnacle till it resembled one uniform bouquet;' and at another time, it and the lofty dagoba at Mihintala were buried under heaps of jessamine from the ground to the summit.† Fa Hian, in describing his visit to Anarajapoora in the fourth century, dwells with admiration and wonder on the perfumes and flowers lavished on their worship by the Sinhalese;‡ and the native historians constantly allude as familiar incidents to the profusion in which they were employed on ordinary occasions, and to the formation by successive kings of innumerable gardens for the floral requirements of the temples. The capital was surrounded on all sides§ by flower gardens, and these were multiplied so extensively that, according to the Rajaratnacari, one was to be found within a distance of four leagues in any part of Ceylon.‖ Amongst the regulations of the temple built at Dambedinia, in the thirteenth century, was 'every day an offering of 100,000 flowers, and each day a different flower.' "¶

36 persons in Ceylon earn their living as acrobats, 122 as exhibitors of trained animals (mostly cobras, mongooses, and monkeys), 159 as fortune tellers and conjurors (these do not include astrologers), and 14 as circus proprietors.

The next class is " *Public Administration and Liberal Arts,*" under which are included Government service and the learned professions. This class gives occupation to 4 per cent. of the employed men in Ceylon, and 1 per cent. of the employed females. 3 per cent. of the total population of Ceylon depend upon occupations embraced in this class, which afford subsistence to 130,565 persons.

Distributing a thousand persons of each race according to the class of occupation by which they subsist, we find the following proportion per mille for each race in this class :—

Europeans ..	336	Ceylon Moors	28
Burghers and Eurasians ..	312	Inidian Moors ..	26
Malays	309	Kandyan Sinhalese ..	13
Ceylon Tamils ..	51	Indian Tamils ..	9
Low-country Sinhalese ..	36		

* Emerson Tennent, Vol. I., pp. 366, 367.

† " Mahawansa," Chapter XXXIV.; " Rajaratnacari," pp. 52, 53.

‡ Fa Hian, Foo Koe Ki, Chapter XXXVIII., p. 335.

§ " Rajavali," p. 227.

‖ " Rajaratnacari," pp. 29, 49. Amongst the officers attached to the great establishment of the priests in Mihintala, 246 A.D., there are enumerated, in an inscription engraven on a rock there, a secretary, a treasurer, a physician, a surgeon, a painter, twelve cooks, twelve thatchers, ten carpenters, six carters, and two florists.

¶ " Rajaratnacari," p. 103. The same authority states that another king, in the fifteenth century, " offered no less than 6,480,320 sweet-smelling flowers " at the shrine of the Tooth. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

The Europeans, Burghers and Eurasians, and Malays show by far the largest proportion of persons in this class; 1 person in 3 amongst the Europeans, rather less than 1 in 3 amongst the Burghers and Eurasians and Malays are dependent on occupations falling under this head.

The Europeans naturally come first. They are employed in large numbers in public administration and the principal professions. The largest number of European earners under any one occupation in this class is 273—*missionaries, clergymen*, &c.; 193 Europeans are *civil engineers*, 186 *Government servants.*

The majority of the Burghers are found under the head *Government Service* or *Government Clerks* (583), *Schoolmasters, teachers, &c.* (316), and *Pensioners* (339).

Of the Malays, nearly all in this class are found in the Police Department (481).

Only 13 out of a thousand Kandyans are included in this class; the workers number 7,827 in all, of whom 3,289 are Buddhist priests, and 1,338 are "ębittayás."

The Indian Tamils come last, with only 9 per mille. Practically all of them are coolies in the Drainage and Waterworks services.

The following statement shows the proportion per mille of persons dependent on "Public Administration and Liberal Arts" in each Province:—

Northern Province	51
Western Province	47
Eastern Province	36
Southern Province	35
Central Province	20
North-Central Province	19
Province of Uva	16
North-Western Province	16
Province of Sabaragamuwa	12

The Northern Province comes first. The Jaffna Tamils are well represented in all the professions in proportion to their number. The Western Province comes second and Sabaragamuwa last.

Reference has already been and will be made to the staff employed under various large Government Departments.

It is not possible to say from Census figures how many persons in Ceylon depend upon Government service for their livelihood. It may, however, be roughly estimated from the returns which were obtained from the principal Government Departments that at least 300,000 persons depended upon Government pay for their subsistence, or 7 per cent. of the total population.

The number of persons describing themselves as Government servants or Government clerks at the Census was 5,375. These figures, of course, only refer to superior officers, and omit the large body of headmen,* for whom no allowance has been made in the calculation above, the large labour forces employed in Government departments, and those persons who probably described themselves by their professions and not as Government servants, *e.g.*, civil engineers, doctors, &c.

2,373 persons were entered as earning their livelihood in the Police Department. One-third of these are Low-country Sinhalese, one-seventh Ceylon Tamils, and rather more than one-fifth Malays. The

* *Vide* p. 447, *supra.*

Low-country Sinhalese supply the largest number of Police, the Malays coming second.

According to a departmental return furnished by the Inspector General, 2,571 persons were employed in the Police Department on August 31, 1911, as compared with 1,647 persons on the same date in 1901, an increase of 56 per cent. during the decade.

14 persons were entered under the head of "Agricultural Department," which no doubt represented principal officers in the Department. There were 533 persons employed in the Department of the Royal Botanic Gardens on August 31, 1911, as compared with 150 ten years previously.

The Irrigation Department, which is also given separately in the Census return, employed on an average per mensem in 1911 3,353 persons. The permanent employés of the Department have increased from 214 to 282 during the decade.

The Colombo Municipality gave employment in 1911 to over 3,500 persons, and the Drainage Works service had 2,133 employés on their check rolls on August 31, 1911. According to the Census returns, 1,546 persons are earners in Drainage Works, the balance being no doubt included under *General labourers*, the large majority being temporary employés.

Three persons appear under the head of "Municipal and Local Board Service" as *Cattle seizers*.

Every new Ordinance gives rise to new occupations, and "*licensed opium consumer*," "*licensed cattle seizer*," "*licensed dog seizer*," "*licensed rat killer*," and even a "*member of the mosquito brigade*," are now given as occupations.

The first sub-order amongst the "Professions and Liberal Arts" is "Religion," which gives employment to 16,153 men and to 430 women.

Of the men, 7,774 are Buddhist monks; of the women, 183 are nuns; there are 113 catechists and bible women. There was one female *Hindu priestess*; no woman can perform any of the rites of the Hindu religion. This "priestess" probably inherited rights of service in temples or of *puróhita* (Tamil புரோகிதம்), and exercises her rights by appointing agents. She is no doubt maintained by the offerings made at the temple.

Of the 7,774 *Buddhist monks*, 4,440 are Low-country Sinhalese, 3,289 Kandyans, 1 European, and 44 belonged to other races, chiefly Siamese.

Fa Hian* in the fourth century was informed that there were then between fifty and sixty thousand priests in Ceylon, of whom two thousand were attached to one vihare at Anuradhapura and three thousand to another.

Spence Hardy, in his "Eastern Monachism,"† estimated the number of priests in the Island (*circ.* 1860) as not exceeding 2,500; but in his "Jubilee Memorials,"‡ writing of the Matara District, he says: "In Cordiner's time there were 2,000 priests in this district, and since that period the number has increased to a great extent." There are now 938 Buddhist priests in the Matara District.

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* Fa Hian Foe Koe Ki, Chapter XXXVIII., pp. 336 and 350.
† Spence Hardy's "Eastern Monachism," pp. 57 and 309.
‡ Spence Hardy's "Jubilee Memorials," p. 226.

From the light it throws on the age when the earning of a living may commence in the East, the following is quoted from the "Laws of the Buddhist Priesthood":—*

"A pious and faithful family who ministered to Ananda was cut off by the pestilence, only two male children, under five years of age, being left. These children having been accustomed to see the priests and minister to them, wept because they did not see them as usual. Ananda was desirous of preserving the children and admitting them into the priesthood, but they were under the prescribed age. He mentioned the case to Buddha, who enquired if the children were able to drive away the crows. He replied that they were able. Upon this, Buddha assembled the priests, and said: Priests, I permit children under five years of age to be admitted into the priesthood, if they be able to drive away the crows."

There were 3,019 *ębittayás*,†—attendants on the priests. There was one Ceylon Tamil among the *ębittayás*, the rest were Sinhalese.

948 persons were entered as engaged in vihare or Buddhist temple service; 18 women entered their occupations as *upásakas*, or religious (Buddhistic) devotees.

"An *upásakayá* is a religious Buddhist, or at least one who professes to be so, by the observance of certain precepts of Buddha called *sil* or *síla*. These precepts or obligations are—

"(*a*) Do not take away life.
"(*b*) Do not take that which is not given.
"(*c*) Do not commit adultery.
"(*d*) Do not speak that which is not true.
"(*e*) Do not use intoxicating liquors.
"(*f*) Do not use solid food after midday.
"(*g*) Do not attend at dancing, singing, music, and masquerades.
"(*h*) Do not adorn the body with flowers, perfumes, or unguents.
"(*i*) Do not use seats above the prescribed height.
"(*j*) Do not receive gold or silver.

"Of these, the first five, called *Pan-sil* or *Pancha-síla*, are considered to be obligatory on all. These five, with the next three, forming eight obligations, are called *Ata-sil*. One professing to observe these eight is called an *upásakayá*." ‡

There are 183 *nuns*, of whom 82 are Sinhalese and 81 Europeans. All the latter are no doubt Roman Catholics; it is not possible to say how many of the others are Christians or Buddhists; there are, however, very few Buddhist nuns in Ceylon.

It is remarkable that Fa Hian makes no allusion to nuns, although, in the days when Buddhism was at the height of its power in Ceylon, they must have been very numerous in the Island. The "Mahawansa" § speaks of 90,000 "Theri" (158 B.C.), and describes with enthusiasm the admission of Princess Anula and five hundred virgin neophytes,

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* "The Laws of the Buddhist Priesthood," translated by the Rev. D. J. Gogerly, published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), Vol. II., Part II., No. 6, pp. 125 and 126.

† There seems to be some doubt as to the derivation and meaning of the word. It is said to be derived from the Sanskrit *abhi*—"before, in front of, or opposite" —and *yukta*—"who or which is," so meaning "a person who is over before you."

‡ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), Vol. IV., p. 114, note to article on "Demonology and Witchcraft in Ceylon," by Dandris de Silva.

§ *Vide* "Mahawansa," Chapter XVIII. (translation by L. C. Wijesinha, Mudaliyar), pp. 72, 73.

clad in yellow, into the order, of which Sanghamitta, Mahindo's sister, seems to have been the Chief Theri, "who died in the sixty-ninth year of her ordination."

The *devil dancers* are included under the head *Temple service.* There were 1,305 of them at this Census, of whom 1,233 were Low-country Sinhalese, compared with 1,753 at the last Census.

Incantations of the devil dancers are still largely resorted to, and the belief in their efficacy is still widely prevalent.* "One of the Sinhalese kings ordered that for every ten villages there should be maintained an astrologer and a devil dancer, in addition to the doctor and the priest."†

The proportion of persons dependent on occupations connected with religion has decreased at this Census by one per mille—from 7·6 per mille to 6·6 per mille. The number is almost exactly the same at both Censuses (27,000).

One person was entered as a dervish, and 21 as sanyásis and devotees.

The next profession is that of the "Law," which supports 3 persons in every 2,000. *Barristers, advocates,* and *proctors* have increased from 366 to 562.

Nearly half the number of barristers, &c., are Low-country Sinhalese; the Burghers come next with 133.

There are 65 lawyers in Jaffna.

"The natives (of Jaffna) are also known to be very malicious and contentious among themselves, and do not hesitate to bring false charges against each other, sometimes for the sole purpose of being able to say that they gained a triumph over their opponents before the Court of Justice. They are so obstinate in their pretended rights that they will revive cases which had been decided during the time of the Portuguese, and insist on these being dealt with again. I have been informed that some rules have been laid down with regard to such cases by other Commandeurs some 6, 8, 10, and 20 years previous, which it would be well to look up with a view to restrain these people. They also always revive cases decided by the Commandeurs or Dessaves whenever these are succeeded by others, and for this reason I never consented to alter any decision by a former Commandeur, as the party not satisfied can always appeal to the higher court at Colombo,"‡ wrote Hendrick Zwaardecroon, Commandeur of Jaffnapatam, in 1697.

Petition and pleading drawers and translators are all included under the majesty of "Law." Their numbers have increased from 156 in 1901 to 217 at this Census. Hendrick Zwaardecroon seems to have had the same trouble with the petition drawers of Jaffna as with others of this "perverse race." "I must recommend to Your Honours here to see that in future no petitions with regard to fines are written for the inhabitants except by the Secretaries of the Political Council or the Court of Justice, as those officers in India act as Notaries. This has to be done because the petitions from these rebellious people of Jaffnapatam are so numerous that the late Mr. Blom had to forbid some of them writing such communications, because even Toepasses and Mestices take upon themselves to indite such letters, which pass under the name of petitions, but are often so full of impertinent and seditious expressions that they more resemble libels than petitions. Since neither superior nor inferior persons are spared in these documents it

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* *Vide* pp. 260, 261, *supra.*

† *Vide* Sir Emerson Tennent's "History of Ceylon," Vol. I., pp. 370–373, and the same author's "Christianity in Ceylon," Chapter V., p. 236, and also p. 487, *infra.*

‡ "Memoir of Hendrick Zwaardecroon" (translation by Sophia Pieters), p. 50.

is often impossible to discover the author. Whenever the inhabitants have any complaint to make, I think it will be sufficient if they ask either of the two Secretaries to draw out a petition for them in which their grievances are stated, which may be sent to Colombo if the case cannot be decided here. In this way it will be possible to see that the petitions are written on stamped paper as ordered by the Company, while they will be written with the moderation and discrimination that is necessary in petitions." *

More than half the petition drawers are Low-country Sinhalese. The Europeans and Veddas alone are unrepresented in this occupation.

The next sub-order is the *Medical Profession*, on which 20,000 persons depend, or 5 in every 1,000 in Ceylon. There has been an increase of 5,000 persons dependent on this profession since the last Census, due to the increase in the number of physicians and medical practitioners. There were 1,246 *physicians* at this Census, compared with 353 at the last. It is possible, however, that many Government medical officers then entered themselves as Government servants. *Apothecaries* have also increased from 360 to 561; *oculists* from 40 to 70. 740 persons entered themselves as hospital orderlies, attendants, &c.; they were not separately entered at the last Census. Only 18 women were entered as *nurses* at the 1901 Census; at this Census 377 were so described; of these, 119 are Europeans, 112 Burghers, and 100 Low-country Sinhalese. A large number of these nurses should no doubt have been included under "Domestic Service."

From a return furnished by the Principal Civil Medical Officer there were 2,443 persons employed in the Medical Department in August, 1911, of whom 2,019 were men, 424 women. Ten years previously the number was 1,688, of whom 1,447 were males and 241 females. There have been increases of 40 and 76 per cent. in the number of males and females employed in the Medical Department during the decade.

There were 49 nurses in the Medical Department in 1901 and 119 in 1911. The apothecaries in the Department have increased from 222 to 255; vaccinators from 117 to 136.

Of the medical practitioners, nearly half are Ceylon Tamils, who are double the number of the Sinhalese. The Low-country Sinhalese come next, and the Burghers third.

While the medical fraternity have increased in all the branches mentioned, *vedarálas* have decreased from 3,424 in 1901 to 2,810 in 1911—a decrease of 18 per cent.

There has been considerable controversy as to the merits and methods of *vedarálas*. It can, however, scarcely be disputed that amongst them there are men of considerable knowledge, experience, and skill, while many of their remedies have been proved to be wonderfully efficacious. It would be idle to deny the immense value of herbs, as it would be foolish to suppose that those who have studied the medicinal plants of their own country are ignorant of their properties.

Many *vedarálas* have undoubtedly performed successful operations as oculists and as bone-setters; while their treatment of dysentery and certain bowel diseases, abrasions, sores, and even snake bites have been in many cases successful.

Knox says: "Here are no Physitians nor Chyrurgeons but all in general have some skill that way, and are Physitians and Chyrurgeons to themselves. Their Medicines they make of the leaves that are in

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* "Memoir of Hendrick Zwaardecroon" (translation by Sophia Pieters), pp. 46, 47.

the Woods, and the barks of Trees. With which they purge and vomit themselves, and will do notable cures upon green wounds, and also upon sore eyes...... As there are in this Countrey very many Poysonous Plants, and Creatures, so the People have Excellent skill in the healing thereof...... They are oftentimes stung with Venomous Serpents, upon which sudden death follows without speedy help : But if the bite be taken in time, they can certainly cure themselves, and make nothing of it. Which they perform both by Herbs and Charms...... But to cure inward diseases they are not excellent."*

The more advanced amongst the *vedarálas* adopt quinine and many other drugs from the pharmacopœia of the West in treatment of cases brought to them.

Of course there are many ignorant *vedarálas.* As the Sinhalese sarcastically observe: "*Although Tambi Appu cannot read and write, yet he is also a vedarála.*"†

"*One who has killed a thousand patients is half a physician.*"‡

The medical profession is held in the highest esteem among the Sinhalese.

"*If one cannot be a king one should be a physician,*" is a well-known Sinhalese saying.

There were 29 female *vedarálas.* There was an interesting case recently in the Supreme Court, in which the daughter of a famous *vedarála* successfully defended her right to describe herself on the signboard of her residence as "Morawaka Hamine," and as "practising in surgery, curing fractures, and dislocations." The Commissioner of Requests in his judgment said that this family of *vedarálas* had "acquired such a wide reputation that the family name 'Morawaka' has passed into a household word and become almost synonymous with 'doctor.' 'To go to Morawaka' became equivalent to saying one must go and get treated by one of the *vedarálas* of this famous family."

The next profession is headed "Instruction." 67 per cent. of the persons employed in this profession are males and 33 per cent. females. In all it supports 15,500 persons, or nearly 4 per mille of the population. The number of persons depending on "Instruction" has increased by 5,000 during the decade. There were 4,690 *schoolmasters and teachers*, as compared with 3,126 in 1901, or an increase of 50 per cent.; and 2,269 *schoolmistresses and teachers*, as compared with 1,507 in 1901, an increase of 51 per cent.

The Estimates of 1901 provided for 807 persons in the Department of Public Instruction, the Estimates for 1911–12 provided for 1,328—an increase of 65 per cent.

Governesses have increased from 36 in 1901 to 70 in 1911, 40 of whom are Burghers and Eurasians and 24 Europeans.

Of the Kandyan Sinhalese, only 912 depend upon educational employment, as compared with 7,176 Low-country Sinhalese and 5,001 Ceylon Tamils.

The last head is "Letters, Arts, and Sciences." The largest number of persons employed under this head are *Tom-tom beaters* (1,310)—an "art" which, though numerically it takes the lead, would not "jump to the eyes," though perhaps to the ears, as foremost amongst 'Letters, Arts, and Sciences." More than half the tom-tom beaters are Low-country Sinhalese.

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* Knox's "Historical Relation," pp. 181–184.

† ලියන්ට කියන්ට බැරිවුණත් තම්බිඅප්පුත් වෙදරාළයි.

‡ ஆயிரம் பேரைக் கொன்றவன் அரைப்பரிகாரி.

Land surveyors come second, and have increased from 170 at the last Census to 951 at this ; the majority of these men are probably working on their own account.

From a return furnished by the Surveyor-General 3,511 persons were employed in his Department on August 31, 1911, as compared with 1,667 ten years previously, or an increase of 111 per cent.

Painters come next and number 945, of whom 778 are Low-country Sinhalese. They have increased from 706 in 1901.

Artists, who probably differ little from the last named, have increased from 70 to 257. There has been little evidence of any marked ability amongst these "artists," though in many viharas there is evidence of their crude inartistic work. "Pictures of street lamps, clocks, and what not of that sort, and in one of the worst cases (at Ganigoda Vihara) a picture of a clerk at his table with his topee and pipe beside him ...... The beautifully conventionalized and restful traditional style is abandoned in favour of a weak and ineffective realism, so that the inside of a vihara whose walls were once covered with worthy and decorative paintings are now much like an ill-drawn Christmas card."*

Photography has undoubtedly considerably progressed during the decade. The number of persons who earn their living as *photographers* has increased from 71 to 141.

There has also been a considerable demand amongst the wealthier classes for music lessons for their daughters, and the number of *music teachers* has increased from 143 to 251, 203 of whom are Tamils. It is probable that the lessons given by most of the latter are restricted to instruction in the melody of the "lily flute," a cheap harmonium.

There are 50 persons who earn their living as *astronomers*, 34 of whom are Low-country Sinhalese. Their principal work appears to be the calculation of the Ephemeris, or *Panchángam*, for the native almanacs.

"But the Common sort of Astronomers are the Weavers. These men can certainly foretel Eclipses of the Sun and Moon. They make Leet, that is Almanacks that last for a Month. They are written upon a Tallipot leaf, a little above a foot long and two fingers broad. In them are told the Age of the Moon and the good Seasons and times to begin to Plough or to Sow or to go a Journey or to take any work in hand. At this precise time they will be sure to sprinkle their first Seed, tho they sow all their Field it may be a Month after. And so they will begin to set forth at the very moment, tho possibly they will not go their Journey till some days after. These Astronomers tell them also when the old year ends to the very minute. At which time they cease from all work, except the Kings, which must not be omitted," writes Knox.†

The sister science of Astrology claims 468 earners under this head, 10 of whom are women. Their number has increased by nearly 200 since the last Census.

The *astrologer* has always occupied a very important position in the country. Reference has already been made to his ability to make or mar a name-giving ceremony, a betrothal, or a wedding. His advice is sought in all the important crises of life, and whenever the unexpected happens. The horoscope prepared by a famous astrologer is implicitly trusted and scrupulously followed.

* "An open letter to Kandyan Chiefs," by A. K. Coomaraswamy, published in "Ceylon Pamphlets," pp. 5, 6.

† Knox's "Historical Relation," p. 176.

"*A physician will not leave until death, an astrologer will not leave even then*,"* say the Tamils.

It is recorded that "Dutugemunu in the second century before Christ after his Victory over Elala commended himself to his new subjects by his fatherly care in providing a doctor, an astronomer, and priest to each group of 16 villages throughout his Kingdom"†; he consulted an astrologer as to the proper day of the moon on which to lay the foundation of the great religious buildings erected by him.‡

King Bujas Raja (339 A.D.) appealed to still greater popularity by adding to the village establishment "an astrologer, a devil dancer, and a preacher."§

"These Astronomers, or rather Astrologers, are skilful in the Knowledge of the Stars and Planets, of which they reckon nine: 'tis supposed they may add the Dragon's Head and Tail. By which they pretend to foretell all things concerning the health and recovery of Sick Persons; also concerning the fate of Children born, about which the Parents do presently consult them, and Save their Children or Kill them according to the fortunate or unfortunate hour they tell the Parents they were born in."||

One of the Low-country Mudaliyars reports that the villagers are now beginning to consult foreign astrologers; "the native astrologer bases his calculations as of old on the influence of nine planets, whereas the modern men base theirs on eleven planets. This is getting to be known even in the villages."

Actors, dancers, and singers have decreased in number from 216 to 86. It is possible that some of them now call themselves "artists." Half these people are Indian Tamils; Tamil plays are acted regularly at the Tamil theatre in Colombo.

There are several references to the drama having existed in the early Sinhalese times in the "Mahawansa." We read of King Pandukabhaya (437–367 B.C.) having "caused joyous spectacles representing the actions of the dévas as well as of mortals to be exhibited "¶ at Anuradhapura.

King Parakrama Bahu (1164–1197 A.D.), we are told, "chose from among the Tamils and other strangers such as were skilled in singing and dancing and induced them to assume the guise of such as wander about displaying puppet shows and other sports."** The same King "caused a theatre to be built, the Sarassati Mandapa, hard by his palace, that so he might listen to the sweet and melodious singing of diverse singers and witness the delightful dance." ††

The Sinhalese are also fond of performances of "marionettes," *rúkada-neṭíma* (රූකඩ නැටිම), in which the ordinary occupations of village life are represented, and "comic dances," *kólan-neṭíma* (කෝලන් නැටිම), where masked players imitate the antics of wild animals.

By resolution of Council of December 20, 1659, the Dutch Government decided to expel all "dancing women and other useless people by which the Company suffered a loss" from the sixty villages they inhabitated in the Weligam and Galle korales. These people were

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* சாகிற வரையில் வைத்தியன் விடான், செத்தாலும் விடான் பஞ்சாங்கக்காரன்.

† "Rajaratnakara," p. 40.

‡ *Vide* "Mahawansa," Chapter XXIX. (translation by L. C. Wijesinha, Mudaliyar).

§ Turnour's "Epitome," p. 27.

|| Knox's "Historical Relation," p. 177.

¶ "Mahawansa," Chapter X. (translation by L. C. Wijesinhe, Mudaliyar), p. 43.

** *Ibid.*, Chapter LXVI., p. 115.

†† *Ibid.*, Chapter LXXIII., pp. 162 and 163.

probably of the Oliya caste. To-day this caste is found following many occupations.

"Persons living on their Income" is the last subdivision of the class "Public Administration and Liberal Arts." The majority of these are *Pensioners*, of whom there were 1,955 at this Census, 1,384 men and 571 women.

The next class is entitled "Miscellaneous." It includes "Domestic Service" and persons whose occupations were described in general terms which did not admit of their being classified under any other head.

This class includes 324,809 persons, 182,840 males, 141,969 females, or 79 per 1,000 of the total population.

On "Domestic Service" 85,566 persons depend for their living, or nearly 21 persons in every 1,000. The proportions per mille of the different races in this order are as follows :—

Malays	73
Indian Moors	63
Low-country Sinhalese	27
Burghers and Eurasians	22
Indian Tamils	20
Ceylon Tamils	19
Ceylon Moors	15
Kandyan Sinhalese	11
Europeans	10

Percival, writing in 1803, says: "The Dutch, to avoid the expense of keeping coast servants, introduced the practice of rearing slaves of the African casts, and employing Malays, who made very excellent cooks and gardeners, and indeed good servants in every respect although they were kept for a trifle in comparison of the others. It would still greatly reduce the expense if the native Ceylonese could be employed for domestic purposes. The general idea, however, is, that from their dispositions and habits they are but ill calculated for them ; it is particularly complained of that they are very inexpert and ignorant in the management of horses. I cannot, however, see why these objections might not be obviated if they were early trained to the different offices of a servant. It would be a means of introducing European manners and ideas among the natives, and would likewise retain in the island a portion of wealth that is carried off by strangers."*

Cordiner, writing in 1807, also complains that servants cannot be procured amongst the natives of this country, and that consequently wages are high.

"The expence of living in Ceylon is equal to that of any other of our Indian settlements. The necessary articles of food and the wages of servants are much dearer. Both of these are the consequence of the unimproved state of agriculture, and the small quantity of rice which is raised in the island. The expence of servants is rendered unusually great, from the circumstances of persons employed in that capacity not being natives of the country. The first English inhabitants who settled in Ceylon necessarily went from our older Indian establishments, and for the sake of comfort and convenience carried their domestics with them. Of course a sufficient allowance must be given to them, to enable them to live in the manner to which they were formerly accustomed. But were the natives of the island employed in the room of these strangers, this article of expence would be much

* Percival's "Ceylon," p. 120.

diminished, and greater economy, at the same time, introduced into every branch of the domestic establishment. The Cingalese, in particular, can be depended upon for their honesty, and knowing the real value of every thing in the market. The only thing against them is, that, not having been accustomed to this line of life, pains must be bestowed in instructing them. They are now, however, beginning to be employed, and promise to afford general satisfaction. The Dutch settlers in Ceylon use no other servants but slaves, a family of whom always composes part of their household."*

The figures for races show that there is no longer any considerable ground for these statements, though a large number of the domestic servants still come from India.

Nearly half the male *domestic servants* and nearly three-fourths of the female servants are Low-country Sinhalese. Indian Tamils come second in the number of male domestic servants, most of these being house coolies, garden coolies, and rickshaw coolies.

The Kandyans come second in the number of female domestic servants.

The Low-country Sinhalese also supply nearly half the *watchers*, Indian Tamils being second, and Malays third.

More than half the *gardeners* are Indian Tamils, who also supply more than half the *horsekeepers*. There are, however, 428 Sinhalese horsekeepers.

Of those who entered themselves as *Chauffeurs* (322), the largest number are Burghers (119), followed closely by the Low-country Sinhalese (115).

The high proportion of Indian Moors is due to the large number employed as cooks, &c., in boutiques.

The wages of all classes of domestic servants have greatly increased during the decade. From a return furnished by the Registrar of Servants the following are the average monthly wages now paid in Colombo :—

	Rs.	c.
Bungalow-keeper or butler	25	0
Cook-appu	22	50
Cook	20	0

The Chief Municipal Inspector reports that " The native industries, such as plumbago, cinnamon, cardamoms, fibre, &c., have with their corresponding growth found occupations for large numbers of employés, chiefly women, so much so that great difficulty is at present experienced among the respectable Ceylonese families to obtain good female servants as cooks and ayahs consistent with their income."

	Rs.	c.
Ayah	20	0 and tea
Second servant or dressing boy ..	17	50
Horsekeeper	17	50
Rickshaw cooly	17	50 and batta
House cooly	16	0
Garden cooly	16	0

The gardener in the East has no better reputation than his confrère in the West.

" *The thief is found to be the gardener.*"†

" *If a thief and a gardener combine one may steal till day light.*"‡

* Cordiner's " Description of Ceylon," pp. 80, 81.

† கள்ளனுந் தோட்டக்காரனும் ஒன்று.

‡ கள்ளனுந் தோட்டக்காரனும் ஒன்று கூடினால் விடியுமட்டுந் திருடலாம்.

"*The fence has destroyed the crop*,"* that is to say, its protection has proved its destruction.

			Rs.	c.
Kitchen cooly ..	..	..	12	50
Podian ..	..	..	10	0

Wages vary considerably in the outstations.

As has been stated above, many chauffeurs no doubt entered themselves as mechanics, or under the head "Domestic Service." They have, however, recently agitated to be treated as a separate class, distinct from *Domestic servants*. Their pay in Colombo averages Rs. 75 per month.

There has been a decrease from 2,438 to 1,755 in the number of horsekeepers, partly due no doubt to the introduction of motors.

The 243 persons entered as *Inmates of asylums, institutions, and hospitals*, when dependent upon the institution," do not, of course, represent the total number of persons in asylums, institutions, and hospitals on the night of the Census, but only those who were unable to give an occupation previously followed, and who have probably been in these institutions from their earliest years.

The total number of persons enumerated in jails, asylums, and hospitals on the Census night was 7,607.

Under the head of "Beggars, Vagrants, and Prostitutes" 7,588 persons were enumerated as earners and 4,622 as dependents, in all 12,210 persons.

There were 4,312 males and 2,809 females who stated that they earned their living by begging, as compared with 3,380 males and 2,519 females in 1901—increases of 28 per cent. of male beggars and 12 per cent. of female; 1,187 or 17 per cent. of the beggars in the Island were enumerated in the town of Colombo.

Vagrancy in Colombo is a serious problem. During 1910 65 vagrants were picked up dead in the streets, and during the first half of 1911 52, a total of 117 for the eighteen months. The number sent to hospital by the police in a more or less emaciated and moribund condition for the same period was 639.

Of these beggars, 1,113 men and 336 women were Indian Tamils. The number of male Indian Tamil beggars is larger than for any other race. One in every 271 male Indian Tamils is a professional beggar. Low-country Sinhalese come next, then Kandyans, then Ceylon Moors, then Ceylon Tamils. The largest number of female beggars who earn their living as such are Low-country Sinhalese, the Ceylon Moors coming second.

Six per mille of the female earners in Ceylon gained a livelihood by begging. 3,429 persons entered themselves as dependent on beggars.

There are 10,550 persons in Ceylon, or 1 in 389 of the population at this Census, who depended on public or private charity for a living.

The number of declared *prostitutes* was 161, 104 of whom were Low-country Sinhalese, 22 Ceylon Tamils, 14 "Other races," 11 Kandyans, and 10 Europeans.

We have hitherto dealt with the *principal occupations* and their classification and subdivision.

In addition to the information which was given in regard to principal occupations, *subsidiary occupations* were also stated.

It was decided only to tabulate these in respect of four occupations, viz., land owners, cultivators, traders, and Government servants, and in the case of each of these four, only where the principal occupation was stated to be one of the three other occupations, the object being

* வேலி பயிரைத் தின்றது.

to show how many persons following these occupations also followed one of the other three. It was decided further to obtain this information in respect of fishermen, as being a large and representative class.

Taking, then, these five principal occupations :—

(*a*) *Land owners.*—There were 236,541 male land owners at the Census, of whom 23,366 or 10 per cent. were also cultivators, 6,714 or 3 per cent. were also traders, and 1,234 or ·5 per cent. were also Government servants.

The percentage of land owners who are also cultivators is probably very considerably below the mark. As has been stated above, in the case of paddy cultivation the land owner is generally the cultivator of his own land.

(*b*) 304,346 men gave *cultivation* as their principal occupation. Of these, 39,914 or 13 per cent. gave ownership of land as a subsidiary occupation, 3,311 or 1 per cent. followed trade as a subsidiary occupation, 664 or ·2 per cent. added to their income by Government service.

(*c*) Of the 97,511 men in *trade*, 5,329 or 5 per cent. claimed to own land, 4,543 or 5 per cent. admitted to cultivating it, and only 18 or ·02 per cent. added to their income by Government Service.

(*d*) Of the 8,949 *Government servants*, 1,915 or 21 per cent. derived an income from land, probably in nearly all these cases the subsidiary was in fact the principal occupation, 628 were also cultivators, and 48 added to their income by trading on their own account; that is to say, 2,591 Government servants or 29 per cent. of those entered as such were either land owners, cultivators, or traders, in addition to being Government servants.

(*e*) Of the 29,329 *fishermen*, comparatively few, as might be expected, followed a subsidiary occupation; 804 or 3 per cent. were also land owners, 475 cultivated as well as fished, and 197 also traded. Most of these were probably fish sellers as well as fishermen; one fisherman gave Government service as a subsidiary occupation.

These figures are given for what they are worth. They show to some extent what occupations are combined in Ceylon, but it may be safely asserted that they understate the facts.

As has been shown in the early part of this chapter, distinctions and differences in stating occupations must considerably affect any attempt to draw fixed lines between occupations which practically overlap.

It is an open question as to whether the returns of subsidiary occupations repay the trouble taken in collecting them. Subsidiary occupations are of interest if they show (*a*) dual occupations or occupations which are usually combined; or (*b*) occupations which are not in themselves self-supporting, that is to say, where the classification shows that in the case of certain occupations subsidiary occupations are always followed; or (*c*) supplementary occupations, that is to say, occupations which are followed out of office hours or at odd times as additional means of support. Such information is not, as a rule, obtained at an Eastern Census.

Dual occupations are not differentiated. The fisherman who owns his boat is entered as a fisherman and nothing else. The carter who drives his own cart for hire is only entered as a cart owner.

The self-supporting character of the native village, which is practically for economic purposes a water-tight compartment, makes subsidiary occupations as additional means of livelihood exceptional.

Racial and caste prejudices frequently make it difficult for a man in the East to follow any other occupation than that in which he has been brought up, or one which is not directly associated with it.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ESTATE POPULATION.

Number of Estates—Average Number of Persons to an Estate—Proportion of Males to Females—Birthplaces—Sinhalese on Estates—Estate Population by Provinces and Districts—Distribution of Estate Population by Age—Number of Children to a Family—Estates with the largest Population in each District—Indo-Ceylon railway.

It is not proposed in this chapter to insert many tables dealing with the Estate Population, nor to discuss at length the figures for the estates, as a separate volume has been issued dealing exclusively with the estate population.

The estates volume is sent free, on application, to all Estate Superintendents and others who enumerated their own estates on the night of March 10, 1911. Statistics are therein given for the estate population of the Island by sex, race, religion, age, civil condition, and birthplace, and particulars by sex, race, religion, and literacy for each estate in the Island.

It may however be of use to recapitulate briefly here some of the principal facts concerning the estate population which can be obtained from the Census figures.

The total number of estates enumerated at this Census was 1,833, as compared with 1,857 at the Census of 1901.

An estate was defined both at the 1901 and 1911 Censuses as a land "twenty acres or more in extent, on which there are ten or more resident coolies or labourers" (Census Ordinance, No. 9 of 1900, section 15).

The decrease of 24 in the number of estates is only apparent, for 96 estates (56 in the Jaffna District and 40 in the Batticaloa District) which at the last Census were enumerated by their Estate Superintendents were at this Census enumerated by the ordinary village enumerators. The labour forces on these estates, which were all coconut estates, were local and not imported labour; they have been included in the general population of the Island.

The number of estates would therefore appear to have increased by 72 during the decade. This increase gives no indication of the large extent of land brought under cultivation during the decade. According to Ferguson's Directory the extent of land under tea cultivation in 1901 was 387,000, in 1911 395,000, to which must be added an estimated extent of 215,000 acres under rubber.

In many cases small estates shown separately at the Census of 1901 have been amalgamated into single properties or groups.

The figures in Table A below show that the average number of persons to an estate in 1911 was 280 as compared with 238 in 1901. Improved methods of cultivation have considerably reduced the labour forces on many of the older estates, but labour has been diverted to new clearings for rubber, &c.

The following Table A shows the estate population by sex at the five Censuses of 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901, and 1911, the increase per cent. during each decade, and the average number of persons to an estate.

Table A.—Estate Population, 1871-1911.

Year.	Total Estate Population.	Males.	Females.	Percentage of Increase since previous Census.	Average Number of Persons to an Estate.
1871	123,654	81,362	42,292	—*	124
1881	206,495	124,692	81,803	66·99	117
1891	262,262	155,430	106,832	27·01	178
1901	441,601	246,922	194,679	68·38	238
1911	513,467	278,558	234,909	16·27	280

The comparative decrease in the supply of labour between 1901 and 1911 as compared with the period 1891 to 1901 has already been referred to.†

The following statement shows the proportion of males to females in every thousand persons in the estate population of the Island at each of the Censuses 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901, and 1911 :—

	Males.	Females.
1871	658	342
1881	604	396
1891	593	407
1901	559	441
1911	542	458

It will be seen that while the females in 1871 amounted to only about half the number of males, their relative proportion at each successive Census has considerably increased. The explanation probably is that more families now migrate to Ceylon. Ramasamy brings his wife and children with him instead of leaving them on the Coast. Of the estate population 153,493, or nearly thirty per cent., were born in Ceylon. The more women there are amongst the immigrant population the more likelihood is there of labour becoming settled and not migrating to other countries. Both males and females of course find employment on the estates.

Sixty-nine per cent. of the estate population consists of Indian Tamils from the Madras Presidency. The following table shows the birthplaces of the estate population born in India :—

Table B.—Birthplaces of the Estate Population born in India.

Indian Birthplaces.	Males.	Females.	Persons.
Ajmer Merwara	—	—	—
Andamans and Nicobars	—	—	—
Baluchistan	4	—	4
Bengal	145	120	265
Bombay	829	347	1,176
Burma	38	24	62
Central Provinces and Berar	13	8	21
Coorg	3	—	3
Madras	190,060	165,399	355,459
Anantapur	58	79	137
Bellary	184	145	329
Chingleput	3,346	2,872	6,218
Cochin	263	163	426
Coimbatore	4,583	3,673	8,256
Cuddappah	314	251	565
Ganjam	37	36	73
Godavari	430	324	754
Kistna	993	389	1,382
Kurnool	59	216	275

* No Census previous to 1871.

† *Vide* pp. 41, 59, and 64, *supra*.

Indian Birthplaces.	Males.	Females.	Persons.
Madras—*contd.*			
Madura	32,082	30,269	62,351
Madras	3,700	2,594	6,294
Malabar	1,978	1,658	3,636
Mysore	3,695	2,811	6,506
Nellore	422	259	681
Nilgiri	155	128	283
North Arcot	8,378	7,314	15,692
Pudukotah	8,374	7,497	15,871
Salem	18,865	16,102	34,967
South Arcot	6,520	5,347	11,867
South Canara	329	308	637
Tanjore	25,962	22,275	48,237
Tinnevelly	17,333	14,151	31,484
Travancore	2,869	2,115	4,984
Trichinopoly	48,790	44,139	92,929
Vizagapatam	327	280	607
Unspecified	14	4	18
N. W. F. Province	199	110	309
Punjab	341	367	708
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	3	—	3
Goa	4	5	9
Kashmir	12	7	19
Unspecified	2	—	2
	191,653	166,387	358,040

The Sinhalese and Ceylon Tamils form only a very small proportion of the estate population, as will be seen from Table C below, which gives the proportions by sex of the different races in the estate population at the Censuses of 1901 and 1911. The figures for Ceylon and Indian Tamils and Moors separately are given for the first time at this Census, and cannot be compared with previous Censuses :—

Table C.—Distribution per cent. of the Estate Population according to Race and Sex.

	Males.		Females.	
	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.
Low-country Sinhalese	4·39	6·28	2·87	3·37
Kandyan Sinhalese	1·72	2·71	1·93	2·35
Tamils	91·37	87·85	93·08	91·56
Ceylon Tamils	—	3·63	—	3·99
Indian Tamils	—	84·22	—	87·57
Moors	1·05	1·14	1·01	1·04
Ceylon Moors	—	·39	—	·35
Indian Moors	—	·75	—	·69
Europeans	·58	·59	·33	·31
Burghers and Eurasians	·33	·34	·30	·31
Malays	·24	·23	·24	·25
Others	·32	·86	·23	·81

From the figures in this table it will be seen that both the Low-country Sinhalese and Kandyans show increased proportions at this Census, while the Tamils, the vast majority of whom as stated above are Indian Tamils, show diminished proportions. The increased employment of Sinhalese labour on estates* is due principally to the rubber "boom," which has given employment to large numbers of villagers. It must be realized, too, that these figures only represent the *resident* population on estates, or persons enumerated on estates on

* *Vide* pp. 41, 46, 53, 59, 61, 83, 94, 95, 111, 112, 115, 118, 123, *supra*.

ILLUSTRATION SHOWING THE PROPORTIONS
WHICH THE ESTATE POPULATION AND THE PREDOMINANT RACE BEAR
TO THE TOTAL POPULATION IN CERTAIN PROVINCES IN.

CEYLON

the night of the Census. The very large proportion of the Sinhalese who work on estates sleep in their villages and were enumerated by the village enumerators.

The following Table D shows the estate population and their proportion to the total population of each Province and District in the Island where there is a considerable estate population.

The illustration annexed shows the proportions the estate population and the predominant race bear to the total population in four Provinces (Western, Central, Uva, and Sabaragamuwa).

Table D.—The Estate Population and the Proportion to the Total Population of each Province and District.

Provinces and Districts.	Population.		Percentage to the Total Population.	
	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.
Ceylon	**441,601**	**513,467**	**12·40**	**12·50**
Western Province ..	26,807	44,145	2·91	3·99
Central Province ..	285,144	279,317	45·78	41·55
Southern Province ..	8,506	9,486	1·50	1·51
North-Western Province ..	9,727	15,006	2·75	3·46
Province of Uva ..	51,788	71,957	27·74	33·21
Province of Sabaragamuwa ..	58,141	92,973	18·07	22·76
Western Province.				
Colombo District ..	9,842	13,377	1·84	2·17
Kalutara District ..	16,965	30,768	7·38	11·01
Central Province.				
Kandy District ..	155,444	147,738	41·17	36·17
Matale District ..	26,136	31,186	28·35	28·78
Nuwara Eliya District ..	103,564	100,393	67·67	64·58
Southern Province.				
Galle District	5,101	6,295	1·98	2·51
Matara District ..	3,405	3,191	1·67	1·40
North-Western Province.				
Kurunegala District ..	5,845	9,789	2·34	3·19
Puttalam District ..	483	1,745	1·62	4·39
Chilaw District ..	3,399	3,472	4·57	3·96
Province of Uva.				
Badulla District ..	51,788	71,957	27·74	33·21
Province of Sabaragamuwa.				
Ratnapura District ..	16,642	30,455	12·52	18·35
Kegalla District ..	41,499	62,518	21·98	25·78

The estate population comprises one-eighth of the entire population of the Island and is distributed as follows: 279,317 or 54 per cent. in the Central Province, 92,973 or 18 per cent. in the Province of Sabaragamuwa, 71,957 or 14 per cent. in the Province of Uva, and the remaining 14 per cent. in the other Provinces. Amongst the Districts,

the Kandy District (147,738) comes first, followed by Nuwara Eliya (100,393), Badulla (71,957), and Kegalla (62,518).

The following Table E shows the distribution of the estate population by age groups. In every 100 males 18 are under 10 years of age, 23 are between 10 and 20, 45 between 20 and 40, and 13 over 40 ; amongst the females, 21 in every 100 are under 10, 23 between 10 and 20, 45 between 20 and 40, and 10 over 40.

Table E.—Percentage of each Sex amongst the Estate Population at each Age Period, 1901-1911.

Age Period.	Males. 1901.	Males. 1911.	Females. 1901.	Females. 1911.
0—10	19	18	25	21
10—20	25	23	27	23
20—30	27	26	29	29
30—40	18	19	13	16
40—50	7	9	5	7
50—60	3	4	1	3

This table shows a decreased percentage amongst the males under 30 and an increased percentage over 30. There is a decreased percentage of females under 20 and an increased percentage over 30.

Over one-fourth of the males and the females are aged between 20 and 30, and nearly one-fourth of the males and the females are aged between 10 and 20.

The estate population is principally a young adult population.

The following Table F shows the proportion of children under 5, under 10, and under 15 to married women aged 15–40, 15–45, and 15–50 respectively in the estate population of Ceylon and in the chief estate districts of the Island in 1911 :—

Table F.—Proportion of Children under 5, under 10, and under 15 to Married Women aged 15–40, 15–45, and 15–50, among Indian Tamils on Estates, 1911.

District.	Proportion of Children under 5 to Married Women between 15–40.	Proportion of Children under 10 to Married Women between 15–45.	Proportion of Children under 15 to Married Women between 15–50.
Ceylon	**·54**	**·87**	**1·38**
Kalutara District	·53	·84	1·36
Kandy District	·53	·86	1·38
Matale District	·60	1·01	1·52
Nuwara Eliya District	·53	·84	1·36
Matara District	·55	·86	1·31
Kurunegala District	·28	·71	1·15
Badulla District	·66	1·02	1·60
Ratnapura District	·43	·73	1·17
Kegalla District	·47	·80	1·28

It will be seen that the average number of children in a family amongst the estate population in Ceylon (1·38) is only about half the average for the general population of the Island—*vide* Table G on p. 366, *supra*.

As explained in the chapter on Age,* the low proportion of children to a family amongst Indian Tamils may be due to a low birth-rate or a high rate of infantile mortality amongst the estate population, or to both causes combined.

* *Vide* p. 366, *supra*.

It is in the interests of all planters to take every step possible to reduce the infantile mortality, which is undoubtedly high on the estates, and to encourage the coolies to take better care of their children.

The following is a list of the estates which contained the largest population in each District at the Census of 1911 :—

District.	Name of Estate.	Population.
Nuwara Eliya	Maddecoombra	2,432
Kegalla	Halgolla Group	1,887
Kalutara	Culloden	1,643
Badulla	Spring Valley	1,626
Kandy	Lower and Upper Vallai-oya and Dandukelawa	1,575
Ratnapura	Wewelketiya	1,320
Matale	North Matale	1,175
Colombo	Elston	1,054
Galle	Deviturai	998
Kurunegala	Delwita	864
Matara	Campden Hill	773
Puttalam	Karutamviltottam	316
Chilaw	Mawatta	220

It should be borne in mind however that many of the large groups of estates were split up into small estates which were enumerated separately. These figures do not therefore necessarily show which are the largest charges in each District, but they give the figures for the estates with the largest population enumerated separately.

The Indo-Ceylon Railway connection, the most important of the many railway works initiated or completed during the administration of Sir Henry McCallum, will no doubt considerably affect the labour question in Ceylon.

The railway will probably have been open for over seven years when the next Census is taken—not time enough in which to destroy the distinction between Ceylon and Indian Tamils, but sufficient for immigration from South India considerably to influence Ceylon. It is to be hoped that immigration will not be confined to the estates, but will spread over the country through which the Northern Line passes.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE MALDIVE ISLANDS.

Their situation—The Census-taking—Number of inhabited Islands—Previous Enumerations—Estimates of Population—Population at the Census—Its distribution—Persons per House—per Family—Proportion of Males to Females—Civil Condition—Ages—Literacy—Occupations—Principal Occupations in each Atoll—Fishing—Boats—Cowries—Coir—Doctors and Charmers—Learned Professions—Lacquer Workers—Mat Weavers—State Prisoners—Soldiers—Infirmities.

THE Maldive Islands lie to the south-west of Ceylon. They are grouped together in clusters called atolls, of which there are more than twenty in all, though ordinarily divided into thirteen groups, to which number they have been confined for centuries by the Maldivians themselves for political purposes.

Ihavandippula, the most northern atoll, is distant about 350 miles from Cape Comorin, the nearest point of India, and Málé atoll about 400 miles from the nearest port in Ceylon.

The Census of the Maldive Islands commenced at the same time as the Ceylon Census—March 10, 1911—and the first returns were received (from Málé atoll) at the end of October, 1911 ; the returns have come in gradually since then, and the last to be received were those of the Huwadu atoll at the end of August, 1912.

There were considerable difficulties in taking the Census, owing to the number of islands to be visited, and the limited period of the year in which it was possible to land at many of these islands.

The number of inhabited islands according to the Admiralty charts compiled in 1836 was 182. In 1882 Mr. H. C. P. Bell, of the Ceylon Civil Service, calculated the number to be 146—exclusive of the Tiladumati and Miladummadulu atolls, in which there were 56 inhabited islands in 1836. This figure was arrived at " by a close personal examination of islanders from different atolls." According to a footnote to the Hakluyt Society's edition (1887) of the Voyage of François Pyrard, the number of inhabited islands is given as 175.* The number of inhabited islands according to the Census returns is now 217.

The schedules had to be lithographed, as there is no printing type with Maldivian characters in existence. These schedules were all in Maldivian, and there was no one in the Maldive Islands who could tabulate the results in English. The Census returns were accordingly despatched to Ceylon, where the figures have been tabulated and compiled and summaries submitted in English by the Maldivian Government representative (Mr. E. Abdul Hamid Didi), who has taken great personal interest in the Census, and to whom the successful compilation of the returns of the first recorded Census of these islands is due.

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* " Voyage of François Pyrard," Vol. I., p. 97, note 2. The references to Pyrard are all to the Hakluyt Society edition, translated and edited by Albert Gray, formerly of the Ceylon Civil Service.

Pyrard writing in the early part of the seventeenth century mentions an annual Census as being taken at the close of Ramedan :—

"Three days before the close of Ramedan, the bell or *coly* and the trumpets go round the town in the usual way, as when a festival or a royal command is announced, and warn the people on behalf of the Pandiare (whom the Arabs call *Cady*) that all the Maldive islanders should bring or send in writing the names of all, both great and small, men and boys, women and girls, to be registered ; those of Málé to the Pandiare, and those of the other islands to the Naibe of their atoll. When they do this, they have to give in for each person an offering of half a larin, equal to four sols of our money, or its equivalent in goods ; this is done quite voluntarily and faithfully, for they believe that without it their fast would be of no effect."* This custom seems to have long since ceased.

It is said that the last Census of the island was taken during the reign of Sultan M'win-ud-din (1799–1835), but no particulars are forthcoming. Censuses have been taken since that date for taxation purposes (the last about twenty-five years ago), when the number of the tax-paying population, viz., persons between fifteen and sixty, was about 36,000. Children under 15 and adults over 60 were not included in these Censuses. There are rough calculations as to the number of persons on several of the islands between 1834–36, made by Lieutenants Christopher and Young when engaged on a survey of the atolls. A memoir compiled by them was published in the Bombay Geographical Society's Transactions.†

Only rough estimates of the population of the Maldives have been made from time to time.

It was once estimated at 150,000 to 200,000 (Charton, Vol. IV., p. 255), but all writers with any knowledge of the islands have put the figures considerably lower. "The population has been guessed at in some books as 200,000 ; almost certainly one-tenth of that number would be an ample estimate. Moresby states the population of 98 islands, and the aggregate is 11,310. In the same proportion 178 islands would give 20,543, but the aggregate quoted includes the King's Island, which is much above the average in population."‡

Mr. Gray puts the population at 20,000.§ Mr. H. C. P. Bell, in his Report on the Maldive Islands (published in 1883), considered this "perhaps too low an estimate, and a total of at least 30,000 may, with more probability, be assumed" ; and Mr. Bell adds, "that the population was in former days larger is admitted by the islanders themselves, who point with melancholy significance to islands in nearly every atoll now lying waste where homesteads stood of old. It is, however, satisfactory to find good grounds for the belief that the gradual depopulation —mainly attributable to the proverbially unhealthy climate—has not merely been arrested, but that from the closer connection now yearly being established with the outside world, and the increased facilities for obtaining yearly necessaries of life, a steady reaction is setting in."

The last estimate of population has been generally accepted. The "Colonial Office List" gives the population of the Maldives as about 30,000. White's "Manual of Ceylon" and "The Statesman's Year

* "Voyage of François Pyrard," Vol. I., pp. 138, 139.

† "Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society, 1836–38" (reprint 1844, pp. 54–86).

‡ Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th edition.

§ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. X., 1878, New Series, p. 197.

Book" put it at the same figure. Bartholomew's "Atlas of the World" gives the population as "about 50,000."

The following Table A shows the number of houses, families, and population (male and female) for the Maldive Islands and for the thirteen groups. The figures for Málé island are given separately :—

Table A.—Houses, Families, and Population, 1911.

Name of Atoll.	No. of Houses.	No. of Families.	Persons.	Population. Males.	Population. Females.
Maldive Islands	**13,820**	**13,966**	**72,237**	**39,244**	**32,993**
Tiladumati Atoll	2,405	2,456	12,600	6,805	5,795
Miladummadulu Atoll	1,657	1,754	8,068	4,409	3,659
Malosmadulu Atoll	1,590	1,651	7,958	4,370	3,588
Huwadu Atoll	1,498	1,419	7,378	3,907	3,471
Addo Atoll	1,136	998	6,335	3,312	3,023
Málé Island	1,148	866	5,236	2,829	2,407
Kolumadulu Atoll	680	763	4,066	2,228	1,838
Ari Atoll	813	857	4,004	2,254	1,750
Nilandi Atoll	648	777	3,797	2,078	1,719
Málé Atoll	554	572	3,027	1,680	1,347
Fadiffolu Atoll	419	540	2,886	1,536	1,360
Hadummati Atoll	603	471	2,855	1,599	1,256
Felidi Atoll	368	488	2,367	1,289	1,078
Mulaka Atoll	301	354	1,660	948	712

The total population of the Maldive Islands is 72,237, 39,244 being males and 32,993 females. Tiladumati atoll has the largest population of any atoll, 12,600. Miladummadulu atoll comes second with 8,068 inhabitants; in 1834–36 the population was estimated at 1,700 or 1,800. Malosmadulu comes third with 7,958. Huwadu atoll comes fourth with 7,378 inhabitants; in 1834–36 the population of this atoll was estimated at about 2,000. Then comes the Addo or Addu atoll with 6,335 inhabitants; males and females are more evenly distributed on this atoll than on any of the others, 523 males to 477 females. The population of the islands comprised in this atoll was estimated in 1834–36 to be just under 1,000.

Málé Island comes next with 5,236 inhabitants. Málé is the residence of the Sultan, and the capital of the Islands. It is more in touch with the outside world than any other part of the Maldives. All the foreign trade of the atoll is conducted here. "Málé," says Mr. Bell, "must contain between 2,000 and 3,000 inhabitants, and has for two centuries at least been over-populated, rendering it even in 1602–7 'la plus mal saine,' says Pyrard, of all the islands, owing chiefly to the numerous graveyards which at the present day meet the eye at every turn."

The Maldivian Government representative reports that at the present time "the healthiest atoll is undoubtedly Addo, and the most unhealthy is Huwadu."

The atoll with the smallest population is the Mulaka atoll with only 1,660 inhabitants, of whom 948 are males. This population in 1834–36 was estimated at 980. This atoll consists of only one inhabited island, and is included for revenue purposes, &c., in the Maldives in Addo atoll.

The next Table B shows the average number of persons per house and per family in the Maldive Islands and in the atolls separately :—

Table B.—Number of Persons per House and per Family, 1911.

Name of Atoll.	Average Number of Persons Per House.	Per Family.
Maldive Islands	**5·2**	**5·2**
Málé Atoll	5·5	5·3
Nilandi Atoll	5·5	5·3
Mulaka Atoll	5·5	4·7
Fadiffolu Atoll	6·9	5·3
Felidi Atoll	6·4	4·9
Kolumadulu Atoll	6·0	5·3
Ari Atoll	4·9	4·7
Miladummadulu Atoll	4·9	4·6
Malosmadulu Atoll	5·0	4·8
Hadummati Atoll	4·7	6·1
Addo Atoll	5·6	6·3
Tiladumati Atoll	5·1	5·1
Málé Island	4·6	6·0
Huwadu Atoll	4·9	5·2

The proportion of persons per house is exactly the same for the Maldive Islands as for Ceylon ; the proportion of persons per family is higher in the Maldives—one person more in every two families.

The Fadiffolu atoll shows the high rate of nearly 7 persons per house. Families are largest in the Addo atoll (6·3), and smallest in the Miladummadulu atoll (4·6). The number of houses (13,820) and of families (13,966) closely agree. Of the houses, 54 were tiled, 754 were roofed with galvanized iron, the remainder were either thatched or built of coral stone.

The next Table C shows the number of females to 1,000 persons in the Maldive Islands and in each atoll :—

Table C.—Proportion of Females in a 1,000 Persons of the Population.

Name of Atoll.	Number of Females in 1,000 Persons.
Maldive Islands	**457**
Málé Atoll	445
Nilandi Atoll	453
Mulaka Atoll	429
Fadiffolu Atoll	468
Felidi Atoll	456
Kolumadulu Atoll	453
Ari Atoll	437
Miladummadulu Atoll	454
Malosmadulu Atoll	451
Hadummati Atoll	440
Addo Atoll	477
Tiladumati Atoll	460
Málé Island	460
Huwadu Atoll	471

There are 543 men to 457 women in every 1,000 persons in the Maldive Islands, or 8,407 females to 10,000 males.

These figures are little affected by emigration. The number of natives of India and Ceylon enumerated in Málé was only 206. All these are male immigrants who are engaged in trade, but subtracting them from the total male population the proportion of females to males is still only 8,452 to every 10,000 males.

The highest proportion of females to males in any atoll is 477 females to 523 males in Addo atoll, while the highest proportion of males is 571 males to 429 females in the Mulaka atoll.

There are no vital statistics of the Maldive Islands on record which can throw light on the birth- and death-rate amongst males and females.

Female children appear to be treated with the same care as the males, and though the proportion of women employed is high, their occupations are not of such an arduous character as to affect their health. It is probable that there is a considerably higher death-rate amongst the females, especially between 10 and 20, owing to deaths in child-birth, puerperal mortality, &c.; deaths from these causes are said to be very numerous.

With the exception of the 206 persons above mentioned, the population of the Maldives was entirely Maldivian—all Muhammadans.

Of the 165 natives of India, 146 were Bhoras, merchants from the Bombay Presidency, and 19 were entered as "Malabars." The 41 natives of Ceylon were all Moors—of whom 37 were born in Galle.

The following Tables D and E show (*a*) the number of unmarried, married, and widowed males in each atoll, and their proportion to the total male population; (*b*) the number of unmarried, married, and widowed females in each atoll and their proportion to the total female population:—

Table D.—Proportion of the Single, Married, and Widowed Males to the Total Number of Males.

Name of Atoll.	Un-married.	Married.	Widowed.	Percentage of Un-married.	Percentage of Married.	Percentage of Widowed.
Maldive Islands	**20,192**	**15,168**	**3,678**	**52**	**39**	**9**
Málé Atoll	843	627	210	50	37	13
Nilandi Atoll	1,107	782	189	53	38	9
Mulaka Atoll	511	354	83	54	37	9
Fadiffolu Atoll	882	567	87	57	37	6
Felidi Atoll	713	474	102	55	37	8
Kolumadulu Atoll	1,217	786	225	55	35	10
Ari Atoll	1,130	857	267	50	38	12
Miladummadulu Atoll	2,220	1,764	425	50	40	10
Malosmadulu Atoll	2,376	1,641	353	54	38	8
Hadummati Atoll	854	534	211	53	33	13
Addo Atoll	1,595	1,376	341	48	42	10
Ţiladumati Atoll	3,428	2,800	577	50	41	9
Málé Island	1,323	980	320	50	37	12
Huwadu Atoll	1,993	1,626	288	51	42	7

Table E.—Proportion of the Single, Married, and Widowed Females to the Total Number of Females.

Name of Atoll.	Un-married.	Married.	Widowed.	Percentage of Un-married.	Percentage of Married.	Percentage of Widowed.
Maldive Islands	**15,127**	**14,866**	**3,000**	**46**	**45**	**9**
Málé Atoll	582	626	139	43	47	10
Nilandi Atoll	808	751	160	47	44	9
Mulaka Atoll	305	329	78	43	46	11
Fadiffolu Atoll	670	551	129	50	41	10
Felidi Atoll	513	475	90	48	44	8
Kolumadulu Atoll	868	752	218	47	41	12
Ari Atoll	723	857	170	41	49	10
Miladummadulu Atoll	1,564	1,751	344	43	48	9
Malosmadulu Atoll	1,620	1,653	315	45	46	9
Hadummati Atoll	547	532	177	44	42	14
Addo Atoll	1,375	1,471	177	45	49	6
Tiladumati Atoll	2,547	2,699	549	41	47	9
Málé Island	1,256	918	233	52	38	10
Huwadu Atoll	1,749	1,501	221	50	43	6

The next Tables F and G show (*a*) the total number of unmarried males in each atoll, the number of males under 20, the proportion of unmarried males over 20 to the male population over 20; (*b*) the total number of unmarried females in each atoll, the number of females under 15, the proportion of unmarried females over 15 to the female population over 15:—

Table F.—Total Number of Unmarried Males in each Atoll, the Number of Males under 20, the Proportion of Unmarried Males over 20 to the Male Population over 20.

Name of Atoll.	No. of Unmarried Males.	No. of Males under 20.	Percentage of Unmarried Males over 20.
Maldive Islands	**20,192**	**19,546**	**9**
Málé Atoll	843	824	7
Nilandi Atoll	1,107	1,070	7
Mulaka Atoll	511	489	11
Fadiffolu Atoll	882	848	8
Felidi Atoll	713	701	6
Kolumadulu Atoll	1,217	1,147	10
Ari Atoll	1,130	1,079	8
Miladummadulu Atoll	2,220	2,132	8
Malosmadulu Atoll	2,376	2,133	13
Hadummati Atoll	854	773	13
Addo Atoll	1,595	1,657	6
Tiladumati Atoll	3,428	3,489	6
Málé Island	1,323	1,142	20
Huwadu Atoll	1,993	2,062	9

Table G.—Total Number of Unmarried Females in each Atoll, the Number of Females under 15, the Proportion of Unmarried Females over 15 to the Female Population over 15.

Name of Atoll.	No. of Unmarried Females.	No. of Females under 15.	Percentage of Unmarried Females over 15.
Maldive Islands	**15,127**	**13,604**	**10**
Málé Atoll	582	584	3
Nilandi Atoll	808	769	6
Mulaka Atoll	305	295	5
Fadiffolu Atoll	670	617	8
Felidi Atoll	513	441	11
Kolumadulu Atoll	868	790	9
Ari Atoll	723	671	6
Miladummadulu Atoll	1,564	1,504	5
Malosmadu Atoll	1,620	1,500	7
Hadummati Atoll	547	486	8
Addo Atoll	1,375	1,211	17
Tiladumati Atoll	2,547	2,392	8
Málé Island	1,256	853	28
Huwadu Atoll	1,749	1,491	14

Only 9 per cent. of the males over 20 and 10 per cent. of the females over 15 in the Maldive Islands have not been married.

It is seen from these tables that the proportion of unmarried males over 20 and unmarried females over 15 is very small indeed. Pyrard says: "Youths may marry when they list, but girls may not till they have attained the age of fifteen years. I mean, when they are orphans, or rather, bereft of their father, for a mother would have no authority, neither any of the kindred on the mother's side. In default of a father, their brother gives them in marriage; if no brother, the nearest male relative on the father's side. Fathers, however, give their daughters

in marriage as soon as possible after the age of ten years, thinking it a great sin to let a girl want a husband ; wherefore they hand them over at the age of ten or eleven to the first that asks them, without making any bother, be he old or young, man or boy ; provided only there is little difference in their quality, that is all they think of." *

The proportion of widowers to widows is 1,000 : 816. It is curious that widowers should so largely outnumber widows, but it is probably due to the large excess of males over females.

" After the dissolution of the marriage by divorce or death, the women cannot marry again quite so soon. When a husband dies, four months and ten days are ordained for the widow to mourn him ; and then to marry again it suffices not for the woman to say off-hand that her husband is dead, for she must prove his death by three witnesses who speak to the time, manner, and cause thereof. If, however, the husband were absent from the Kingdom and the wife had nothing of his, she could re-marry a year after."†

The following Table H shows the proportion of persons between 0–10, 10–15, 15–20, and 20 and over in each atoll and in the islands as a whole :—

Table H.—Distribution of a 100 Persons of the Population by Age.

Name of Atoll.	0–10.	10–15.	15–20.	20 and over.
Maldive Islands	**30·3**	**10·6**	**9·7**	**49·4**
Málé Atoll	29·2	12·6	9·2	49·0
Nilandi Atoll	31·3	11·2	10·1	47·4
Mulaka Atoll	33·0	8·9	9·2	48·9
Fadiffolu Atoll	36·4	9·6	9·0	45·0
Felidi Atoll	30·9	13·3	8·4	47·3
Kolumadulu Atoll	29·3	13·0	10·2	47·4
Ari Atoll	28·7	9·8	10·1	51·4
Miladummadulu Atoll	30·7	10·0	9·0	50·3
Malosmadulu Atoll	30·5	10·3	9·3	49·9
Hadummati Atoll	29·4	9·6	9·1	51·9
Addo Atoll	28·7	11·2	11·1	49·0
Tiladumati Atoll	32·1	9·8	9·2	48·8
Málé Island	21·9	12·2	11·2	54·7
Huwadu Atoll	32·7	10·2	9·9	47·2

The age distribution of a hundred persons of each sex in the Maldives is as follows :—

Age Group.	Males.	Females.
0—10	29	31
10—15	11	10
15—20	9	10
20 and over	50	49

The following figures show the proportion per cent. of males and females in each of the age groups 0–10, 10–15, 15–20, and 20 and over :—

Age Group.	Males.	Females.
0—10	53	47
10—15	57	43
15—20	52	48
20 and over	55	45

* " Voyage of François Pyrard," Vol. I., pp. 152, 153.
† *Ibid.*, p. 155.

These figures show that the proportion of males and females most closely approximates between 15 and 20, and that the largest difference is between 10 and 15, when there would appear to be a heavy female mortality, probably largely due to early marriages. The decrease in the proportion of males between 15 and 20 may be due to a heavier mortality of males at the period when the young men are beginning to earn their own livelihood.

There were no persons entered as centenarians at the Maldivian Census; 18 were entered as between 95 and 100.

The following table shows the proportion of *literates* in each age group 0–10, 10–15, 15–20, and 20 and over for males and females in the Maldives and in each atoll:—

Table I.—Percentage of Literates, 1911, by Sex and Age Groups.

Name of Atoll.	Literates.							
	Males.				Females.			
	0–10.	10–15.	15–20.	20 and over.	0–10.	10–15.	15–20.	20 and over.
Maldive Islands ..	**3**	**41**	**60**	**72**	**4**	**45**	**60**	**71**
Málé Atoll ..	6	40	64	71	7	47	66	69
Nilandi Atoll ..	3	40	65	74	5	46	67	69
Mulaka Atoll ..	12	57	66	81	9	69	80	80
Fadiffolu Atoll ..	8	46	64	70	8	52	66	65
Felidi Atoll ..	12	51	76	88	13	62	78	88
Kolumadulu Atoll ..	5	46	65	78	9	52	81	75
Ari Atoll ..	8	39	61	69	5	41	54	58
Miladummadulu Atoll	0·4	22	48	63	1	27	44	54
Malosmadulu Atoll ..	0·4	27	46	64	0·4	27	49	60
Hadummati Atoll ..	1	19	38	56	2	24	41	59
Addo Atoll ..	1	84	91	90	1	85	91	95
Tiladumati Atoll ..	0·4	19	39	54	0·2	15	32	39
Málé Island ..	8	62	82	94	14	71	83	89
Huwadu Atoll ..	2	54	68	82	4	55	68	81

The proportion of literates amongst the male population is 47 per cent.; excluding children under 10 the proportion is 65 per cent.

The proportion of literates amongst the female population is 44 per cent.; excluding children under 10 the proportion is 62 per cent.

These proportions are very high, especially for the females.

Schools are numerous: there are 498 Koran schools, and 28 schools where navigation is taught.

Mr. Bell, in his report, writes: "Children of both sexes are required to read the Koran, under the tuition of the minor priests, from the age of three or four. When considered to be sufficiently grounded in its precepts, they receive no further instruction beyond being initiated into the ceremonials of religion. Christopher is at fault in asserting that a knowledge of writing is left to be acquired anyhow. 'Their studies,' says Pyrard, 'are to read and write and to learn their Alcoran ...... they write their lessons on little tablets of wood, which are whitened, and when they have learned their lesson they efface what they have written and whiten them afresh'; he adds that the letters are drawn on fine white sand spread over wooden boards.* It would otherwise be difficult to account for the fact that at the present day

* "Voyage of François Pyrard," Vol. I., pp. 185, 186.

the majority of the men seem to possess a fair acquaintance with the ordinary Maldive character if they had received no instruction when young."*

In fact, the Maldivians appear to be very well instructed in their language, and most Maldivians, men and women, can read and write it.

The following Table J shows the occupations in which the largest number of males and females in each atoll were employed :—

Table J.—The Principal Occupations followed by Males and Females in each Atoll.

Atoll.	Occupation followed by majority of Males.	Percentage of Workers following this Occupation.	Occupation followed by majority of Females.	Percentage of Workers following this Occupation.
Málé Atoll ..	Fishing ..	66 ..	Coir makers ..	36
Nilandi Atoll ..	Fishing ..	60 ..	Coir makers ..	41
			Husk beaters ..	37
Mulaka Atoll ..	Fishing ..	60 ..	Thatch makers ..	32
			Cowrie collectors .	26
Fadiffolu Atoll ..	Fishing ..	72 ..	Sail makers (working with coconut leaves)	65
Felidi Atoll ..	Fishing ..	75 ..	Thatch makers ..	35
Kolumadulu Atoll ..	Fishing ..	66 ..	Husk beaters ..	41
	Thatch makers ..	7 ..	Coir makers ..	38
	Carpenters ..	7		
Ari Atoll ..	Fishing ..	49 ..	Coir makers ..	37
	Carpenters ..	13		
	Coconut pluckers	10		
Miladummadulu Atoll	Fishing ..	68 ..	Coir makers ..	65
Malosmadulu Atoll .	Fishing ..	63 ..	Coir makers ..	68
	Carpenters ..	5 ..	Spinners ..	10
	Weavers ..	14		
Hadummati Atoll ..	Fishing ..	48 ..	Coir makers ..	59
			Cowrie collectors .	28
Addo Atoll ..	Fishing ..	44 ..	Coir makers ..	42
	Cultivators ..	17 ..	Cultivators ..	38
	Toddy drawers ..	7 ..	Lace makers ..	6
Tiladumati Atoll ..	Fishing ..	61 ..	Husk beaters ..	57
	Thatch makers ..	10 ..	Coir makers ..	23
	Coconut pluckers	10 ..	Sail makers ..	8
	Carpenters ..	4 ..	Vegetable sellers .	4
Málé Island ..	Soldiers ..	36 ..	Dressmakers ..	49
	Government servants	19 ..	Domestic servants	22
	Domestic servants	15		
	Shopkeepers ..	7		
Huwadu Atoll ..	Fishing ..	66 ..	Mat weavers ..	52
	Carpenters ..	7 ..	Sail makers ..	17
			Coir makers ..	13

65 per cent. of the male population of the Maldives follow an occupation, and 35 per cent. are dependent upon others for their living. The percentage of males under 15 is 41 per cent. of the total male population.

56 per cent. of the female population of the Maldives earn their own living, while 44 per cent. are dependents. The percentage of females under 15 is 41 per cent. of the total female population.

These figures show a very high percentage of employed, especially of female workers.

57 per cent. of the males employed depend upon *fishing* for their livelihood ; 35 per cent. of the total employed males and females upon

* "Report on the Maldive Islands," by H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., p. 59.

the *coconut palm*, of these, 79 per cent. are females; 70 per cent. of all the men who earn their own living in the Maldives are either fishermen or workers in connection with the coconut industry.

The Maldivians are essentially a sea-going population. The statistical returns furnished give 2,999 boats in these Islands, 1,542 of which are described as *dhonies*, or fishing boats; 800 are termed *bokuras*, which are about 10 to 12 feet in length; the rest (657) are called *hodees*, the class of vessel used for navigating from one island to another.

There are 1,045 *cowrie* collectors, of whom 851 are females.

The early export trade of the Maldives consisted principally of *cowries*, *coir*, coconuts, and ambergris, and the trade in the first two commodities was so great that in the eleventh century the Islands were divided by traders into two groups, which were known as "Cowry Islands" (Dyvah houzah) and "Coir Islands" (Dyvah Kanbar).

Pyrard, writing in 1611, says: "They vend also little shells that contain a creature in them of the bigness of the end of one's little finger, white, very smooth and glittering........ These go only to Bengal, the inhabitants of which esteem them so much that I have seen thirty or forty ships laden without any other commodity bound thither, though in Bengal they have gold and silver and plenty of other metals, yet these shells pass there as money, and the king and noblemen hoard up prodigious quantities of them, accounting them their treasure. They give twenty coquetees (? kegs) of rice for a parcel of shells, each parcel containing 12,000."*

The Dutch attempted to secure a monopoly of the trade in cowries in the latter part of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth centuries. The instructions to Dutch Governors always impress upon them the necessity of securing larger supplies of cowries from the Maldives, while the market price was always to be fixed at much below their fair market value.

The trade has steadily declined, and is now only carried on with British India direct.

The coir of the Maldives has been famous for centuries for its light colour, fineness, and strength. The Portuguese are said to have obtained most of the rope required for their fleets in Indian seas from the Maldives. The best sort is reputed to come from Tiladumati atoll.

There were 421 native *doctors*, of whom 204 were women. All the women in the Maldives are said to be treated by female doctors. There were 223 *midwives*. There are 439 dispensaries in the atolls.

A large number of male doctors probably come under the head of *charmers*, of whom there were 142.

Astronomers, who are also necromancers, numbered 28 in all.

The Maldivians are famous for their knowledge of spells and charms. Sorcery is called by the Maldivians "the learned science," while Mr. Bell notes that "any one thrown in contact with the modern islanders (particularly those of the Southern atolls) will find demonolatry and nature worship as rife as of old, if pursued nowadays somewhat less obtrusively........ To be well versed in astrology and 'the black arts' is no mean distinction; some persons even gain their livelihood by writing philters and other charms, worn as amulets, which are much relied on." †

464 persons live by being *mosque-keepers*, 1 is a *shrine-keeper*, and 6 are "*callers to prayer*." There are 444 mosques in the different

* *Vide* "Voyage of François Pyrard," Vol. I., pp. 236–240.
† "Report on the Maldive Islands," by H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., pp. 58, 59.

atolls. There are 64 priests. Of *teachers*, there are 205 entered as *Koran teachers*, of whom 126 are women, 407 as *secular teachers*, and 44 as *instructors in navigation*. There are 28 schools in which navigation is taught. Three women are entered as *arithmetic teachers*.

Of other learned professions, there are 10 *writers or copyists*, 16 *poetry reciters*, 8 *engravers*.

There are 58 *lacquer workers* and 1,160 *mat weavers*, of whom 1,155 are females. The Maldives are famous for their excellent lacquer work and finely-woven mats. Mr. Bell says of the Maldivian lacquer work : " In painting fancy articles, such as favourite boats, lances, wooden dishes, axe handles, &c., the Maldivians have reached a degree of perfection both in brilliancy and gradation of colour and beauty of design which it would be difficult to surpass, throwing in the shade the by no means contemptible efforts of the Kandyans in similar lacquer work. The best specimens are procurable at Taladu, in Malosmadulu atoll."

Huwadu atoll is the centre of the mat industry, as the rush from which the mats are made is found there in the largest quantity. The colours used are black, yellow-brown, and white; these are very tastefully combined.

There are 193 *goldsmiths* and 205 *silversmiths*. 322 women live by *lace-making*.

There were 13 persons entered as *undertakers* and 1 as a *tombstone maker*. The burial grounds number 410 ; there are 34 in Málé Island alone.

There were 21 *law officers* in the Huwadu atoll, where there are 21 court-houses.

There were 12 *state prisoners*, 6 in Tiladumati atoll and 6 in Huwadu atoll. The last atoll was the usual place of banishment, and Pyrard records that " it is the place where the King sends into exile those who have displeased him, as it is an island very far from his Court, where foreign ships do not land, and of which the inhabitants are very unmannerly, rude, and boorish." *

Ibn Batuta (1343–44 A.D.) also mentions the banishment to "the islands of Souweid " of Abd-Allah of his stepson Sultan Chehaat-ed-din.

The number of *Government servants* is 435, of whom 389 were enumerated in the Island of Málé. There are 571 *soldiers* and 20 *volunteers*, all on Málé Island. Mr. Bell describes the military force as consisting of " a nondescript militia at Málé, divided into six companies, numbering nominally 100 men each, but with an actual strength at the present day of probably not less than 1,200 all told.† ....A body of forty men is required to mount guard in rotation at the Sultan's palace, and is in charge of an officer .... These men have certain privileges, and are distinguished by their head-kerchief." Pyrard says : " They have many privileges ; among others none durst strike them ; and it is permitted to them to habit themselves differently from the rest, to wear a thick gold ring on the finger, to assist them in drawing the bow, which others may not wear in a word to be more brave and fine in their dress. So there are few men of means but choose to join ; albeit they must have the permission of the King ; and it costs them sixty larins to enter, whereof twenty go to the King

* " Voyage of François Pyrard," Vol. I., p. 90.

† Pyrard gives the number as six hundred in his day, and the Census figures show that the original distribution of the forces has been unchanged for certainly three hundred years.

for permission and forty to be divided amongst the Company which one desires to join."*

There were 40 persons entered as *beggars* and 85 (all in Málé Island) as dependent on Government charity.

There were 129 *blind* or ·18 per cent., 96 *deaf and dumb* or ·13 per cent., and 47 *insane* or ·07 per cent. of the total population of the Maldive Islands.

The proportion of blind, deaf and dumb, and insane in the Maldive Islands is considerably higher than in Ceylon, where the proportions were for blind ·09 per cent., for deaf and dumb ·08 per cent. for insane ·04 per cent. Pyrard records that "the eye sickness is common enough, and you see great numbers of people blind by it, and most of them have short sight." He appears to be referring particularly to "night blindness." Elephantiasis is said to be common, and most diseases in the Maldives are ascribed to bad water. The number of wells in the Islands is, however, very large (10,573), and there are 747 "tanks" and "lakes," in most of which the water is probably very bad.

The Maldive returns were received as this report was going to press; it has not been possible therefore to do more than summarize them here. The writer, however, hopes to issue a special volume dealing with the history of these Islands and their present condition as illustrated by this Census, the first complete Census ever taken in these Islands.

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* "Voyage of François Pyrard," Vol., I., pp. 216, 217.

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